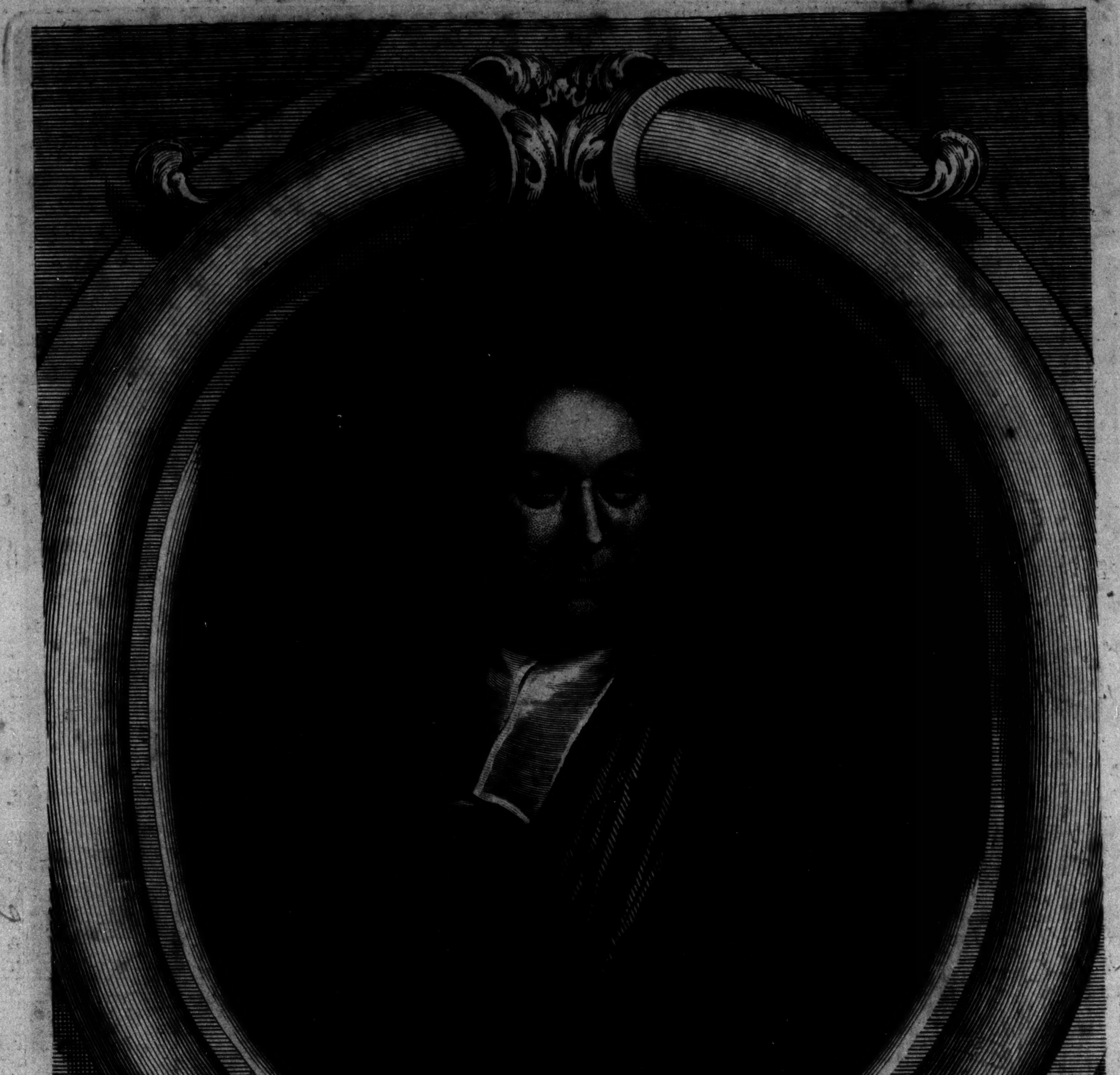
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THE LIFE OF Cardinal WOLSEY.

With ſeveral Copper Plates.

By *RICHARD FIDDES*, D.D.
Chaplain to the Right Honourable ROBERT Earl of OXFORD
and Earl MORTIMER.

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G.R. III.
BRITISH MUSEUM

TO THE

CHANCELLORS,

VICECHANCELLORS,

THE

DOCTORS,

WITH THE OTHER

MEMBERS

OF THE TWO

UNIVERSITIES,

THIS

LIFE *of Cardinal* **WOLSEY**,

Their great PATRON,

And the PATRON of LEARNED MEN in general,

IS,

With all VENERATION and HUMILITY,

INSCRIBED by the **COMPILER**,

As the moſt publick Acknowledgement,

He is capable of making,

For the MANY FAVOURS

Which he hath had the HONOUR to receive,

FROM

Both thoſe Ancient and Renowned SEMINARIES of

RELIGION and LOYALTY;

Of all Uſeful, and Polite

LITERATURE.

THE INTRODUCTION.

IN the previous Account, which I would lay before the Reader of this Work, I ſhall confine my ſelf to the following Particulars; the Occaſion; the Method and Stile of it; the Principles upon which I proceed; the Materials wherewith I have been furniſhed; And the Defects, relating to it, which, I am ſenſible, are ſtill to be ſupplied.

1. It has been often reckoned among the Things that are wanting in our Hiſtorical Libraries, that none of our Hiſtorians have Undertaken to write a Life, full of ſo many and great Events as that of Cardinal Wolſey, in any Degree of Extent proportioned to the Number or Importance of them. As there never was perhaps any Perſon in the World, below a Crowned Head, who lived in greater Splendour, neither has any other Life of a Subject, for the Space of Twenty Years, afforded a more wide or memorable Scene of Action. To write his Story, during that Period, not to mention the general Affairs of Europe wherewith it is neceſſarily connected, would be, in Effect, to exhibit to the Reader the brighteſt Part of the Reign of Henry the Eighth; whom few of our Monarchs have exceeded in Riches, Power, or Dignity; and who, with all his perſonal Failures, and political Errors, muſt ſtill be numbered among the greateſt Soveraign Princes. If I have ſometimes, in any occaſional Character of Him, advanced certain true, but which may appear more bold, Reflections, it was done purely for the Sake of Truth; In Regard to which, it is often highly requiſite, the very Vices of Princes, living, or deceaſed, ſhould be mentioned by Way of Caution to ſucceeding Princes; provided this be done with all the Tenderneſs and Decency, that the Nature and Deſign of ſuch a Liberty, in mentioning them, will poſſibly admit. A Liberty, of abſolute Neceſſity indeed, to render Hiſtory, in the principal Characters of it, more uſeful to the World: Future Ages, being leſs intereſted in former Tranſactions, will make a Judgement of them, not according to the partial Regards, whereby Truth had ſometime been oppreſſed, or Juſtice over-ruled, by ſuperior Force; but according to the naked Evidence, and true Reaſon of Things. For where People are not perſonally affected, or altogether corrupt, they will ever out of a natural Propenſity, when particular Reaſons of Intereſt and Dependency ſhall ceaſe, declare on the Side of Virtue and Honour. Yet if the Love of Truth has, at any Time, conſtrained me to mention certain Errors relating to the Conduct of Henry the Eighth; Beſides what has been alledged to Support my Claim to a reaſonable priviledge common to all Hiſtorians, I am able to juſtify my ſelf, in reſpect to this very Caſe, by the Authority of a great Prelate; to whom we owe the celebrated Hiſtory of the Reformation: Yet in which there are as free and plain Truths, if not expreſſed with more Freedom and Plainneſs, than any, wherewith I apprehend my ſelf juſtly charge-

able in this Work; the learned Hiſtorian, ſpeaking concerning the Innovations with reſpect to Religion which had been introduced under the Reign of that Prince, hath theſe Words: "In the whole Proceſs of theſe Changes, "the King's Deſign ſeems to have been to worry *the* Court *of* Rome, "*and to* Cudgel *the Pope into a Compliance with what he deſired.*" *He afterwards repreſents his Majeſty as addicted to the moſt extravagant Opinions of the* Romiſh *Church, and exhibits a Catalogue of his* Vices *and* Cruelties, *but without mentioning the* Premunire *among them. He obſerves, indeed, that* Falſehood *was a Vice, wherewith this King could not be charged; And yet it happens, that one of the moſt Notorious Inſtances of this Vice, wherewith he could ſtand chargeable, is charged upon him by this learned Prelate himſelf; where he ſays,* That the King took Advantage from ſome Eruptions in the *North*, to break the Indemnity, he had before proclaimed to thoſe in the Rebellion; even tho' they could not be found guilty of thoſe ſecond Diſorders. *If this was not Falſehood, except the learned Hiſtorian would confine the Idea of Falſehood to Matters of private Promiſe or Contract, and not to* Breach *of* publick Faith, *the Word has loſt its proper and genuine Signification. This Prince is farther repreſented, by the ſame Hand, as* Boyſterous *and* naturally impatient; *as ſubject to* Vanity, *and a high* Conceit *of his Learning and Wiſdom. And as one of the moſt* uncounſellable *Perſons in the World. Several of theſe Epreſſions are ſtronger and more free, than any, which I have employed. And if I am not ſo happy, as this celebrated Hiſtorian may appear to be, in an* elegant *and* pure *Stile, I have at leaſt endeavoured to expreſs my ſelf in as ſoft and diſtant Terms, whenever I have had Occaſion to mention any irregular Character or unjuſt Action.*

But I return, from theſe incidental Reflections, to obſerve the Motives, upon which I was more eſpecially induced to write the Life of Cardinal Wolſey; *The principal of which, for I ſhall not here deſcend to enumerate them all, were,* Firſt, *his great Encouragement of Learning; not only as he was a Patron in general to Men of any Diſtinction in the learned World, but in particular (tho'* Cambridge *ſhared in the Effects of his Favour and Beneficence) to the Univerſity of* Oxford; *where, beſides his more publick Benefactions, he laid the Foundation of a Work, which had it been perfected and continued upon his Plan, would have exceeded any Work of the ſame kind, that Hiſtory records, ſince the Foundation of the World; And which, notwithſtanding the Depredations it has ſuffered, ſtill retains many ſenſible Marks of its primitive Grandour, and Magnificence. Neither may it be improper here to mention his other College of* Ipſwich, *which fell with him; and the College of Phyſicians in* London; *the preamble to which recites, the Erection of it was principally owing to the Cardinal's Advice. To which I ſhall only add, that he had alſo deſigned to found a Society for the Canon and civil Laws. Which, had he proceeded to finiſh it, would, we may juſtly preſume, have diſcovered that Greatneſs and Extent of Mind, wherewith all his other Deſigns were formed and executed.* Secondly, *a Deſire of doing Juſtice to his injured Memory. There have been few Perſons, if any, to whom Mankind has been obliged for any Conſiderable Benefactions; that have met with ſuch ungrateful Uſage in Return of them, as Cardinal* Wolſey.

It may be queſtioned whether, in all the Hiſtories that are Extant, a like Inſtance can be found, in any Nation, of ſo general a Prejudice, as that under which his Name has ſuffered? It will therefore naturally be expected that ſome Account ſhould be given of ſo uncommon a Caſe; And the moſt probable Grounds, into which I am able to reſolve it, are, that He had the Misfortune to diſoblige, or rather highly to provoke the two contending Parties into which, during the laſt Period of his Adminiſtration, the Kingdom was very much divided: So that the Hiſtorians, on both Sides, have in general tranſmitted his Name down to Poſterity, with equal Rancour, and Bigotry *to the Party, which they profeſſed to eſpouſe. Thoſe of the* Romiſh *perſuaſion hated him, as he had promoted the Divorce with much Zeal and Aſſiduity; and on Account of his diſſolving ſeveral Monaſteries, though with a Deſign of applying them to more beneficial Vſes. And ſeveral of the Clergy, both regular and ſecular were irritated againſt him for his Endeavours, to introduce a more ſtrict and regular Diſcipline among them. The Reformed, on the other Hand, were his Enemies for adhering ſtrictly to the Doctrine and Communion of the Church of* Rome; *for his oppoſing the Growth of* Lutheraniſm *at Home, and abroad; eſpecially the Capricious and Tumultuous Proceedings of the* Anabaptiſts, *and of other Viſionaries in* Germany. *However deſirous he was to reform ſcandalous Diſorders and Irregularities in the Eccleſiaſtical State, yet he ever ſtrenuouſly aſſerted both the Principles and the* Hierarchy, *which were then Eſtabliſhed by the ſupreme Eccleſiaſtical, and Civil Authority.*

Now if it be ſo difficult in certain Caſes to diſcover the true Characters of Men, in a publick Scene of Life with whom we have been contemporary; if Flattery doth ſo diſguiſe human Actions, that the Names of Virtue and Vice, when applied to them are not only confounded, but really tranſferred; If the very Senſes of Men are ſo groſly impoſed upon, that the moſt vile and infamous Facts are repreſented to publick View under bright and favourable Colours, while thoſe founded on real Virtue and Merit are openly traduced; If the Rage and Artifice of Faction have Power to tranſform Perſons and Things, in ſuch a Manner, that even they, who look *on, are not always able to diſcover the Illuſion, or have ſome common Intereſt in promoting it; it is leſs Matter of Surpriſe, if we cannot readily come at the true Character of a Perſon, ſince whoſe Birth above two hundred Years have paſſed; and whom, almoſt all our Hiſtorians, however oppoſite and divided on other Accounts, have yet agreed to aſperſe and depretiate. It happens notwithſtanding there are remaining certain authentick Monuments, relating to him, which do not depend on the Credit of either Party; and, eſpecially, in the Archieves of the Vniverſity of* Oxford, *which will give him a greater Name in future Ages, than if Statues had been erected to him, thro' all Parts of the Kingdom, or a thouſand different Medals been ſtruck in Honour to his Memory.*

Thirdly, *A Deſire of reſolving the Grounds of the Reformation, into a regular, and Eccleſiaſtical Method of Procedure; According to the Primitive Conſtitution, and true* Rights *of the Chriſtian Church; and to the End, I might ſay ſomething towards obviating that moſt vile and abſurd Imputation caſt upon us by the* Papiſts; *As if the reformed Religion, introduced*

troduced at the Reformation, had been wholly Parliamentary; *Or, as if we had proceeded towards introducing it, with certain* German, *and other foreign Sectaries, without any Authority, either from God or Man.*

2. *In reſpect to the Method, I have divided my Work into three Parts, according to the three moſt conſiderable Periods, proper to give us an Account of the Cardinal's Riſe; his Adminiſtration; of the Occaſion and Circumſtances of his Fall. The* Memoirs, *wherewith I have been ſupplied relating to his private Life, have not enabled me to obſerve an exact Order of Time, under that Partition of it. But from the Time of his being made Archbiſhop of* York, *I have for the moſt part at the Head of the ſeveral Chapters referred to the Year or the Years, wherein the Facts happened, which are mentioned in them. Yet, that I might not too much confound Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, but ſeverally purſue the Connection of them, till they were brought to ſome proper Iſſue, I have been ſometimes obliged to depart from the Rules of a ſtrict Chronological Order.*

3. *What I have principally propoſed in reference to my Stile, is* perſpicuity. *If in any place I am not ſufficiently clear, this Defect is owing either to the Want of proper Terms in the* Engliſh *Language, or to an Incapacity in my ſelf of properly applying them. Strong and ſignificant as that Language, in general, is, the Expreſſions in it are ſometimes very æquivocal and indeterminate; and even many of thoſe, which are of moſt common Uſe. To avoid Ambiguity, which is juſtly ſuppoſed one of the greateſt Faults in Writing or Speaking, I apprehended it preferable to uſe more Words, tho' they would lengthen the Period, and, in ſome meaſure, render the Cadence of it, on that Account leſs agreeable. However, I had rather incur any Cenſure, which may* ſimply *reſpect my Manner of Expreſſion, than that of* Obſcurity. *Yet, I have alſo had ſome Regard to the* Purity *of my Diction. And in order to preſerve it, have been particularly careful not to introduce any foreign Words, where there was not an abſolute Neceſſity, which rarely happens, of importing them. For tho' our Language is rather Strong, than Copious, yet except in relation to* technical *Terms, in which reſpect, all Languages are more or leſs defective, there is ſcarce any Thing, which may not be expreſſed in* Engliſh, *by thoſe, who know the Force and Beauty of that Tongue, not only with Vigour and Propriety, but with a certain Degree of Delicacy. So that if it were cultivated with the ſame Care, and under the like Influence, as that of a neighbouring Kingdom hath been, there is Reaſon to believe it might be rendered much more Expreſſive, and, at the ſame Time, not leſs Beautiful. And therefore in an Age, wherein Learning is ſo much Encouraged, and the proper and publick Rewards of it are only conferred on learned Men of the firſt Diſtinction; it might well become the Character of ſome publick Spirit, that proper Perſons ſhould be employed to compoſe an Engliſh* Grammar, *to which their Number and Capacity would give a more authentick Sanction. I ſhall only add, upon this Article, that beſides my Care, in reference to thoſe general Characters of* Stile, *I have endeavoured, in the following Work, to expreſs my ſelf according to that Stile, which is properly* Hiſtorical. *For a ſenſible Difference in the Manner of Expreſſion, ought always to be obſerved,*

ſerved, according to the Diverſity of the ſubject Matter, upon which an Author propoſeth to treat. But how I have conformed to this Rule, on the preſent or on any other Occaſion, muſt be ſubmitted to the Judgement of my Readers.

4. The Principles, *upon which I proceed, may in general be reduced under the Heads of Morality, or Religion. For tho' ſeveral political Reflections, will naturally be expected to occur in a Work of this Nature, and my Readers will not find themſelves, in that reſpect, wholly diſappointed; Yet, it is readily acknowledged, all my Reflections are founded, ſuch as they are, upon the true Maxims of* moral *Virtue, or what I really apprehended to be ſo. I am ſenſible the Meaſures which have generally obtained in the Courts of Princes, and ſometimes in the Courts of Chriſtian Princes, are not to be too ſtrictly examined by theſe Maxims. But ſince Truth is not to be tried by Precedents, but Precedents by Truth; I am not at all diſcouraged from aſſerting, as I have more than once occaſionally done in this Hiſtory, that there can be no political Wiſdom ſeparate from the ſtated Meaſures of Piety, Juſtice, and Honour: And that all Attempts contrary to thoſe Meaſures, to ſay nothing of the* natural *Effects, which in the ordinary Courſe and Event of Things are obſerved to attend them, do, in a ſpecial Manner, provoke God Almighty to viſit ſuch Bodies politick, as may have Recourſe to them, by ſome ſevere* providential *Judgement.*

It is neceſſary, I ſhould ſupport ſo bold an Aſſertion, and wherewith ſeveral Nations may, poſſibly, be affected, by ſome plain clear, and convincing Reaſons; And I ſhall produce one; which I might challenge all the Politicians, upon Earth, to anſwer.

God deſigned Man for ſocial Life; And has accordingly endowed him with Diſpoſitions and Capacities proper to that End. They, who are divided in Opinion concerning the Original Form of civil Government, or the Meaſures of Obedience due to civil Governours; are yet generally agreed, that civil Government is the Ordinance of God, appointed for the common Good, and Benefit of Mankind. Vpon this Conceſſion I argue, that when Men have Recourſe to ſinful Meaſures, on any Account, to ſerve ſome ſuppoſed Intereſt of civil Society, they do in Effect declare, that God cannot attain his End in appointing ſuch Society, without employing thoſe Means and Inſtruments, which operate directly in Breach of his Laws: which is to ſay (than which ſcarce any thing more blaſphemous can be ſaid) that God, in order to accompliſh one of his moſt excellent and beneficial Deſigns, hath need of the ſinful Man; *In ſhort, that it may be convenient, in certain Caſes towards rectifying the Defects, and ſerving the Ends of his Government more effectually, to take Arms and rebel againſt him, under an Vmbrage of his own Authority.*

God indeed does not always viſibly interpoſe, at preſent, to puniſh ſuch open Defiance of his Power and Soveraignty. This is an Argument that he is patient; but no Argument, that he will always be provoked; or that *his abuſed Lenity will not end, one Time or other, even in this Life, (which is the only Scene of Reward or Puniſhment to political Bodies) in a Vengeance ſo much more terrible and ſevere.*

Not only my Political, but my Reflections, in general, are founded upon the Principles of Morality; and tend in one Degree or other to eſtabliſh them. It has been the Opinion of ſome Perſons, that an Hiſtorian hath nothing to do, but to relate Matters of Fact well choſen, in a good Method, and a proper Stile. Without enquiring what Grounds of Succeſs an Hiſtory might poſſibly have, which ſhould proceed intirely upon that Plan, it is readily acknowledged, I have not confined my ſelf to it. I was rather willing, towards advancing the Cauſe of Virtue, ſometimes to take an Occaſion of going a little out of my Way; And, provided, I might conduct my Reader, by any uſeful Digreſſion, to the Diſcovery of ſome moral Truth, I have made my Courſe, after the Manner of thoſe Rivers whoſe Channels are continually winding.

The Principal End of Hiſtory is to inſtruct; and this End may, in a Senſe, be attained by a bare Recital of Facts, upon which every Reader is at Liberty to draw proper Inferences, for his own Vſe. But becauſe there is ſo great a Difference in the Capacities of Men; and they, who have a competent Strength, do yet very often want Attention and Liberty of Mind; It may be of good Service, if an Author ſometimes deſcends, to make thoſe Improvements, (if the ſubject Matter may afford a juſt Occaſion for them) which his Readers are, in one reſpect or other, leſs qualified to make for themſelves. I will add, that as an Author is preſumed to have conſidered the Facts, which he relates, more particularly, with the true Motives, the proper Tendency, and the ſeveral Conſequences of them; He may, for the ſame Reaſon, be thought capable of raiſing certain occaſional Obſervations upon them, which might not ſo readily have occurred, even to Perſons of much ſuperior Capacity in all other Reſpects.

Beſides the Reaſon of the Thing for intermixing both political and moral Reflections with Hiſtorical Facts; Many of the moſt celebrated Hiſtorians have taken this Method; And it may be queſtioned, whether there is one Hiſtorian extant in the World, of any Conſideration or Authority, in whom we may not diſcover ſeveral Exemplifications of it?

And what indeed can be a more proper Method of inſtructing Men, if Inſtruction is really the main End of Hiſtory, than by drawing for their Vſe, the Rules of Life, from ſuch Characters or Events as have really happened in Life? Even fabulous Hiſtories have been publiſhed upon a View of Promoting moral Virtue, and the common Duties and Intereſts of ſocial Life, with good Succeſs. But the Impreſſion from Facts, that have really occurred, and from former living Examples, eſpecially of great and eminent Perſons, who are the principal Subjects of Hiſtory, muſt neceſſarily operate, when well and ſeaſonably applied, with much greater Force.

Yet if any Perſon will ſtill prefer a ſimple and dry Narrative of Facts as more agreeable to the ſtrict critical Rules of writing Hiſtory, I would not be thought to preſcribe to Him. He is under no Neceſſity, after this Premonition, of Proceeding to read a Work, which he muſt neceſſarily be obliged to condemn.

With Reſpect to the Principles of Religion, *I have induſtriouſly avoided all Appearances of Dogmatiſing, whenever I have had Occaſion to mention ſuch controverted Points, which do not directly, or by neceſſary Conſequence, affect the Church, conſidered* as *a Society. But under that Notion of it, I apprehended a more free and open Declaration of thoſe Principles, without which the Eccleſiaſtical State cannot ſubſiſt, abſolutely neceſſary. For how great Indulgence ſoever may be granted to Men in reſpect of ſpeculative Opinions or Doctrines, which do not viſibly tend to deſtroy Peace and Order in the Chriſtian Society; yet if we argue from the Deſign of God in founding that Society, except the Rules of preſerving Peace and Order in it are ſufficiently aſcertained, this Conſequence, which by no Means ought to be admitted, will follow; that God, in his laſt Revelation of his will to Mankind, has propoſed an End, which he has not afforded to them any competent or ſufficient Means of Attaining.*

What I here principally intend may perhaps appear in a ſtronger Light, if applied to the Nature and Conſtitution of civil Communities. As to ſuch Opinions of Men, wherewith the Rights and Interſts of the State are not affected, they are generally at Liberty to follow and profeſs their private Opinion. Nay Men are every Day permitted to debate the Senſe of the Laws in Force, and to divide in their Opinion concerning it, before the proper Judges of the Laws, and ſometimes before the Legiſlature it ſelf. But ſhould any Number of Men pretend to deny the Title of the Prince, the Juriſdiction of the Court, or the Legality of the Conſtitution it ſelf; and ſhould thereupon openly contend, that ſome other Form of Government ought to be introduced, and then actually endeavour to introduce it; No Society, upon Earth, could long or regularly ſubſiſt, that ſhould grant a Toleration to thoſe, who ſhould ſo openly contemn and oppoſe the Authority of it. In ſhort, no Number of Men ever were, or ever will be acknowledged as true Members of any regular Society, who pretend to govern themſelves independently of it; or in Oppoſition to the Authority of thoſe, who have a Right to preſide in it. Thus with reſpect to the ſeveral Doctrines of Religion, Chriſtians, who err in the Simplicity of their Hearts, may innocently divide in Opinion; But as they have not, neither is it reaſonable they ſhould have, the ſame Liberty, with reſpect to the Terms of Communion; or to thoſe ſocial Duties, which are abſolutely neceſſary to preſerve the Peace, and Order of the Chriſtian Community. Otherways the Church cannot be, what the Prophet has repreſented it; The City, which Men call the Perfection of Beauty, the Joy of the whole Earth.

This gives us an Idea of the Church worthy of his Wiſdom and Goodneſs, by whom it was founded. An Idea agreeable to thoſe Sentiments of it, which we find in all the learned and genuine Members of the Church of England, *from the Time of the Reformation. And by adhering to which great Numbers of Proſelytes have been continually made to it from Popery. But conſidering certain ſtrange and capricious Notions lately advanced, which repreſent the Church not as a City at Unity with it ſelf, but as a* Kingdom *divided* againſt it ſelf, *it is leſs Matter of Surpriſe, that ſo many Converſions have been made to Popery; even under all the Pains and Penalties, and Diſqualifications, inflicted upon Perſons of that Communion. Whether it be from a pretence, that Men will chuſe to be of a bad Religion, rather than of no Religion; and ſooner unite themſelves to a Society, where Order and Diſcipline are maintained by a ſtated Authority; than to a Society, if it be poſſible to form any regular Notion of ſuch a Society, which is governed by no* Authority? *Without entering into a Diſcuſſion of ſuch abſtruſe Notions, I ſatisfy my ſelf in ſuperſtructing, according to my mean Abilities, upon the Foundation which the Apoſtle has laid; where he declares, that* God is a God of Peace, and not of Confuſion, in all the Churches of the Saints. *And He, who knows how to deduce a Train of juſt Conſequences from this plain Truth, may eaſily anſwer, and in a narrow Compaſs, the numerous Volumes, that have been written, with a Deſign of ſubverting all Eccleſiaſtical Order.*

In ſpeaking of the Authority, wherewith the Church of Chriſt upon Earth is veſted, I have thought it incumbent on me to aſſert the Dignity, and eſpecially the Succeſſion of the Chriſtian Prieſthood. For towards the Support of any ſtanding Society, it is principally requiſite, that they who ar to adminiſter and officiate in it, ſhould ſucceed regularly to their Charge. And, therefore, all wiſe Governments, to prevent thoſe Diſorders, which may happen, in caſe of a controverted Title, or any tumultuary Election, have been particularly careful to determine the Method of Succeſſion; and to ſpecify what Perſons are to ſucceed, and according to what proper Qualifications. This is juſtly conſidered as a Point of the higheſt Wiſdom and Importance in all human Conſtitutions. And yet the allwiſe God is profanely *repreſented, as having founded a Society, wherein he hath deſigned certain ſelect Perſons ſhould adminiſter and officiate; and at the ſame time, to have made no certain Appointment, what Perſons ſhould be authorized to ſucceed, and how their Powers ſhould be conveyed, or by what Hands?*

To obviate a prejudice ſo derogatory to the Honour and Wiſdom of God, I have in particular aſſerted the Rights of the Epiſcopal Order; thoſe Rights, which the Clergy ought not to give up, or by a Criminal and inſidious Silence, to ſuffer, that others ſhould give up, without being found falſe Witneſſes to God.

Yet it has been my conſtant Endeavour to do Juſtice to the Character of all Perſons, without Regard to their private Opinions, true or falſe; or to *the Intereſts of any Party civil or religious. I have not Concealed the Vices of the Cardinal, where-ever he appeared to be charged with them upon good or ſufficient Grounds. I ſhall rather perhaps, even by ſome of his Enemies, be thought to have done an Injury to his Memory, by repreſenting him as an* Uſurper *of the Biſhoprick of* Tournay, *before the Biſhop Elect of that Place, was legally or canonically deprived. But if I have ſaid any Thing upon that, or any other Occaſion, derogatory to the Juſt Rights of the civil Magiſtrate, with reſpect to the Deprivation or Election of Biſhops, I ſhall very readily, upon Conviction, acknowledge my Errour. Biſhop* Burnet *cites a Paſſage with Approbation that may, on this Occaſion, be very properly apply'd, wherein the Author has delivered himſelf with a Freedom and Spirit, that might have become the Ardor of a* primitive *Father. Speaking concerning the Concordate made by* Francis *with* Leo *the Tenth. He hath the following Words.* “ *By this the Church of* France “ *from being a Queen, became, as Biſhop* Gaudeau *expreſſes it, a* Slave; “ *And he adds, our Fathers have groaned and all that love the* Order *of* “ *the Houſe of God will ſtill groan, as long as Elections continue to be put* “ *down; And we muſt needs enter into the Sanctuary by way of the Court.* “ *Theſe Promotions have been always fatal to the Church. And the Bi*“*ſhops, that the Court has made, have been* ordinarily *the* chief *Advancers* “ *of Schiſm, Hereſies, and of the* Oppreſſion *of the Church. One cannot* “ *read* Nazianzen's *Verſe of the Prelates of his Time, without being ſtruck* “ *with* Horrour, *and forced to acknowledge, that a ſecular Temper is entirely* “ *contrary to the Epiſcopal Spirit. Princes chuſe ſuch Men for that Charge,* “ *which may be their* Slaves, *and in all things obſequious to what they pre*“*ſcribe; who may lye at their Feet, and have not ſo much as a Thought* “ *contrary to their Commands.* Introd. to the 3d Vol.

But notwithſtanding any Cenſure, I have freely paſſed upon the Cardinal's Conduct, where there appeared juſt Cauſe of making it, I have endeavoured in ſeveral Inſtances, to vindicate him from ſuch Calumnies, wherewith he hath been unjuſtly traduced by others. And upon this Account, the following Work will perhaps be thought more apologetical than may conſiſt with the Idea of a juſt Hiſtory. But the falſe Judgements, that have been made of the Cardinal by Writers of both Parties, rendered ſuch a Method more neceſſary, and all candid Readers, if they cannot ſtrictly approve, will, for that Reaſon, be more inclined to excuſe it. However I had rather ſuffer Reproach for having offended againſt the Laws of Criticiſm, or becauſe I have gone a little out of my Way from Motives of Humanity and Juſtice, than have had the Reputation of Writing a more correct Hiſtory according to thoſe ſtrict Rules which would have obliged me to reſiſt and ſtifle thoſe Motives. If I have erred as to this particular, my Error has been on the charitable Side, and I will make no farther Apology for it.

In drawing all my other Character, I have conformed to the ſame Rule; and kept to the good natur'd Side, as they call it, where I apprehended there was any Ground for following ſo natural an Impulſe. But Truth ought not to *be ſacrificed, againſt the plain Evidence of Things, to any Conſiderations whatever. And therefore where I have been obliged, in Regard to it, to relate Facts, or to mention perſonal Qualities, which I ſhould otherways have been inclined to diſſemble or conceal, I have carefully avoided all harſh and ſhocking Expreſſions: In which there is ſomething indeed ſo unſuitable to the Character of an Hiſtorian, who is obliged to have the Manner of a Court continually in his Eye, that they cannot be endured, even when we ſpeak concerning the meaneſt People, or any Facts of ordinary Occurrence. The delicate Ear and polite Taſte of the Age will not ſuffer them on any Account. But they are no where more inſupportable and unbecoming than in Clergymen, whoſe Profeſſion obligeth them, on all Accounts, to the ſtricteſt Meaſures of Decency, and who are preſumed, from the Advantages of a learned and ingenuous Education, to underſtand the Rules of writing juſtly, and to judge with Candour. If ſome Writers of this Order, have been at any time ſo far tranſported beyond the* calm *and* ſedate *Temper proper to them, that they have uſed an Aſperity of Stile, accompanyed with an Emotion inconſiſtent with ſuch a Temper, this may be aſcribed to a mere Exceſs of Zeal for ſome particular neceſſary Article, for which they thought it incumbent on them to contend more earneſtly. It is however more deſirable, that the Clergy in their Writings would treat all Perſons, and eſpecially one another with Candour, and the Spirit of Meekneſs. This would be an excellent Means of preventing one Occaſion of an unjuſt Prejudice againſt the Clergy, wherewith we have often known them publickly reproached, as if they, who ſhould be preſumed to have the moſt generous, the moſt open, and extended Views; ſhould yet frequently appear to be acted with a more ſelfiſh, mean, and contracted Spirit.*

If I have been any where miſtaken in relating Matters of Fact, or in forming wrong Conſequences from them, to the Prejudice of Truth, and eſpecially to the Character of any Perſon or Perſons incidentally mentioned by me, I deſire, to aſſure the Reader my Errour hath never proceeded from any formed or ſiniſter Deſign, but from Want of better Information, from Weakneſs or Ignorance, or ſome other Inſtance of human Frailty, to which he may think fit to impute it, rather, than from any Motive in it ſelf really Criminal. And having in the firſt Book made an Inſinuation, as if the ignominious Vſage Mr. Wolſey *met with from Sir* Amias Pawlet, *might poſſibly have proceeded from ſome particular Prejudice of that Knight to his Order; tho' this was only a bare and diſtant Suppoſition, yet I readily acknowledge it ought not to have been made, concerning a Perſon, from whoſe general Character I could have no certain Grounds to make it; and whoſe Deſcendents have ſucceſſively had the Reputation of diſtinguiſhing themſelves with a laudable Zeal, for the Rights and Dignity of the ſacerdotal Function.*

There is another Miſtake, which tho' it doth not affect the Character of the Perſon, whom my Authorities have mentioned under the Name of Sir John Nefant *yet ought to be rectified. The Name of the Knight here deſigned was* Nanſan, *a Gentleman of* Worceſterſhire, *not as I ſuppoſed of* Somerſetſhire, *his Seat being upon the Borders of* Herefordſhire. *His Arms as I have*

I have been informed by a good Hand, may ſtill be ſeen in the Windows of the Hall of that Seat, and ſeveral of his Deſcendents are now living.

I ſhall always be ready to acknowledge and correct any other Miſtake, wherewith I may be chargeable, either concerning Perſons, Facts, or Principles. Truth, is what I ſeek; what I deſire to prefer, and to which I ſhall never repent either of my having made any Sacrifice, or of expoſing my ſelf to any future Cenſure; which yet I am ſenſible, from the Liberty I have taken in receeding from certain common modern Opinions, I ſhall, with ſome Perſons, be in Danger of incurring. I have endeavoured to confute ſuch Opinions, which, however popular, appeared to me ill founded, without paſſing any uncharitable Cenſure upon thoſe, who adhere to them. If I may, at any Time, be thought to have expreſſed my ſelf with more Severity againſt particular Perſons, on Account of ſome erroneous Perſuaſion, I ſhall only be ſuſpected to have done it, where a Defence of the ſtanding inviolable Principles of Morality became neceſſary; or the true and ſolid Foundations, upon which alone the Civil and Eccleſiaſtical State can be Eſtabliſhed, were in Danger of being ſubverted. In ſuch Caſes, if in any, a greater Aſperity of Expreſſion, which yet I am not Conſcious I have any were uſed, would have been at leaſt more excuſable by thoſe, who have any true Regard for the Intereſts of moral Virtue, of the Common-wealth, or of Religion.

Thirdly, The Materials wherewith I have been ſupplied. To theſe the Reader will be particularly referred. The greateſt Number of them were taken from the Bodleian and Cottonian Libraries; many of them out of a Manuſcript Volume of Letters and Negotiations from that of Yelverton; which I have had the continual Vſe of, by Favour of the Right Honourable the Earl of Suſſex; the Noble Lord, to whom my moſt humble Acknowledgments are made in the Account annexed concerning my Deſign in this Work, which was formerly printed. I had alſo, through the Permiſſion and Goodneſs of his Grace the Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury, free Acceſs to a very valuable Collection of Diſpatches in Manuſcript in the Library at Lambeth, ſeveral of which are both in that of Lord Suſſex; and the Harleyan Library, to which rich Treaſure of Learning and Antiquity, I had alſo an Opportunity, at any Time of having Recourſe. Neither ſhould I omit to mention that I was favoured with a Permiſſion to conſult ſeveral Libraries in the two Vniverſities; but muſt ſatisfy my ſelf with a general Acknowledgement of the great Civilities which I received from many Perſons of Diſtinction, and from private Friends, in both Places; who readily afforded me all the Aſſiſtances for which I applied; and directed me to many, for which I ſhould not otherways have any Thoughts of applying. As to particular Perſons, who were pleaſed to oblige me with any conſiderable Informations relating to my Deſign, I have on proper Occaſions, reſpectively made my Acknowledgements to them. But I ſhould eſpecially incur the Reproach of being ungrateful, If I were not to mention how much I have been aſſiſted by the diligent and faithful Collections of Mr. Maſter in Manuſcript, belonging to Jeſus College in Oxford, of which by the favourable Conceſſion of that Society, I have had the conſtant Vſe here in Town. Lord Herbert ap-

pears to be indebted for a good Part of his Hiſtory to thoſe Collections. In the Original Copy of that Hiſtory preſerved in the ſame Library, and which, for ſome time, was alſo in my Cuſtody, I obſerved ſeveral Remarks, Interlineations and Additions in Mr. Maſter's *Hand. Yet his Lordſhip has either omitted ſeveral Things, which appeared to me very material in that Collector's Extracts; or they have been inſerted by him, after his Lordſhips Hiſtory was finiſhed. I think it incumbent on me here to obſerve, that I have often cited* Mr. Maſter *as a good Authority, without conſulting the Original from which he Copyed; or ſearching the Offices out of which he collected; Having found on all the Occaſions which I took of comparing him with* Mr. Rymer, *that he was very juſt and exact in all his Tranſcripts. There is no Neceſſity for my mentioning what Notices I have received from the common printed Hiſtorians, concerning the Tranſactions of the Time to which I confine my ſelf. Had I enlarged my Plan in the Method purſued by ſome of them, and deſcended to thoſe minute Circumſtances, wherewith they abound, relating to the Ceremonial obſerved at Enterviews, Proceſſions, Tilts and Tournaments, Inſtead of one Volume, I could eaſily have compoſed ſeveral. I was ſo far indeed from wanting Materials of any kind, except the Original Legatine Powers of the Cardinal, that the greateſt Difficulty I found was in reducing thoſe, wherewith I was furniſhed, upon more important Subjects, into a proper Compaſs. I have even been obliged to abridge (which was one Reaſon of my delaying the Publication of this Work longer than I deſigned) ſeveral Chapters which I had prepared for the Preſs, and to omit ſeveral Paſſages in the Life, and ſeveral Records in the Collections, which I had deſigned to inſert. I have alſo omitted in order to keep my ſelf within Bounds, to make uſe of ſeveral Informations from particular Friends, that would have been very acceptable to the Publick. Who yet I hope upon this Acknowledgement will pardon that Omiſſion, which I could not have otherwiſe pardoned to my ſelf. This Volume after all conſiſts of a much greater Number of Sheets, than can according to common Computation be afforded at the Price of the Subſcription, and eſpecially including the Charge of the Prints; which for Reaſons, wherein I am not concerned, were not, or could not be finiſhed within the Time propoſed for Publication of this Book: To which Occaſions for the Delay of it, I ſhall only add, that I waited a conſiderable Time for the Cardinal's firſt Legatine Powers from* Rome, *which I did not at laſt receive; but I the leſs regret that Diſappointment, as I found Copyes of ſeveral ſubſequent Powers in* Mr. Rymer, *which are very probably of the ſame Import, as to the main Articles of them, with his firſt Powers.*

But, tho' I have not wanted a ſufficient Number of Materials to give that Extent to my Work, which was originally deſigned; I am ſenſible, it would have been much more perfect, If I had embraced the Opportunity which a very learned Prelate now in Exile generouſly offered to me of compiling it, in his Houſe: The World might then have expected a Compoſition, that I ſhould not have been ſuffered to publiſh, without thoſe Advantages, which would at leaſt have given a Sanction very favourable to it. I ſhould, under ſuch a Direction, not only have had the Benefit *of many curious and deep Reſearches into Eccleſiaſtical Antiquity, but of the beſt and moſt uſeful*

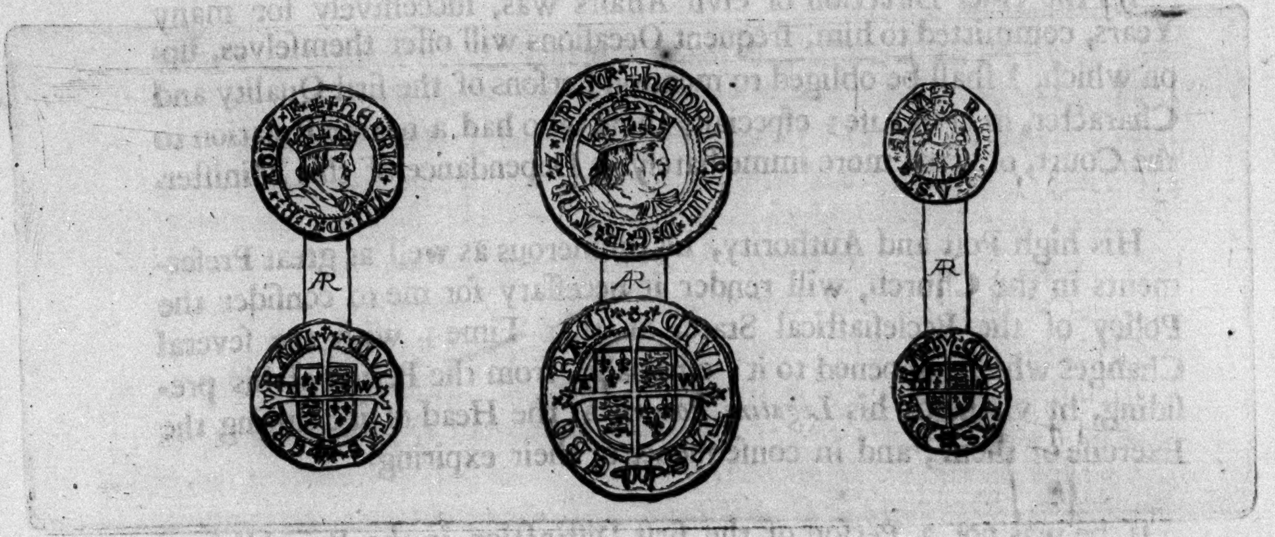
Inſtructions, both in reſpect to the Matter and the Conduct of my Work. But as ſome Accidents rendered it impracticable for me to accept an Offer that appeared equally advantagious, and honorary to me, I had not thoſe Aſſiſtances, which were expected from a Perſon, able, as I had Grounds to believe, above any other, to direct me in a Work, which He had ſometime Thoughts of undertaking himſelf.

I ſhall not incur any Cenſure for paying a Debt of Gratitude to a learned Prelate, under his preſent Circumſtances; or for celebrating thoſe great Talents, wherein, as a Perſon of Capacity and Letters, his moſt inveterate Enemies will allow him to excel. And the Principles which I have here, and upon all Occaſions advanced, muſt, I aſſure my ſelf, neceſſarily free me from all poſſible Suſpicion of having a Deſign, to ſay or ſuggeſt any thing, that may have the leaſt Tendency to favour Sedition or Diſloyalty in any Kind. But it is ignoble and unjuſt, becauſe Men are charged with high Crimes, either to refuſe them thoſe grateful Acknowledgments which are due to their beneficial Actions, or to deny their extraordinary and diſtinguiſhing Abilities, on other Accounts.

4. *Laſtly*, **The Defects ſtill to be ſupplied.** *It is evident from what has been ſaid above, that this Account of Cardinal* Wolſey's *Life is far from being of equal Extent with the Subject. A Subject, which takes in as great a* Variety *of important and memorable Events for the Space of twenty Years, as perhaps ever happened in the ſame Compaſs of Time, ſince the Creation of the World. So that a Work of this Nature, if the Plan of it were laid as wide, as the Materials that may be found to conſtruct upon it, might admit, would be too much enlarged for any one Perſon to undertake. Much leſs could I apprehend my ſelf, under ſo many Diſadvantages and Defects, equal to ſuch a vaſt Deſign. I was willing notwithſtanding to ſay ſomething, tho' after a very imperfect Manner, concerning a born Subject of this Nation, to whom the learned World is ſo much indebted, if not more indebted than to any other Patron of Learning in any Nation. I ſhould think my ſelf however ſufficiently rewarded, if what I have ſaid might contribute to excite any abler Hand to do Juſtice to the Subject. And who ſo proper for ſuch a Work, as ſome Member of that learned and flouriſhing Society, which Cardinal* Wolſey *himſelf founded, and which hath continually produced Perſons of the greateſt Abilities for learned Undertakings, in every Kind. Till ſomething of that Nature be attempted, I may poſſibly take an Opportunity of putting the Materials, I have by me, and which could not for the Reaſons I have given be at preſent employed, into ſome regular Form. And I ſhould then make it my Endeavour to obſerve and correct any former Faults, which may have been committed by me, either through Miſtake, or for want of better Information. No Perſon can oblige me more, than by a free and ingenuous Diſcovery of any Error or other Defect, which may deſerve his Notice. And when I am favoured with any Repreſentation of this Kind, I ſhall ſhew that Regard to it, which becomes a Lover of Truth; and promiſe to give up any thing, which I cannot ſupport upon good and evident Reaſon.*

But I ſhall not detain the Reader any longer in this Place; where I deſignedly omit ſeveral Things, that might properly have been mentioned. Yet the Omiſſion of which he may, if he thinks fit, in ſome Meaſure ſupply, by peruſing the following Account mentioned before, concerning my Deſign, and Method in this Work.

Prints of certain Coins, from different Preſſes of the Cardinal, at York, *and* Durham; *each of which, exhibits the Cardinal's Hat, with the initial Letters of his Name.*



End of the Introduction.

Some ACCOUNT *of this* WORK *formerly publiſh'd.*

THE principal Deſign of HISTORY is to repreſent the Characters of Men; the State of Religion and Learning; the Importance and Variety of Cauſes, of Counſels and Events, in the publick Adminiſtration.

The Life of Cardinal WOLSEY, tho' reducible in a ſtrict Senſe, under that Diſtinction or particular Branch of Hiſtory, which is termed *Biography*, does yet neceſſarily take in theſe ſeveral Particulars, and render them the proper Subjects of Inquiry to the Hiſtorian.

As the chief Direction of civil Affairs was, ſucceſſively for many Years, committed to him, frequent Occaſions will offer themſelves, upon which, I ſhall be obliged to mention Perſons of the firſt Quality and Character, in civil Life; eſpecially thoſe who had a nearer Relation to the Court, or acted more immediately in Dependance of this Miniſter.

His high Poſt and Authority, his numerous as well as great Preferments in the Church, will render it neceſſary for me to conſider the Policy of the Eccleſiaſtical State, at that Time; with the ſeveral Changes which happened to it; eſpecially, from the Period of his preſiding, by virtue of his *Legatine Powers*, at the Head of it; during the Exerciſe of them; and in conſequence of their expiring.

If he was not a Perſon of the firſt Diſtinction in the Republick of Letters, it may, however, be truly affirmed, he did not want a competent Degree of Learning to qualify him for a juſt and honourable Diſcharge of thoſe important Offices, which he ſuſtained, both in Church and State. It muſt be acknowledged, at leaſt, that he was one of the greateſt Patrons of Learning, which this, or any other Nation has produced.

The Reaſon of my doing this Juſtice to his Memory, will appear from the ample and opulent Foundations of his two Colleges; from ſeveral Lectures founded by him in the Univerſity of *OXFORD*, and the Methods which he employed, with Succeſs, in order to reſtore the GREEK TONGUE in that ancient Seat of Learning: To which I may add, his Deſign, a Deſign worthy of a great *Mind*, to cauſe all the Manuſcripts in the *Vatican* to be tranſcribed, for the Service of his Country.

Yet he has left us no printed Remains, except a ſhort Preface, before one of the firſt Editions of *Lily*'s Grammar, compoſed by him, for the

Uſe of his School at *Ipſwich*, which will be added in the *Appendix.* That Part of Learning, which he is ſaid principally to have cultivated, was *Theological* and *Scholaſtick*; yet, he does not affect, in any of his Letters, whereof I have a pretty large Collection, to diſcover the leaſt Tincture of his Converſation with the *Schoolmen*; but ſeems wholly to confine himſelf in them, whether as a Miniſter or a Prelate, a Patron or a Friend, to his proper Character, and the Buſineſs before him, without ſeeking Occaſions, out of his Way, of ſhewing his Erudition, in any Kind.

If ſome of his Letters are interſperſed with *Latin* Phraſes, or, perhaps, with whole Periods, in that Language, we are not to attribute it to any particular Affectation in him of Writing after that Manner; but to the Poverty of his native Tongue; and to a Practice, which, for that Reaſon, might then more commonly obtain. A Practice, now exploded, on Account of the many Improvements, which have been ſince made both in reſpect to the Strength, and the Beauty of the *Engliſh* Diction.

Whatever his Qualifications were, in his Capacity of a *Scholar*, it appears to have been his principal End in the ſeveral Preferments, which he poſſeſſed in the Church, to appropriate the Revenues ariſing from them, not towards aggrandiſing his private Family; but for the Benefit of the Church; in particular, by giving ſuch Encouragement to Learning and learned Men, as might contribute moſt effectually to do real Honour, and Service to Religion.

The Conſideration, therefore, of the State of Learning, at that Time, eſpecially, in both our famous Univerſities, with ſome Account of ſeveral learned Men reſiding in them, and in other Parts, will have a direct and viſible Connection with his Hiſtory.

It is further requiſite in a Hiſtorian to conſider, in all the Variety of them, thoſe obvious, and ſo far as they are really diſcoverable, thoſe ſecret Cauſes, to which the Actions, that he relates, owe their Origin. Theſe Cauſes are ſuch as ariſe either from the external Motives of Intereſt, Ambition, Honour, or Reſentment; or from thoſe, which in contradiſtinction to them, are reputed internal, as operating more directly, from the Impulſe of natural Temper, and Inclination; or from the Force of ſome reigning and habitual Paſſion. *Tacitus* is allowed to excel in diſcovering and happily deſcribing the former of theſe Motives to human Action; *Saluſt* in accounting, after a juſt and elegant Manner, for the Latter of them. Certain Facts which I ſhall be obliged to recite, are ſo important, and reſolveable into ſo many important Motives, that they will afford proper and ample Matter of Reflection, in both reſpects.

In examining, amidſt this Variety, what the main and original Springs of Action were, I have conſulted the beſt Hiſtories of the Time to which I confine my ſelf, that are extant, with ſeveral other curious Memoirs, not yet publiſhed. In ſome Caſes, where the Evidence, as to the true Cauſe, was leſs clear or perſuaſive, I have taken the Liberty of making probable Conjectures; which a Hiſtorian has, I conceive, a Right to do; provided, he propoſeth them only *as* Conjectures, from which the Events ſuppoſed to follow may be deduced after a natural and juſt Manner.

It is difficult, in many Caſes, to aſſign the true Motives, upon which private Men act, or form the Rules of their Conduct. But the Difficulty is ſtill much greater, in accounting for the ſecret Movements of State, which depend upon foreign, and ſometimes upon very remote Influences, and an intricate Combination of Intereſts. In ſuch Caſes, there is a Neceſſity of conſidering *final Cauſes*, if we would be qualified to make a right Judgement, concerning the Intention of thoſe, who ſit at the Helm of Affairs. And as we know by the Effects, and by them only, in many Reſpects; yet with a ſufficient Degree of Evidence, what the Sovereign Being, and Governour of the World intends, both in the Works of Nature and Providence; ſo we may frequently judge, with a Certainty that excludes all reaſonable Doubt, from many Events in civil Life, from what Principles they flowed, and what put the Agents of them originally in Motion.

But the greateſt Light into the Deſigns and Projects of State, is from private Letters and Inſtructions, the Knowledge of which will depend, where the Originals of them cannot be had, from authentick Copies. Theſe, with great Variety of which I have been ſupplied, afford the proper Materials for a true Hiſtory, and give it all the Advantage, both in reſpect to Uſe and Ornament, whereof it is capable.

It is obſervable, that the Cardinal, in all his Letters and Inſtructions, is very open and particular, if he was not rather too diffuſe. And though his Diction ſometimes appears negligent, and more ſo, than ſuits with the Dignity of his Character, intermix'd, according to the Cuſtom of that Age, with Sentences of *Latin*; yet his Senſe is always good, and full to the Purpoſe. He is particularly careful to expreſs himſelf, after a Manner which might prevent any ambiguous Conſtruction of his *Orders*; and ſeems to have abhorred that mean Artifice of miſleading foreign or ſubordinate Miniſters, by *doubtful Hints*, into Errors; dangerous, if Things ſhould not ſucceed well, to their own Safety or Reputation; but which, in caſe of ill Succeſs, would ſtill afford a ſecure Retreat to the Authors of them.

Tho' he had a prompt Wit, on any Emergency, and did not want Spirit; yet, in all his Diſpatches, he uſed thoſe Precautions which plainly diſcover, he was ſo far from affecting to *involve* Matters, merely for the Sake of making bold and dangerous Experiments, or for the Reputation of an extraordinary Addreſs and Dexterity, in *ex-*

tricating himſelf, in caſe they did not ſucceed. If ſome very great, and able Miniſters, have been more enterprizing upon ſuch a View, it may be queſtioned, whether, in this particular Inſtance, they did not rather give a Proof of their Courage, than of a conſummate Prudence.

As to *Events*, or Matters of Fact which are reported to have happened, it is more eaſy to judge, whether they really did happen, and in what manner. And yet the Accounts, which different Authors give, both in reſpect to certain Actions, and the Circumſtances of them, are ſo various, that there is ſometimes great Difficulty in reconciling them; and, in order to diſcover on which Side the Truth lies, we are obliged to queſtion the Fidelity of the Relators, and our Suſpicions concerning it, lead us, by Degrees, to queſtion the Truth of the Fact it ſelf. The only Way to free us from theſe Suſpicions, the Way I have endeavoured to take, is to conſult the beſt Authorities; to lay Things fairly together; to examine their ſeveral Circumſtances according to Evidence, and to That only: And when we have done, there is ſtill large Scope for Variety of Reflections upon the Tendency, the Importance, and Conſequences of them. As to which, the Hiſtorian is at Liberty, whether to render himſelf uſeful, or agreeable; provided his Obſervations are ſuch, as naturally ariſe from the Facts he has been conſidering, and are made with Candour and Honeſty; Qualities, of which all Authors make ample Profeſſion, but how juſtly, muſt be left to the Determination of their Readers.

This may be ſufficient to give the Reader a general Idea of my Deſign, and to ſhew, upon what Subjects I chiefly propoſe to entertain him. And, as ſomething has been occaſionally inſinuated, concerning the Means, which I have endeavoured to employ, towards proper Information in this great Work, it may now be convenient to obſerve, by what Meaſures I would principally regulate my ſelf, in the Purſuit, and Conduct of it.

The firſt Rule which I preſcribe to my ſelf, is, to conſider the real Character of thoſe Perſons, whom I ſhall have Occaſion to mention, without Regard to their different Opinions, or to any Cauſe, or Party whatever, to which they were differently attached. It is equally culpable in a Hiſtorian to throw Dirt upon all thoſe, who are not of his own Way; and to juſtify, perhaps to applaud his Friends, where they are not really defenſible. Many Hiſtorians, both of the Romiſh, and Reformed Perſuaſion, in accounting for that great Revolution, which happened in the Church, during the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth, are concerned in this Reflection. And, when it ariſes from a juſt Occaſion for it, the very End and Deſign of Hiſtory is, in great Meaſure, defeated. Where there is a notorious Partiality, in reſpect to the Perſons of Men, People will be very difficultly perſuaded, there can be any certain Dependance on the Relation of Facts; or that any Regard is to be had to the Conſequences drawn from them, but what invincibly diſcover themſelves by their own Light and Evidence. The Hiſtorian is no longer capable of adding the leaſt Weight or Authority to what he reports. If on one Hand we reproach the *Papiſts*, with the flagrant Calumnies and Falſifications of a *Harding* and a *Saunders*, they object to us, in Return, and upon the ſame Heads, the Works of *Fox* and *Bale*. On which Side ſoever the Advantage may lie in ſuch Recriminations, the Cauſe of Truth is not properly affected. The Reaſons for the Reformation ſtill ſubſiſt, whatever becomes of the perſonal Characters of thoſe, who have either written in Defence of the Perſons by whom it was promoted, or of thoſe who ſtrenuouſly, and with equal Zeal, oppoſed it. And though every Man has, notwithſtanding, a Right to be truly repreſented in his Character; yet that Right is founded in a common Principle of Juſtice, which is equally due on both Sides, and not in a partial Regard to the Credit, or Intereſts of either Side.

There are, we charitably hope, ſome Perſons who have Honour and Probity, of all Perſuaſions; Prejudices of Education, and Circumſtances of Life; Method of Study, or Choice of particular Books; Reaſons of Dependance and Gratitude; of Friendſhip and Alliance; of Hope and Fear; have too viſible a Power, if not of conſtraining us directly to make wrong Judgements, yet of propoſing Things in a falſe Light, that at laſt inſenſibly miſleads us into them. So that Perſons of many excellent and ſuperior Qualities, both intellectual and moral, are yet ſometimes obſerved to be moſt unhappy, not only in the Choice of their Party, of their Friends, and Converſation; but, where an Error in Choice is attended with moſt dangerous Conſequence, of their very *Religion*. We ought nevertheleſs duly to acknowledge to them thoſe good Qualities, wherein they excel; and they, who would confine all Merit within their own Pale, diſcover a Narrowneſs of Mind, which is not to be endured in private Converſation; but muſt neceſſarily deſtroy all Credit of a publick Hiſtory, by rendring it ſuſpected even to Perſons of the greateſt Candour and Ingenuity.

Yet I am ſenſible, a Hiſtorian that would avoid the common Defects, in this Kind, of thoſe, who have gone before him, muſt expoſe himſelf to many Inconveniences. I am not intimidated with any ſuch Apprehenſion. There is ſomething grateful and entertaining in reflecting upon the very Diſappointments which the Love of Truth has occaſioned, and That gives a generous Pleaſure, *or rather* a Taſte of celeſtial Pleaſure to the Mind, *which the World cannot give*. Whatever Rules other Hiſtorians have preſcribed to themſelves, I ſhall always deſire to follow the Light of Truth, and think it an Honour to be found the Laſt in her Retinue.

For this Reaſon, in particular, tho' *Cuthbert Tonſtal* Biſhop of *Durham*, vigorouſly oppoſed the Reformation, and lived and died in the

Communion of the Church of *Rome*, I acknowledge him to have been One of the greateſt Ornaments of that Age; whether we conſider him in the Capacity of a Gentleman, or a Scholar, of a publick Miniſter, or an Eccleſiaſtick of the firſt Order.

For the ſame Reaſon, tho' *Fox*, the Author of *The Acts and Monuments*, laboured very much, both in Defence of the Reformation, and of the chief Inſtruments by which it was promoted, I ſhall not think my ſelf obliged to vindicate him, where his Zeal carried him to any Exceſſes, that either diſcovered too great Partiality to the Reformed, or too violent a Prejudice againſt thoſe, who oppoſed the Reformation.

Truth, in her native Simplicity, is too amiable to need any falſe Colours; which ſerve only, at the Beſt, when they are taken off, to ſhew Falſehood more odious and *deformed*. And therefore, I cannot think, with all Submiſſion to ſome great Names in our hiſtorical Libraries, that to blacken or applaud Men becauſe they were of this or that Side of the Queſtion, and for no other Reaſon, has really done any true Honour or Service to the reformed Religion.

What have either the perſonal Vertues or Vices of Men to do, in a ſtrict and impartial Search after Truth? The Grounds of the Reformation are the ſame, whether the Conduct and Spirit of *Martin Luther*, admit of a juſt Vindication or not. And whether he, or *Henry* the Eighth, might be more juſtly compared to a *Poſtilion in his waxed Boots and oiled Coat, laſhing his Horſes through thick and thin, and beſpattering all about him.* Though Biſhop *Burnet*, in the Preface to his Hiſtory of the Reformation, where he cites this Simile, from an *ingenious Author*, thinks it more applicable to *that* Prince; and I ſhall not diſpute the Grounds of his Opinion.

Wicked Men are very often ſubſervient to the Deſigns of God, in effecting the wiſe and good Ends of his Providence. It is his peculiar Glory to bring Good out of Evil, and Order out of Confuſion. Were ſome of the greateſt Revolutions in the World, to depend upon the perſonal Motives, Characters, or Conduct of the principal Agents, it would be much more difficult to account for them upon any true Principles, either of Piety, or Juſtice.

God forbid, that ever the Intereſts of Religion ſhould depend on any Qualifications, good or bad, of particular Men in any Station of Life. And yet, *problably*, for which Reaſon I have inſiſted longer on this Article, it was with a falſe View of doing ſome Service to the reformed Religion, that the Memory of Cardinal *Wolſey*, whoſe Power and Poſt in that Church, which oppoſed it, was ſo great, has been moſt injuriouſly treated.

Another Rule, which I have preſcribed to my ſelf, is, to keep as much as poſſible, in controverted Points, to the Character of a *Hiſtorian*; eſpecially, in reſpect to thoſe three great Articles, which I ſhall be obliged to conſider after a more copious and diſtinct Manner; The Supremacy; the *Divorce*; the Power of alienating Lands, that have been appropriated to pious or religious Uſes. I have neither Authority nor Inclination to dictate, upon theſe nice Points: And therefore ſhall endeavour to propoſe the Arguments and Facts relating to them, on both Sides, in the beſt Light I can, without pretending to interpoſe my private Opinion. I here diſclaim all Right to the Office, whether of a civil, or an eccleſiaſtical Judge. Let the Reader, as the Evidence on each Side appears more ſtrong or convincing, judge and determine for himſelf.

Yet, where the Nature of the Subject, or the Notoriety of any ill Action or Deſign, may require a more ſevere Cenſure, I ſhall not be afraid to expreſs my ſelf with a Zeal becoming my proper Character and Profeſſion. Satyr, when under a due Regulation, when employed with Decency, in a reſpectful, and where it is requiſite, in a diſtant Manner, may be of very good Uſe; and the Time and Tranſactions of which I write, will afford too much and too frequent Occaſion for the Uſe of it: Yet, it is far more agreeable and human to excuſe the Defects or vindicate the Honour of great Men, than to animadvert upon them for great Crimes. A particular Tenderneſs is due to the Memory of the Dead, who are no longer capable of making their own Defence; and, in whoſe Favour, Poſterity do not much affect to intereſt themſelves; eſpecially, concerning Matters, which have no Relation to preſent Diſputes, nor Correſpondency with any modern Schemes in the civil, or eccleſiaſtical State.

Setting theſe Conſiderations aſide, few Men have ſo great Regard for native Truth, as to give themſelves much Trouble in their Inquiries, concerning the real Character of thoſe, who have long ſince quitted the Stage of Life. Hiſtorians therefore, from a common Principle of Humanity and Juſtice, are to uſe greater Caution and Candour in the Judgement which they make of ſuch Perſons, whether in reſpect to their perſonal Qualities, or to their exterior Conduct.

In conſulting my Authors, I have, without calling any Man *Maſter*, had a due Reſpect to their Judgement, and the Reputation which they bear in the World. It has ever been my Care to repreſent their Senſe truly, tho' in my own Terms, where ſome ſpecial Reaſons did not oblige me to an *Exactneſs* in my Citations from them. I was willing my Work ſhould loſe ſome Embelliſhments, for the Sake of an even and uniform Stile; as to which, I think, Perſpicuity one of the greateſt Recommendations, eſpecially in relating Matters of Fact, where the Honour or Intereſts of any Perſon or of ſeveral Perſons may be affected, all Ambiguity of Expreſſion is highly culpable. I have upon this Conſideration, rather endeavoured to expreſs my ſelf in a clear and ſignificant, than in a ſublime Style; which, tho' it may appear to ſuit better with the Importance and Dignity of my Subject, is not not ſo inſtructive or uſeful to all Readers. I thought it incumbent on me to render a Work, which has received ſo general Encouragement, of as general Uſe as it was in my Power to make it. Some Parts of it relating to ſpeculative and controverted Points, being more dry and ſcholaſtick, it was neceſſary, in order to carry the Reader through them with leſs Difficulty and Trouble, that I ſhould render them, ſo far as I was able, more ſmooth and eaſy. Yet, where the Nature of my Subject required that my Style ſhould be more *maſculine* and *elevated*, I have endeavoured to expreſs my ſelf after a Manner proper to the Subject.

I have been no leſs careful to repreſent the Characters, than the Senſe of my Authors in a true Light. Where I found Reaſon to depart from them, I have done it with due Regard to their different Capacities and Stations in Life. If I am ſometimes ſo unhappy as to diſſent from the learned Author of *The Hiſtory of the Reformation*, it is not with any Deſign to detract from the Merit of that Work, which has met with ſo general Approbation; or, to leſſen the Eſteem which is due to a Perſon, diſtinguiſhed by many ſuperior Talents natural and acquired, and who ſeems to have wanted but one Qualification to entitle him to the firſt Rank, among the moſt celebrated Hiſtorians both antient and modern: But I took this Liberty out of pure Regard to Truth, and, I hope, with all the Decency that the great Diſtance at which I ſtand from a Perſon of his high Order, may juſtly require.

The Circumſtances of Time for which that learned Hiſtory appears to have been more eſpecially calculated, deſerve alſo to be conſidered. The popiſh Plot was then at the Height, which had put the Nation into ſuch a Ferment, and given People ſuch terrible Apprehenſions from a popiſh Succeſſor, that it was *convenient* Popery ſhould be dreſſed up in the moſt frightful Colours. Under ſuch Circumſtances, a ſtrong Zeal for the *Proteſtant* Religion might naturally occaſion ſome Warmths, and ſlight Overſights, which could not otherwiſe eaſily have eſcaped from ſo able a Writer, and ſo well furniſhed with the proper Means of Information.

I have preſumed to take the ſame Liberty, and upon the ſame Motive, in conſulting the excellent Hiſtory of *Henry* the Eighth, by Lord *Herbert*, one of the moſt perfect Works in its Kind that is extant. His Style is generous, clear, and manly; his Facts well choſen, and from the beſt Authorities; his Reflections proper and gentile: There is an Air of Quality in what he ſays, and he ſeems to write and think with equal *Freedom*. He diſcovers, for the moſt Part, great Impartiality: And tho' he ſometimes animadverts with Severity enough, upon the *Cardinal*, founding his Charge upon Matters of Fact, the Truth of which was thought ſufficiently eſtabliſhed by common *Fame* and

Belief: Yet, he frequently takes Occaſion to do Juſtice to him, in mentioning his great Qualities. Where that noble Lord, amidſt ſuch a Variety of Conſultations, Facts, and Events which he relates, appears to have committed any Miſtakes, I ſhall not be chargeable with Want of juſt Reſpect to his Character, in making, with all Submiſſion, ſuch Obſervations upon them, as are proper; and which his own free Way of Thinking and Writing may more particularly ſeem to authorize.

One Inſtance, relating to this Part of his Character, I ſhall beg Leave to obſerve, on Occaſion of the Speech he has publiſhed by Way of Anſwer to One which *Fiſher*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, had made in Defence of the Rights and Privileges of the Church: His Lordſhip has not informed us, where he found this Speech, from which moſt of our modern *Free-thinkers* ſeem to copy, or who was the Author of it. But I have diſcover'd a full and ſatisfactory Reply to it, with the Matter of which his Lordſhip might readily have been furniſhed out of the ſame Repoſitory where he had that Speech; tho', after his Lordſhip's Example, I have humbly taken the Liberty to put it in a modern Form.

I have alſo endeavoured to follow that noble Lord, in one Method of his excellent Hiſtory, by reducing, as much as poſſible, my Narrative into a juſt Series of Time; except in that Part relating to the Cardinal's more private Life, concerning which, we have very few Memoirs, and ſcarce any, but what we owe to Mr. *Cavendiſh*, one of his Domeſticks, who wrote his Life, the different Editions and manuſcript Copies of which I have, during that Period, conſulted: And have put Things in the Order according to which they then occurred, without being able to determine exactly, the Time when they happened, except in ſome few Inſtances.

Some of my Authors, who have ſet Things in a better Light, obſerved a more exact Method, and made more juſt and uſeful Obſervations, have yet a great many Defects to be ſupply'd, upon my Scheme, which is to write a compleat and *continued* Hiſtory of the Cardinal: And here, my great Aſſiſtance was expected from Mr. *Cavendiſh*; but the Account which he has given of his Patron, tho' in many reſpects highly valuable, is far from being ſo full or particular as might be deſired: And there is little or nothing conſiderable in it, relating to the Affairs of the Church or foreign Negotiations, of which this great Miniſter had, under the King, the principal, or rather, indeed, the ſole Direction.

So that in order to a more diſtinct and compleat Hiſtory of Cardinal *Wolſey*, than had hitherto been undertaken by any one Author, or even could be collected from all the printed Authors which are extant; It was neceſſary for me, and here lay the main Difficulty, to conſult whatever Memoirs in Manuſcript, I could have recourſe to, and from which I might receive any good or certain Intelligence.

I ſhall beg Leave, before I conclude, to take Notice of one Charge in particular lately communicated to me, ſo much to the Cardinal's Diſadvantage, that nothing can, or ought to be ſaid in his Defence, ſhould it, upon Enquiry, really appear to be well founded.

It is reported, then, and the Tradition is entred by a late Clerk of the Houſe of Lords in one of their Journals, that the Cardinal deſtroyed ſeveral *Records* of that Houſe.

But in Anſwer to this, I think, one of the moſt ſtrong negative Proofs may be alledged that any pretended Fact can, in any Caſe, be well ſuppoſed to admit. And that is, from the Silence concerning a Crime of ſo high a Nature, in the Articles of Impeachment againſt the Cardinal: Wherein the Advantage was taken of every little Eſcape in his Conduct, to inflame the Houſe; and ſeveral Things appear to have been mentioned merely with that Deſign, and rather by Way of an accumulative Charge, than as containing any juſt Matter of Accuſation, which could render him obnoxious to the Laws.

It is not probable; it is to the laſt Degree improbable; it is morally impoſſible; that the Enemies of the Cardinal, conſidering the Diſpoſition which the Houſe was in at that Time, would have omitted to charge him with a Fact, had there been any good Foundation for it, which concerned the Honour and Dignity of the Houſe; and to which no Anſwer could be given; which, therefore, muſt neceſſarily have affected the Cardinal more, than all the other Articles beſides, from which he was acquitted. I humbly propoſe it to be conſidered, Whether many other Imputations, under which the Cardinal's Memory hath ſuffered, and that do not even appear to be founded on any Tradition, written or oral, ſo plauſible as this, may yet have, at the Bottom, any better Grounds to ſupport them.

I thought my ſelf more indiſpenſably obliged to mention this Charge in Regard to the very worthy and learned Gentleman, by whom it was communicated to me, *John Anſtis* Eſq; *Garter* King at Arms; who has been pleaſed to favour me with ſeveral other curious Memoirs; and particularly, with his own Remarks, upon a Draught of the Houſe of Lords, as they Sat in the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth: Tho' I have not been able to obtain a Permiſſion for making the leaſt Acknowledgement of this kind to him. And therefore do not know, whether I ſhall ever be pardoned for adding what yet I cannot omit to mention, that he is at preſent himſelf preparing to publiſh an hiſtorical Work, which will be as much or more for the Honour of the *Engliſh* Nation, than any ſuch Work that hath been yet publiſhed; and which, for the vaſt Treaſure of Learning wherewith it is replete, will ſurpriſe the World; Eſpecially, as coming from a Gentleman of a Converſation perfectly free and diſengaged, and whoſe Time is ſo much employed in diſcharging the moſt friendly and ingenuous Offices of ſocial Life.

THE CONTENTS OF THE Life of Cardinal WOLSEY.

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Dixon William, *Eſq; in* Lincolns-Inn-Square.
Dilke *Mr.* William.
Dormer *the Honourable Brig.* James.
Donellan Nehemiah, *Eſq;**
Done Thomas, *Eſq;*
Dolben *the Reverend Sir* John, *Bar.**
Downing *the Rev. Mr. of* Enfield.
Drake Montague Gerard, *Eſq;**
Dungworth *the Reverend Dr.*
Durham *Library.*
Duncomb Anthony, *Eſq;**
Dubois *Mr.*

E.

The Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of Exeter.
The Lord Chief Baron Eyre.
Edgley *the Reverend Mr.*
Edgworth William *Capt.**
Edwards Robert, *Eſq;*
Edgworth *the Reverend Mr.*
Eggerton Holland, *Eſq;*
Ellis John, *Eſq;*
Ellis *the Reverend Mr.*
Emlyn *the Dean of*
Eyre *Mr.* John.
Eyre *Mr.* Charles.
Eyre *the Reverend Mr. Fellow of* All-Souls *College* Oxon.
Eyre *Mr.* Francis *A. M. Prebendary of* Sarum.

F.

The Right Honourable the Lord Foley.
Farington George, *Eſq;*
Fenwick Nicholas, *Eſq;*
Fellin *Dr. Rector of* Whitwell *in* Derbyſhire.
Finch *Mr. the Honourable and Reverend.*
Fitz-gerald *the Reverend Mr.* A. M.
Finch *Mr. the Honourable and Reverend Dean of* York.
Finley *the Reverend Dr.**
Fiddes *the Reverend* Tho. Machan *Fellow of* All-Souls *College* Oxon.
Foulkes *Reverend Dr.*
Fleetwood Henry, *Eſq;*
Fowlis, *Eſq;*
Forſter *Mrs.* Priſcilla.
Foley *Mr.* Auditor.
Friend *Dr.* John.*
Fry Gauntlet, *Eſq; of* Nether Haven *near* Sarum.
Fruin *Dr.* Richard.*
French Robert, *Eſq;*
Frinſham *the Reverend Mr.* Henry *of* Beaconsfield Bucks.
Frampton *Dr.* Mathew.*
The Honourable and Reverend Mr. Freak.
Foley Thomas, *Eſq;**
Friend John *Dr.**
Friend *the Reverend Dr.* Robert.
Friend *the Reverend Mr.**
Franks *Mr.* John.

G.

The Rt. Honourable the Lord Gower.
The Rt. Honourable the Lady Gower.
The Honourable Thomas Leveſon Gower, *Eſq;*
The Hon. Lady Betty Germaine.
The Honourable William Leveſon Gower, *Eſq;*
Gale *Mr.* Samuel.
Gay *Col.* Alexander.
Gay Robert, *Eſq;**
Gawton *the Reverend Mr.* A. M.

Genew William, *Eſq;* *
Gilbon William, *Eſq;* *
Glynn William, *Eſq;*
Gower *the Reverend Mr. of* Batterſea.
Gower William, *Eſq;*
Gordon *the Honourable Sir* William *of* Inver-Gordon, *Bar.* ||
Gouch *the Reverend Dr. Vice-Chan. of* Cambridge.
Goodwin James *Mr.*
Goodwin *the Reverend Mr. of* Heath.
Granvil *the Honourable Col.* ||
Greenhaugh Henry, *Eſq;*
Green *the Reverend Mr. of* Bermingham.
Groſvener Seth, *Eſq;*
Green *the Reverend Mr.* Steph. *Fel. of* Queen'*s College.*
Grandorg *the Reverend Dr. Preb. of* Canterbury.
Guynn Francis, *Eſq; Member of Parliament.* *

H.

Her Grace the Dutcheſs of Hamilton.
The Right Honourable the Counteſs of Harold.
The Right Honourable the Earl of Hallifax.
The Right Honourable the Earl of Henford. ||
The Right Honourable the Lord Frederick Howard.
The Rt. Honourable the Lady Howard.
The Right Honourable the Lord Viſcount Hatton.
The Right Honourable the Lady Viſcounteſs Hatton.
The Rt. Honourable the Lord Harley.
Hale *Sir* Richard. *
Hamilton Andrew, *Eſq;*
Hayward William, *Eſq; of the middle* Temple.
Harley *Mr.* Auditor. *
Hanmer *Sir* Thomas. *
Hawkins *Mr.* Merchant.
Hawkins John, *Eſq;*
Harding *Mr.* Samuel *Bookſeller.* ||
Hawkins George *Mr.*
Hale *Mr. Miniſter of* Beyford *in* Wilts.
Harriſon *Mr.*
Haldreſs *Sir* William. *
Hammond Bartholomew, *Eſq;*
Hart Robert, *Eſq;* *
Hammond Andrew, *Eſq;*
Hart Percival *Mr.*
Hayne *Mr.* Dan.
Harbin *the Reverend Mr.* ||
Hales John, *Eſq; of the* Inner-Temple.
Haddock *Mr.* A. B. *of* Brazen Noſe *College.*
Harper *Sir* John, *Bar.*
Hayes *Sir* Charles.
Hayes *Mr.*
Harcourt Simon *the Hon.* Eſq;
Heron Joſeph, *Eſq;*
Heron Henry, *Eſq;*
Hewet *the Reverend Mr. Rector of* Haſthill.
Heath *the Reverend Mr. Rector of* Eaſt Clandon Surrey. ||
Heyſham William, *Eſq;*
Higgs *the Reverend Mr. Preb. of* Worceſter.
Hill *the Honourable and Reverend.* *
Hill Samuel, *Eſq;*
Hill *Mr.*
Hill *Mr.* Langley.
Horn *the Reverend Mr. Curate of* St. Saviours.
Holland John, *Eſq;*
Holland *Mr.*
Houſton Thomas, *Eſq;*
Holdſworth *the Reverend Dr. Fellow of St.* John'*s College* Oxon.
Hopegood Andrew, *Eſq;*
Hodges John, *Eſq;*
Holjambe Francis, *Eſq;*
Holman Mark *Mr.*
Hooper *the Reverend Mr.* !
Hoare Elianor *Mrs.*
Holt *Sir* Charles, *Ba*
Holwell *Mr.* ||
Hunt Morris, *Eſq;* *
Hull, *Eſq;*
Huddesford *the Reverend Mr.* Will.
Hunt *Dr. Maſter of* Bal. *College* Oxon. *
Hutchinſon Edward, *Eſq;*
Hull Richard, *Eſq;*
Hudſon Emma Suſannah *Mrs.*
Hungerford John, *Eſq; Member of Parliament.*
Hughs Joſeph *Mr.*
Hudſon Thomas *Mr.*
Husband *Capt.*
Hubin *Sir* John, *Bar.*

I.

Jackſon *the Reverend Mr. Lecturer of* Bradford.
Jacob Hildebrand, *Eſq;*
Jackſon Gilbert, *Eſq;*
Ibbotſon *the Reverend Dr.*
Jeſus *College Library* Cambridge.
Jeffreys George, *Eſq;* *
Jenks *the Reverend Mr.*
Jefforth *Sir* William.
Jenkinſon *Sir* Robert Banks. *
Jennens, *Eſq;*
Jenkins *Mr.*
Ingliſh Alexander *Mr. of Trin. Hall.* Camb.
Innys William *and* John *Meſſ.*
Jones John, *Eſq;*
Joy James, *Eſq;* *
Johnſon *the Reverend Mr. Vicar of* Cranbrook Kent.
Jones *Mr.* A. M. *of* Baliol.
Jones Philip; *Eſq;* York Herald.
Jones John *Mr. L. L. B.*
Iſham *the Reverend Mr.* A. M. *of* Mag. *College.*
Juxon *Sir* William, *Bar.*

K.

His Grace the Duke of Kent. *
Kaye *Sir* Arthur, *Bar.* ‖‖
Kaye John, *Eſq;*
Keate *Sir* Henry Hoo, *Bar.*
Kellaway *Mr.* John.
Ken William *Mr.*
Kerr *the Reverend Mr.*
King *the Reverend Dr. Maſter of the* Charterhouſe.
Kings *College Library in* Camb. *
Kirby *Capt.* John.
King Edward *Mr.*
King Walter, *Eſq;*
King *Colonel.*
King *Dr. Prin. of St.* Mary Hall. *
King *the Reverend Mr.* James. *
Knight Richard *of* Languard, *Eſq;*
Knightly Walter, *Eſq;*
Knightly John, *Eſq;* *
Kynaſton William, *Eſq; Maſter in* Chancery.

L.

The Right Honourable the Earl of Lincoln.
The Right Honourable the Earl of Lowden.
The Right Honourable the late Lord Biſhop of London.
The Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of Lincoln.
Lawton Henry, *Eſq;*
Lawton John *Jun. Eſq;*
Lapels Edward *Mr. of* London. *
Lant John, *Eſq;*
Layney *the Reverend Dr. Archdeacon of* Wells.
Langley *Major.*
Lawſon George, *Eſq; of* Harſley.
Lambert *the Reverend Dr. Fellow of* St. John'*s College* Camb.
Lambert Thomas, *Eſq;*
Landen *the Reverend Mr.* John *of* Poplar *L. L. D.*
Lawrence *Mrs.* Katherine. *
Layney Henry *Mr.* M. A. *
Legard Barnaby, *Eſq;*
Leigh William, *Eſq;*
Leigh *the Reverend Mr.*
Legh *Mr. Gent. Com. of* Brazen Noſe *College.*
Le Neve Peter, *Eſq;* Norroy *King of Arms.*
Lehn *Mr.* Abraham *of* Copenhag. *
Levet *Mr.* A. M. *Fel. of* All-Souls C.
Leuke James *Mr.*
Lewis Eraſmus, *Eſq;* *
Lewis *Eſq;* *
Lewis *Mr.*
Levet *Mr. Gent. Com. of* Brazen Noſe. *
Levet *Mr.*
Leche *Mr. Fellow of* Brazen Noſe *College.*
Leigh *the Reverend Mr. Fellow Com.* C. C. *Oxon.*
Leake *Sir* Bebys, *Bar.*
Le Grand Lewis, *Eſq;* *
Levett *Capt.* John.
Leiceſter *Sir* Francis, *Bar.* *
Le Hunt *Mr. Student of* Chr. Ch. *
Liſter Thomas, *Eſq;* *
Liddell Charles, *Eſq;*
Liffer *the Reverend Mr.*
Lockwood Richard, *Eſq;*
Loggan *the Reverend Mr. Chancellor of* Sarum.
Lord *the Reverend Mr.* John.
Longueville Charles, *Eſq;* *
Lyddell Richard, *Eſq;*
Lynn Francis, *Eſq;*

Lupton *the Reverend Dr.*
Lumley *the Honourable General.*

M.

The Right Honourable the Earl of Macclesfield *Lord High Chancellor.*
The Right Honourable the Counteſs of Mar.
The Right Honourable the Lord Maſham.
Machel *the Reverend Mr. of* Mag. *College.*
Maſon *Mr. in* Buſh *Lane.*
Maroe *Mrs.*
Magick Avarella *Mrs.* *
Manley *Mrs.* *
Mangey *Dr.*
Martin Henry, *Eſq;* *
Maſon *the Reverend Mr.* Thomas *B. D.*
Martin Dennis, *Eſq;*
Maurice Edmund, *Eſq;*
Menkenius *Dr.* John Burchard, *Counſellor and Hiſtoriagrapher to the King of* Poland.
Mead *M. D.*
Mitchel *the Lady.* *
Miſt *Mr.* Nathaniel.
Middleton Robert, *Eſq;* *
Middleton *the Reverend Dr.*
Middleton George *Mr.*
Micklebourgh John *the Rev. Mr.*
Merril John, *Eſq; Member of Parl.*
Michel Richard *Mr.*
Morley George, *Eſq;* *
Morley John, *Eſq;*
Morice William, *Eſq; H. B. of* Weſtminſter. *
Moſs *the Reverend Dr. Dean of* Ely.
More Achiſon, *Eſq;*
Morley William, *Eſq;*
More *the Honourable and Reverend Dr.* *
Moſely Thomas *Mr.* *
Monck George, *Eſq;*
More *the Reverend Mr.*
Montgomery *Sir* Robert, *Bar.*
Myriel *the Reverend Mr. Rector of* Delling.
Mead Samuel, *Eſq;* *
Mead Joſeph, *Eſq;*
Meadly Samuel, *Eſq;* *

N.

The Right Honourable the Lord North *and* Grey.
Naſh *Mr. Subdean of* New Sarum.
Newton Michael, *Eſq; Member for* Bevon *Mr.* *
Naſh *Mr. of* Bath.
Neale Henry, *Eſq;* †
Nevile *the Reverend Mr.* Charles.
Nicholas *the Reverend Mr.*
Nicholas *Capt.* Edward.
Nicholls *Mr.* Richard. *
Northmore William, *Eſq;*
Northmore *Mr.*

O.

Her Grace the Dutcheſs of Ormond.
The Right Honourable the Earl of Orrery.
The Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of Oxford.
Oddy *the Reverend Dr.*
Oke Thomas, *Eſq;*
Oliver *the Reverend Mr.*
Oſborne Peter, *Eſq;*
Oſborne *Mr. of* Derby.
Oſbaldeſton *the Reverend Mr.*
Oſbourn John, *Eſq;*
Overbury Thomas, *Eſq;*
Owen *Mr. of* Bucklersbury. *

P.

His Grace the Duke of Portland.
The Right Honourable the Earl of Pembroke.
The Right Hon. the Earl of Pomfret.
The Right Honourable the Counteſs of Pomfret.
The Right Honourable the Lord Portmore.
The Right Honourable the Lord Percival.
Price *Mr.* Baron.
Page *Mr.*
Palmer *Sir* Jeffrey, *Bar.* *
Pannywell *Capt.* Thomas.
Palmer *Mr.* Samuel. *
Perrot Henry, *Eſq;* *
Peachy Bolſt, *Eſq;*
Perry Macaiah *Mr. Jun.*
Perry *Mrs.* Sarah.
Pembrook *Hall Library.*
Peck *Mrs. of* Stamford *Hall* Eſſex.

Pelling *the Reverend Dr.*
Phillips John, *Eſq;*
Phipps *Sir* Conſtantine, *Kt.* *
Pitts *Mr.* James *of* London.
Pinke Edward *Mr.*
Plummer Walter, *Eſq;*
Pole, *Eſq;*
Poulteney *the Hon.* William, *Eſq;*
Poole Henry, *Eſq; of* Kemble Gloſterſhire.
Powell *Sir* Herbert, *Bar.* *
Pownel William *of* Lincoln, *Eſq;*
Portmore *Mr.* *
Popple *Mr. Fellow of* Sid. *College.*
Praed William Mackworth, *Eſq;*
Preſton John, *Eſq; City Remem. of* London.
Provoſt Samuel, *Eſq;* *
Proven Edmund, *Eſq;*
Puleſton Allen, *Eſq;*

Q.

His Grace the Duke of Queensborough.

R.

The Right Honourable the Earl of Rochford.
The Right Honourable the Lord Romney.
Raleigh *Col.* Thomas. *
Rayner *the Reverend Mr.*
Raſhley Anthony, *Eſq;* *
Randolph *Mr.* Herbert *M. A. Fellow of* All-Souls *College.*
Radcliffe Alex. *Eſq;*
Read *Sir* Thomas, *Bar.*
Reland *the Reverend Mr.*
Revill Robert, *Eſq; of* Carnfield.
Richardſon George, *Eſq;*
Richardſon *the Reverend Mr. Rector of* All-Saints.
Richardſon John, *Eſq; of High* Featly.
Richard *Sir* Robert *of* Sunning Berkſhire.
Richards *Mr.*
Richardſon *the Reverend Mr. Archdeacon, and* Precentor *of* York.
Ring *the Reverend Mr.*
Rodwell *Capt.* Emanuel.
Robinſon Thomas, *Eſq;*
Robinſon *the Reverend Mr. of* Whitby.
Rooks Will. *Eſq; of* Rhodes Hall.
Robinſon Joſeph *Mr. of* Greys-Inn.
Rowe *Mr.* John.
Robinſon Robert, *Eſq;* †
Rogers *the Reverend Mr. Fellow of Univerſity College.*
Rogers *the Reverend Dr.* *
Rowney Thomas, *Eſq;*
Rutton Mathias *Mr.*
Rutter Jacob *Mr.*

S.

His Grace the Duke of Somerſet.
Her Grace the Dutcheſs of Somerſet.
The Right Honourable the Earl of Scarſdale.
The Right Honourable the Counteſs of Strafford.
The Right Honourable the Earl of Suſſex.
The Right Honourable the late Earl Stanhope.
The Right Honourable the Lady Viſcounteſs Scudamore.
The Hon. Lady Venacher Sambrook.
Sacket *the Reverend Mr. of* Falkſton.
Sambourn *Mr.* Richard.
Savile *Sir* George, *Bar.*
Sayer *Dr.*
Savage *Dr. Maſter of* Eman. *College.*
Saunderſon *Capt.*
Scot *Mr. Fellow of Univerſity College.*
Selby Charles Amherſt, *Eſq;*
Senhouſe *Capt.*
Seviſon *Seig. Painter to the preſent Emperor.*
Sheldon Edward, *Eſq; of* Weſton. *
Sheldon William, *Eſq;*
Sherlock *the Reverend Dr. Dean of* Chicheſter.
Shaw Nathaniel, *Eſq;* *
Shippen *the Reverend Dr. Vice Chancellor of* Oxon. *
Shaw William, *Eſq;*
Shorey *the Reverend Mr.* *
Sherman *the Reverend Mr. Student of* Chriſt-Church.
Sheppard William, *Eſq;*
Shutleworth *Mrs.* *
Shutleworth Richard, *Eſq;* *
Seilby *Mr. Fellow Commoner of Univerſity College.*
Siſſon *Mr.* Henry.
Simpkin *Mr.*
Sidney *College Library.*
Silveſter Edw. *of* Bitkthwait, *Eſq;*

Sitwell Francis, *Eſq;* *
Smithers *Mr.* John.
Smith *the Reverend Mr. Curate of* Wibſey.
Smith *the Reverend Mr. Fellow of* C. C. C. *Oxon.*
Smyth *Mr.* Thomas *in Queens Head Alley* Pater-Noſter-Rowe.
Smith *Mr.* John *Attorney at Law.*
Smith John, *Eſq;* *
Smith *the Reverend Dr.*
Smith *Dr. Maſter of Merchant* Taylors-School. *
Smithen *Mr.* Banker *Lombard-ſtreet.*
Snape *the Reverend Dr. Vice-Chancellor of* Cambridge. *
Sneyd William, *Eſq;*
Southwell *Mr. Secretary.*
De Soumeres John, *Eſq;*
Somerville *the Reverend Mr. of New College* Oxon.
Spence *Mr.* Henry.
Spirit *Mr.* John *of* Milburn *Port.*
Spry *the Reverend Mr.* John B. D. *Fellow of* C. C. C. *Oxon.*
Squire *Mrs.* *
St. John's *College Library* Oxon.
St. Quintain *Sir* William, Bar.
St. John *the Reverend Dr.*
St. Amand James, *Eſq;*
Standfaſt *the Reverend Mr.* *
Stanley *the Reverend Mr. of* St. Leonards Shoreditch, *and Fellow of* Corpus Chriſti *College* Cambridge.
Stanhope *the Reverend Dr.*
Stibbs Edward, *Eſq;* Cheſter *Herald.* ||
Stringer Francis, *Eſq;* *
Stanley *the Reverend Dr. Dean of St.* Aſaph.
Stuart *Dr.* *
Strode Samuel, *Eſq;*
Stubbs *the Reverend Mr. Archdeacon.*
Stanley *Mr.*
Stephens *the Reverend Mr.*
Stapleton John, *Eſq;*
Stanian Temple, *Eſq;* *
Stewart *General* William. *
Stratford *the Reverend Dr.* Can. *of* Chriſt-Church.
Swanne Abraham *Rector of* Ilminton. *
Sydenham Humphrey, *Eſq;*
Symons Richard *Mr. of* London.
Sykes *Mr. of* Lincolns-Inn-Fields.
Strahan William *L. L. D.*
Stanfaſt *Mr.* !
Strahan *Mr.* Alexander.
Strahan Alexander, *Eſq;* *
Storey *the Reverend Mr.*
Sthanhope *Mr. of Univerſity* College.
Stanley *Sir* John, *Bar.*
Stanhope *the Honourable Colonel.*

T.

The Right Honourable the Earl of Thomond.
The Right Honourable the Lord Trevor.
The Honourable Mrs. Thynne.
Talbot *the Reverend Mr. of* New York.
Tempeſt *Sir* George *of* Tonge, *Bar.*
Terry *the Reverend Dr. of* Chriſt-Church. *
Tilliſley *Mr.* ||
Tickle Thomas, *Eſq;*
Toke *Mr. Fellow Com. of Univerſity College.*
Tod Hunter *Reverend Mr.*
Tooker *the Reverend Mr.*
Tounſon *the Reverend Mr. of* Buckland.
Toke John, *Eſq; of* Godington Kent. †
Trelawney *Eſq;* Hele. *
Trinity Hall *Library* Cambridge. *
Truby *Mr.* Richard. *
Trimnell *the Reverend Dr. Archdeacon of* Norwich, *and Rector of* Brington *in* Northamptonſhire.
Tryon Thomas *Eſq;*
Tryon Charles, *Eſq;* *
Tryon Rowland, *Eſq;*
Trevor William, *Eſq;*
Triſte Herbert, *Eſq;*
Tusburgh Henry, *Eſq;* *
Tuting David *Mr.*
Tufton Cecil, *Eſq;*
Tuchett Talbot, *Eſq;*
Thornton Tempeſt, *Eſq;* *
Thomas *the Reverend Mr.*

V.

The Right Honourable the Earl of Uxbridge.
The Right Honourable the Lord Viſcount Vane. *
University *College Library.*
Vannam *M*. John *of* London.
Vaillant *Meſ.* Paul *and* Iſaac.
Vanſitter Arthur. *Eſq*; *
Vern Thomas, *Eſq*;
Veſey *the Reverend Mr.* William B. D.
Veſey *the Reverend Mr.* Muſchamp.
Vernon Thomas, *Eſq*;
Villiers *the Reverend Mr.*
Urquhart Alexander, *Eſq*;

W.

The Right Honourable the Earl of Warrington.
The Right Honourable the Counteſs of Weſtmerland.
The Right Honourable the Earl of Wigton.
The Rt. Hon. Lady Fitzwilliams.
The Right Reverend the late Lord Biſhop of Wincheſter.
The Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of Wincheſter.
The Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of Worceſter.
The Right Hon. and Reverend the Lord Willoughby *of* Brook.
The Right Honourable the Lord Waldgrave.
The Right Reverend the Biſhop of Waterford.
The Right Honourable the Lady Catherine Wyndham.
Walker William, *Eſq*; *
Walwynne *the Rev. Mr.* Charles.
Waple John *Mr.*
Watts *the Reverend Dr. Prebendary of* Durham.
Watts *Mr.* Thomas *of* Tower-Street.
Watſon *the Reverend Dr.*
Waterland *the Reverend Dr.*
Warren *Dr. Fellow of* Trinity Hall, *L. L. D.*
Ward Knoy, *Eſq*; *of* Hackney.
Walcot Humphrey, *Eſq*; *
Wackſter Jacob *Mr.*
Warren *Dr. Fellow of* Jeſus *College.*
Wagſtaff *Dr. M. D.* *
Walter *Sir* Robert, *Bar.* *
Waterman *the Reverend Mr.* Jonathan *A. M. Prebendary of* Heitsbury.
Weſtley Robert *Mr. in* Queen-ſtreet.
Wentworth Will. *Eſq*; *of* Wooley.
Weſtcombe Anthony, *Eſq*;
Webſter Edward, *Eſq*; *
Weſtley *the Reverend Mr.* Samuel *A. M. Student of* Chriſt's-Church.
Wenman William *Mr.*
Webſter *Sir* Thomas. *
Webber, *Eſq*;
Webſter *the Reverend Mr.* ||||
Webber William *Mr.*
Wharton *the Reverend Mr. Fellow of* Magdalen *College.* *
Whitlock John *Mr.* !
Wheeler *the Reverend* Maurice.
Whitaker *Reverend Mr.*
Whitehead *Mr.* William.
Willoughby *Hon.* Thomas, *Eſq*; *
Wingate Richmond *Herald*, *Eſq*;
Wild Ruben, *Eſq*;
Wilſon Robert, *Mr.* *
Wilſon William, *Eſq*; *
Willis *Mr.* Benjamin *Vicar of* Weſton.
Wigan *the Reverend Mr. Student of* Chriſt-Church.
Wingate Arthur, *Eſq*;
Wigan *Mr.* George *Student of* Chr. Ch. *
Williamſon Robert, *Eſq*;
Wickham William, *Eſq*;
Williams *the Reverend Mr.*
Witham Robert *Mr.*
Willis Brown, *Eſq*; *
Wilcock Benjamin, *Eſq*;
Wincheſter *College Library.*
Willis John, *Eſq*;
Wilps *Reverend Mr.*
Woodſome Leonard, *Eſq*; †
Woodman *Mr.*
Worleton John *Mr.* !
Wright Thomas *Mr.*
Wright *the Revrend Mr. Fellow of* Brazen-Noſe *College.*
Wroteſley Hugh, *Eſq*;
Wyndham *Sir* William, *Bar.* *
Wytham *Mr.*
Wyndham Charles *Mr.*

Wyndham Joſeph *Mr.*
Wrightſon William, *Eſq;* *
Wroughton William, *Eſq;*
Wroughton *the Reverend Mr.*
Wright *the Reverend Mr. of* Peploe.

Y.

His Grace the Arch-Biſhop of York.
The Right Honourable the Earl of Yarmouth.
The Rev. Mr. Yarborough *Fellow of* Brazen Noſe *College* Oxon.
The Reverend Dr. Yalden.
The Reverend Dr. Younger *Dean of* Sarum. *
The Reverend Mr. Younger.
Edward Young, *Eſq;* L. L. D.

F I N I S.

ERRATA.

Among other Typographical Errors in this Work the Reader is particularly deſired to correct the following.

Page.	Line.	Error.	Read.
36	33	*without*	*with.*
37	34	*with*	*without.*
56	33	*Head*	*a Head.*
58	2	*Reaſon*	*Reaſons.*
292	13	*Concubinage*	*Celibacy.*

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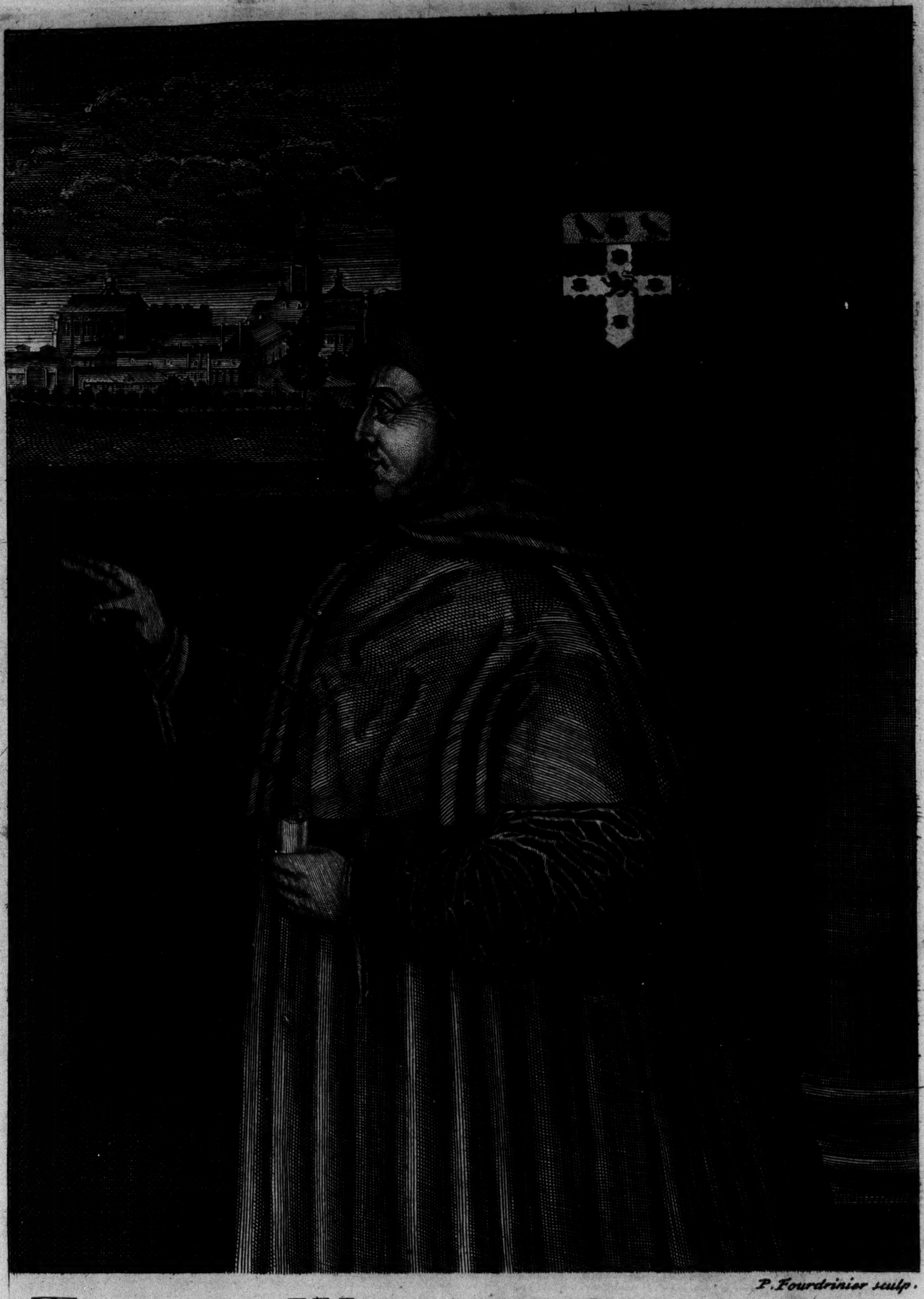

P. Fourdrinier sculp.

THOMAS WOLSEVS CARDINALIS
ARCHIEPISCOPVS EBORACENSIS
ANGLIÆ CANCELLARIVS, &c.

THE LIFE OF Cardinal WOLSEY.

BOOK I.

Memoirs concerning Him from his Birth, to the Time when He was made Archbiſhop of *York*.

CHAP. I.

1. *A Premonition.* 2. *Concerning the Birth of the Cardinal.* 3. *That the Copy of a Will, added in the Collections, is the Copy of his Father's Will.* 4. *He is ſent to School.* 5. *And very Young to the Univerſity of* Oxford. 6. *Whether a Butcher's Son?* 7. *A Paſſage from* Fuller's Church-Hiſtory. 8. *Is made Fellow of* Magdalen College, Oxon, *and Schoolmaſter, with the Occaſion of his firſt Preferment in the Church.* 9. *When inſtituted to the Rectory of* Lymington. 10. *A Tradition not very favourable to Him.* 11. *A Reflection upon it.* 12. *The Indignity done to him by Sir* Amias Pawlet. 13. *He is ſhortly after made Chaplain to Archbiſhop* Dean. 14. *His Reſentment, when Chancellor, of the Indignity done to Him by Sir* Amias, *with the Method which that Knight took to mitigate his Diſpleaſure.* 15. *Whether He did not carry his Reſentment too far?*

1. THE MEMOIRS, which are preſerved to us relating to the private Life of that Perſon, whoſe Hiſtory I have undertaken to write, are very few, in compariſon of what might have been expected, conſidering the publick Character, and the high Poſts, both in Church and State, which he afterwards ſuſtained. For it is natural to enquire concerning the Origin, the Circumſtances, and

Conduct of all great Men, before the Period of their Elevation; to the End, we may be capable of Judging with more Certainty, whether and how far it was owing to perſonal Merit; or if we are not rather to aſcribe it to a conflux of fortunate Incidents, but in the chriſtian Dialect, to certain happy and favourable Diſpoſitions of Providence, which does even ſometimes appear to lay a Train for the Advancement of particular Perſons, a Train which, they have nothing to do, but to follow directly, towards the Accompliſhment of every Thing they can propoſe to themſelves, in this World.

The Cardinal himſelf has been thought by ſome Perſons chargeable with a Negligence, not eaſy to be accounted for, that, being ſo great a Patron of Learning, and having the beſt Pens in *Europe* at command, he did not employ any of them to tranſmit a juſt and faithful Account of his Conduct to Poſterity; future Ages would naturally have a Curioſity to know every Part and Incident of a Life ſo full of great and memorable Events; the Life of a Perſon, whoſe high Station and Employments had drawn the Eyes of his own, of foreign, and diſtant Nations upon him.

Mr. *Cavendiſh* indeed, who was in the Cardinal's Retinue, and by his Office always near to his Perſon, has left us ſome very valuable Memoirs relating to him, and it is owing to that Gentleman that ſome of thoſe few Remains are preſerved, concerning his private Life, which I am now preparing to lay before the Reader. Yet it appears evidently from two Places in the Life of the Cardinal, by Mr. *Cavendiſh*, [a] that it was written under the Reign of Queen *Mary*. It is not therefore probable, that Domeſtick wrote it by the Cardinal's Direction, or at his Inſtance. So faithful a Servant would not have delayed the Execution of his Maſter's Will ſo long, and to an Age, which muſt have been, at that time, very far advanced. It muſt however be acknowledged, that the Account given by Mr. *Cavendiſh*, with what I have been otherways able to collect, is very ſhort and deficient, in reſpect of what I might have had reaſonable hopes of finding, upon ſo great and important a Subject.

2. *Thomas Wolſey* afterwards Archbiſhop of *York*, Chancellor of
England, Cardinal Prieſt of St. *Cicily*, and Legate *à Latere*, was
1471. born at *Ipſwich* in *Suffolk*, in the Year of our Lord 1471; and
as that [b] learned Antiquary Mr. *Fullman* relates, in the Month of

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[a] Bodl. Arch. B. 44. p. 71. 102.

[b] Fullman's *Pap.* C. C. C. Ox.

March. He was deſcended, according to ſome of our beſt [c] Hiſtorians, from poor but honeſt Parents, and of good Reputation, Inhabitants of that Place; the common Tradition is, that he was the Son of a Butcher. But I can diſcover no more authentick Grounds for ſuch a Tradition, than for the other Report, that his Parents were in mean and indigent Circumſtances. It appears, on the other Hand, from the Will added in the [d] Collections, that his Father was ſeized of an Eſtate, which, in the Poſſeſſion, at that Time, of a *Plebeian*, was very conſiderable; that he had ſeveral Lands and Tenements by a Tenure, which gave him a diſcretionary Power in transferring them; and laſtly, that he made certain pecuniary Bequeſts to his Family and Friends, of no ſmall Value, according to the Proportion which Money then bore to the preſent Rate, and Affluence of it.

3. This Will of [e] *Robert Wolſey* of *Ipſwich* is dated *September* the 21ſt, in the Year 1496, and the Reference in it to his Son *Thomas*, who, it is ſuppoſed was bred a Scholar, and deſigned for a 1496.
Prieſt, renders it not ſo much probable, as a Matter paſt all Doubt, if we may judge from the Circumſtances of Time and Place, or from the Agreement of Names and perſonal Characters, that this *Robert*, was, in truth, the Father of *Thomas*, afterwards Cardinal *Wolſey*. Who as he had no eccleſiaſtical Preferment, 'till the Time of his being inſtituted to the Rectory of *Lymington*, in the Year 1500, may very well be preſumed to have taken Orders 1500.
ſhortly after the Date of this Will; being at the Time when it was executed, in the twenty fifth Year of his Age. Beſides, had there been any other *Wolſey* deſigned for Holy Orders, of the ſame Name, Place, or Age, with the Cardinal, it is highly credible ſome Account of him would have been preſerved in Hiſtory, or by Tradition, by reaſon of his having, at leaſt ſome diſtant Relation, in theſe ſeveral Reſpects, to ſo very eminent a Perſon. By this Will, we farther diſcover, that his Mother's Name

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[c] *An honeſt poor Man's Son of* Ipſwych. *Cavend.*
His Parents poor, but of honeſt Report. Speed.
Patre Lanio pauperculo prognatus eſt. *Godwyn.*

[d] Collect. N° 1.

[e] *In the Original his Name is written* Wuley, *from which Variation in the Spelling, ſome Perſons perhaps may take Occaſion to object, that notwithſtanding the Concurrence of other Circumſtances, which render it highly probable this was the Will of the Cardinal's Father, yet after all it might be the Will of ſome other Perſon. To obviate this Pretence, it will be ſufficient here to remark, that in two authentick Inſtruments directed to the Cardinal from* Rome *at different Times, his Name is exactly written as in the Will.*

Alexander Epiſcopus ſervus ſervorum Dei dilecto Filio *Thomæ Wuley* Rectori Parochialis Eccleſiæ de *Lymington*. Rym. Ann. 17 *H.* 7. Tom. 12. 183.

There is alſo a Diſpenſation from Pope Julius II. *for a third incompatible Preferment, addreſſed to the Rector of* Lymington, *and wherein his Name is written after the ſame Manner*, Rym. Tom. 13. *p.* 217.

was [f] *Joan*, and that, in all probability, he had neither Brother nor Siſter then living, there being no mention of other Children, nor the leaſt Proviſion made in the Will for any other.

4. He very early diſcovered a docile and apt Diſpoſition for Learning, which encouraged his Parents to ſend him to School, and to give him ſuch an Education, if we may judge of their Deſign in it, by the Event, as might prepare him for the Univerſity. We know nothing particularly, as to the Manner of his Inſtruction or Behaviour at School; the Place where he was taught we may probably conclude to have been *Ipſwich*, but the Name and Character of his Maſter, are altogether unknown. Yet it may be preſumed, from the quick and extraordinary Proficiency which ſo very young a Scholar made under him, that he was well qualified for the Charge he had undertaken, but no leſs pleaſed to obſerve, that a Youth of ſuch pregnant Parts, or rather conſidering his tender Age, of ſo ſurprizing a Capacity, was committed to his Care.

5. For he was ſo early ſent to the Univerſity of *Oxford*, that he took his Batchelor's Degree in Arts there, when he was fourteen Years Old. At an Age, when few Members now of the moſt forward Capacity, and with all the preſent, and commonly ſpeaking, much ſuperior Advantages of Education, are known to be admitted. So that he ſoon got a Name of peculiar Diſtinction, in that famous Seat of Learning, and was commonly termed, the *Boy Batchelor*. *Cavendiſh* ſeems to inſinuate, that he was ſent thither, not at the proper or ſole Expence of his Father, but by Contribution of certain Friends. Yet it appears from his Father's Will, there is no neceſſity of making any ſuch Suppoſition. It is more probable, this Writer did here too eaſily give into the Belief of ſome common Report, or did not take the requiſite Care to inform himſelf exactly, concerning the Truth of it.

6. It is not denied, that the Circumſtances of the Cardinal's Father, conſiderable as they have been repreſented, in his Way of Life, yet were not inconſiſtent with his Profeſſion, as a Butcher, if he was really one. But ſince there is no good Evidence, that he was one; none, but what is founded in common Tradition; why ſhould that Tradition have any better Grounds, than

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[f] Robert *and* Joan *are mentioned as the Father and Mother of the Cardinal, in a Bull of Indulgences, to thoſe who ſhould viſit the Cardinal's Colledge, another ſtrong circumſtantial Evidence, which ſeems to put the Matter out of all Doubt, that this was in Truth the Will of the Cardinal's Father.* V. Rym. Convent. Tom. 14. p. 254.

the Report no leſs general, if it has not been more credited by Hiſtorians, concerning the mean and indigent Condition of his Parents? *Wood* himſelf repreſents as if it was with ſome Difficulty, his Parents maintained him at the Univerſity, with the Aſſiſtance of his Friends; yet this Author denies, he was a Butcher's Son; tho' it cannot be diſſembled, that both in the Cardinal's Life-time, and ſince his Death, this Relation has often been objected, as Matter of Reproach to him; but certainly upon very unjuſt Grounds, even if the Fact, upon which it was objected, had been really true. It is an Happineſs indeed to be well-born; but ſhould any Writer be now ſo audacious as to aſſert, that Birth is neceſſary to qualify a Man for a Diſtinction in the World, or even for the firſt Poſts or Titles of Honour, he might eaſily be confuted, and, in ſome Parts of the World, by Variety of Inſtances. Without determining any thing therefore in a Point, which many Perſons may think of no great Concernment, whether true or falſe, to the Cardinal's Honour, the Reader may make a Judgement of it for himſelf, as he apprehends the Evidence more or leſs cogent.

7. I ſhall only obſerve farther upon the Queſtion, that *Fuller* in his *Church-Hiſtory*, if his Authority is of any Weight to determine it, may be cited for the Affirmative. He obſerves, that to humble the Cardinal's Pride, ſome Perſon or other had ſet up on a Window belonging to his College, a painted Maſtiff-dog gnawing the Spade-bone of a Shoulder of Mutton, to remind him of his Extraction, being the Son of a Butcher. He thinks it improbable, as ſome have fancied, that this Picture was placed there by the Cardinal's own Appointment, to be a Monitor of Humility to him. Now, admitting the Fact to be really true, yet unleſs it was done, by the Cardinal's Appointment, which, in the Judgement of this Writer, is not credible, no certain Inference can be drawn from it, relating to the [a] Cardinal's Birth.

8. Soon after he had taken his Degree of Batchelor in Arts, and made an extraordinary [b] Progreſs in Logick and Philoſophy, he was elected Fellow of *Magdalen*-College in *Oxford*, and had not long been Maſter of Arts, before the Care of the School adjoining

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[a] *There is now over One of the Windows in the Front of* Chriſt-Church, *directly above the Cardinal's Arms, a Dog gnawing a Bone, but not the Spade-bone of a Shoulder of Mutton. Yet that Figure ſeems to be placed there by mere Accident, there being upon the ſame continued Line with it, ſeveral other Anticks, at proper Diſtances, intended according to the Architecture at that Time, for the greater Decoration of the Building. It is probable,* Fuller's *Story has no other Foundation, than this wretched Figure: For, after all, there is not One in the whole Thred of them, that appears to be worſe Deſigned or Performed.*

[b] Wood Athen.

joining to that [c] Colledge, was commited to him; where he was charged with the Education of three young Gentlemen of noble Birth, Sons to the Marqueſs of *Dorſet*, who at *Chriſtmas* ſent for them, with Mr. *Wolſey*, to celebrate that Feſtival, at his Seat in the Country; where obſerving the great Improvement which his Sons had made under their Maſter, and being pleaſed with his Manner and Converſation, he preſented him, as a Reward of his Service in that Capacity, to the Rectory of *Lymington* in *Somerſetſhire*, which happened to be vacant at that time, and was in his Lordſhip's Patronage.

9. So ſoon as he had received the Preſentation, he took care to qualify himſelf for the Cure to which it entitled him, by procuring, with all convenient Speed, the Inſtruments, and paſſing through the ſeveral Forms pre-required, to put him in Poſſeſſion. He
1500. was inſtituted to this [d] Living on the Tenth of *October* 1500, in the Twenty-ninth Year of his Age, and four Years after the Death of his Father. At which Time he was Burſer of *Magdalen*-College, when, according to *Wood*, the great Tower there was finiſhed.

10. But there is an oral Report in that Society, that Mr. *Wolſey*, during the Time of his executing that Office, involved himſelf in ſome Difficulties, which obliged him to retire from the College; not on account of any unhappy Accident or Miſconduct relating to his private Affairs, but by Occaſion, as 'tis ſaid, of his applying the Treaſure of the College towards erecting that noble Tower, without proper or ſufficient Warrant. Some have pretended, that he even made uſe of violent Methods, to furniſh himſelf from the [e] Treaſury with Supplies neceſſary to carry on that Deſign. But had there really been any good Foundation for ſo high a Charge, and of ſo heinous a Nature, it is very probable one or other of the Cardinal's Enemies, would, in his Life-time, have openly objected it to him; which yet we do not find any of them has pretended to do. Neither is it in the leaſt credible, that a Perſon of his great Views, would have been guilty of a Fact, that could not be concealed, and which, if once known, would be a continual Bar to him, in all his future Pretenſions to Favour or Preferment. It is more likely, if he did uſe

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[c] *The Author of the* Britiſh Antiquities *relates, but without any Authority, as if he were Schoolmaſter at* Reading, *p.* 309. Donec Furti Infamia aboleretur, *Brit. Antiq.*

[d] Rector Eccleſiæ de *Lymington*, 10 *Oct.* 1500, Regiſt. King. Epiſc. *Bath & Well.* Fullman's *Pap.* C C C Oxon.

[e] Quod Ærarium Collegii invaſiſſet. *Brit. Antiq.* p. 309.

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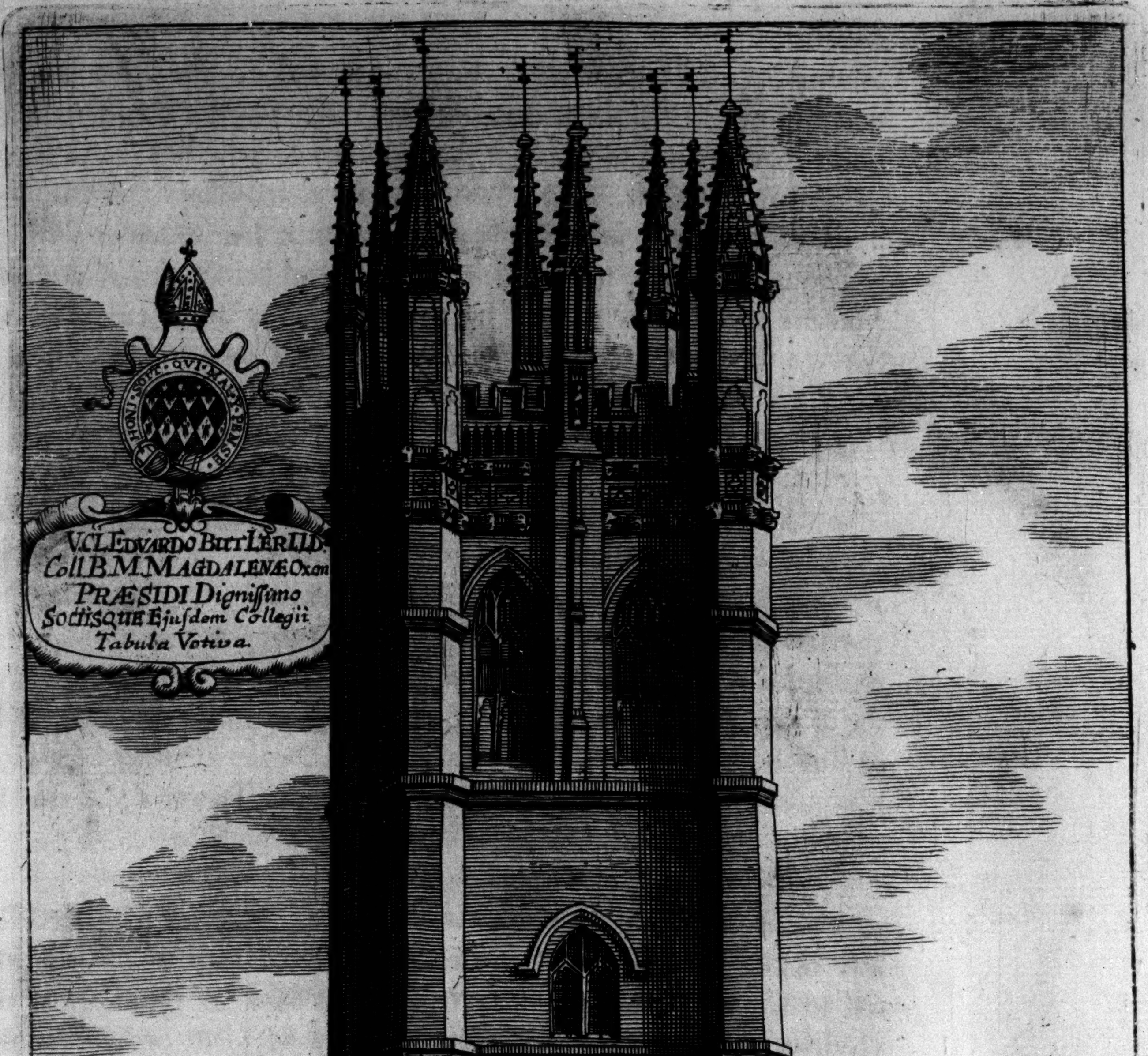
HONI SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE
V.Cl. EDVARDO BUTTLER LL.D.
Coll. B.M. MAGDALENÆ Oxon
PRÆSIDI Digniſſimo
SOCIISQUE Ejuſdem Collegii
Tabula Votiva.
A Scale of Feet.
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10
15
20
25
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35

M Burghers delin. et sculp.

any forcible Means, to come into the Treaſury, he apprehended himſelf at leaſt unjuſtly oppoſed, and contrary to ſome previous Truſt, which the Society had repoſed in him; yet wherein they might afterwards think convenient, by reaſon of the growing unexpected Expences of the Building, that he ſhould be reſtrained.

11. I think my ſelf more at Liberty to make theſe reaſonable Conjectures, as nothing has yet appeared upon any authentick Record, or in any Writing whatever in that Society, to aſcertain this Charge. However I thought it incumbent on me, in Quality of an impartial Hiſtorian, to make a Report of the Fact, ſo far as I have been able to procure any Information concerning it. There is at leaſt more Candor in conſidering that noble Structure as an early Eſſay of the Cardinal's great and enterprizing Mind, than as an Occaſion of his perpetrating a ſcandalous Crime, for which there is no good, or competent Proof.

12. He had not long reſided at his Living of *Lymington*, before Sir *Amias Pawlet*, a neighbouring Knight, put an Affront upon him, very unſuitable to his Character, as a Scholar, and a Prieſt, and who had now in thoſe Parts, a proper and ſettled Cure of Souls. What his real or pretended Crime was, upon which Sir *Amias* committed him to the Stocks, none of my Authors, who mention the Story, have related; or whether this Diſgrace was a mere arbitrary Effect of ſome perſonal Prejudice which that Knight had to [f] Mr. *Wolſey*, or to his Order? Whatever might be the Occaſion of this Inſult, it contributed to render the Rector of *Lymington* ſo uneaſy in his Cure, probably by leſſening that Authority, without which the paſtoral Office can never be well or ſucceſsfully diſcharged, or even by expoſing him ſometimes openly to rude Treatment from ignorant and ill-bred People, that he thought it adviſeable, at that Time, to change the Place of his Reſidence, and to remove where he might find a more fit Opportunity of diſtinguiſhing himſelf, and perhaps of making his Fortune, by appearing in a better Light.

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[f] *There is a traditionary Report which I ſhall not diſſemble, That Mr.* Wolſey *when Rector of* Lymington, *being at a Fair in the Neighbourhood of that Place, drank to an Exceſs, which not only gave Offence, but ſome Occaſion of Diſorder; upon which, Sir* Amias Pawlet, *as Juſtice of the Peace, thought fit to proceed againſt him in the Manner here ſpecified: But whether the Report might not be raiſed to excuſe an Action of this Knight, which could not, I conceive, be well juſtified; or whether Mr.* Wolſey *being of a free, open, and ſocial Temper, was not poſſibly overtaken with a Fault, for which he might deſerve to be animadverted upon, but in a Way more reſpectful to his ſacerdotal Character, are Queſtions, which I ſhall not by any Means take upon me abſolutely to determine.*

13. And he was not deceived in his Meaſures, for ſhortly after Archbiſhop *Dean* received him into his Service, as one of his domeſtick Chaplains: But it does not particularly appear upon what Inducement, or by whoſe Recommendation: Yet he did not long enjoy that Archbiſhop's Patronage, who died on the fifteenth Day of *February*, in the Year of our Lord 1502-3; ſo that Mr. *Wolſey* was made Chaplain to him, if not immediately upon his withdrawing from *Lymington*, yet in a ſhort Time after. [g] Biſhop *Godwyn* reports, but erroneouſly, that he reſigned that Living, on Occaſion of the Indignity done to him by Sir *Amias Pawlet*, for he kept it 'till the [h] Year 1509, when he was Dean of *Lincoln*. In which Year his Succeſſor was inſtituted to *Lymington*, on the Second of *July*. From theſe Calculations of Time, we may infer, that his Diſgrace by Sir *Amias* hap-
1501. pened about the Year 1501.

14. This Knight had Reaſon however afterward to put an Action, wherein he ſhewed ſo little Regard to the ſacred Character, into his penitential Offices. For the Cardinal, when he was made Lord Chancellor, ſtill retaining the Impreſſion of an Injury ſo diſgraceful to him, and which perhaps he had done nothing to provoke, ſent for Sir *Amias Pawlet*, and after a ſevere Expoſtulation with him, concerning the ill Treatment he had formerly received at his Hands, ſtrictly enjoined him not to go out of Town without ſpecial Licenſe. For five or ſix Years the Knight was confined by the Chancellor's Order in the *Temple*, where he ſought to mitigate the Reſentments of this great Miniſter, and to prepare a Way for the Recovery of his Liberty, by adorning the Gatehouſe next to the Street with his Arms, his Hat, and other Badges of Diſtinction proper to him as Cardinal. But whether the Cardinal was appeas'd by this Sacrifice; whether the Knight was at laſt freely diſcharged, or on account of any other Submiſſion, doth not diſtinctly appear; this is certain, that Sir *Amias* continued ſeveral Years under Confinement, before his Diſcharge could be effected.

15. Some have thought, that a Chancellor of *England*, an Archbiſhop of *York*, and a Cardinal, ought to have forgotten an Injury, tho' of a moſt provoking Nature, done many Years before, to a private Pariſh-Prieſt: And there is no doubt, had the Injury been meerly Perſonal, it would have been more becoming

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[g] De Præf. *p.* 73. [h] Fullman Pap. C.C.C. Oxon.

a great and generous Mind to have buried it in Oblivion. But the Cardinal thought perhaps the Order it ſelf ſuffered, by an Outrage attended with the laſt Circumſtances of Infamy; and ſo it might appear to him not altogether improper or unreaſonable, that ſome Animadverſion ſhould be made upon it, tho' at that Diſtance of Time, by a Perſon of his Authority; in caſe, as the Laws then ſtood, he had really any Authority to that End: Tho' admitting indeed that he had, it may ſtill be a Queſtion, whether he did not extend it too far, both with reſpect to the Nature, and the Duration of the Knight's Puniſhment.

CHAP. II.

1. *The Marqueſs of* Dorſet *dies.* 2. *Mr.* Wolſey *finds another Patron, Sir* John Nafant, *Treaſurer of* Calais. 3. *He is made, by that Knight's Intereſt and Mediation, Chaplain to King* Henry VII. 4. *When inſtituted to the Rectory of* Redgrave, *in the Dioceſe of* Norwich. 5. *One of his perſonal and more peculiar Qualities obſerved.* 6. *The Reaſon of my Reflections upon it.* 7. *His advantagious Situation at Court, with the Improvements he made of it.*

1. THE Death of the Marqueſs of *Dorſet*, which happened about that Time, might be another Occaſion of Mr. *Wolſey*'s Removal from *Lymington*. He appears throughout his whole Conduct, to have been a Perſon of enlarged Views, and great Deſigns, which he was naturally formed with all the proper Qualities, to execute. The principal Support of his Hopes being now taken away, by the Death of a Nobleman of that Diſtinction, who might have been an Inſtrument of facilitating his Advancement to the firſt Poſts in the Church, he might think it very reaſonable to project new Methods of puſhing his Fortune, in ſome other Scene of Life.

2. We have already obſerved one Advantage which he had towards effecting his Aims, and rendering himſelf more conſpicuous, by his Reception into the Family of Archbiſhop *Dean*; which, according to the Author of the [i] *Britiſh Antiquities*, ſeems rather to have been owing to his perſonal Addreſs, and Inſinuation, than

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[i] Britiſh Antiquities, *p.* 309.

to any foreign Inſtances. Upon the Death of that Primate, he found means of applying himſelf to Sir *John Naſant* Treaſurer of *Calais*, and of being employed by him in a Way, very favourable to his Deſigns. Sir *John* being a Gentleman of *Somerſetſhire*, it is not improbable Mr. *Wolſey* had contracted ſome Acquaintance with him, during his Reſidence in that County. Whatever might be the Grounds, upon which Sir *John* was pleaſed to entertain him, it proved very happy for him, that he was taken into the Service of one ſo much diſpoſed to promote his Intereſts. This Knight being debilitated with Age, and other Infirmities, committed the Direction of the Poſt wherewith he was intruſted, to Mr. *Wolſey*'s Care, giving thereby at once an ample and open Teſtimony, as well concerning the Probity, as the Capacity of the Perſon deputed by him.

3. Sir *John* was at laſt reduced by Age and Sickneſs to ſo ill a State, and rendered ſo incapable of attending his Charge perſonally, that he moved for Leave, which was granted, to return into *England*; where, for the Sake of his Health, and in regard to his paſt Services, he was permitted to reſide. Here his Sollicitations, in favour of Mr. *Wolſey*, were never intermitted, till he had procured him, by his Intereſt at Court, to be made one of the King's Chaplains: Who, having once got an Eſtabliſhment there, and neither wanting Application nor Abilities for the greateſt Employments, eaſily opened a Way to that Height of Power and Greatneſs, to which he afterwards climbed.

1506. *Jun.* 8. 4. In the Year 1506, he was inſtituted to the Rectory of *Redgrave*, in the Dioceſe of *Norwich*: As appears from a * Copy of his Inſtitution, tranſmitted to me by that curious and learned Antiquary Dr. *Tanner*, to whom I am alſo indebted for the Copy of his Father's Will. He was preſented to this Rectory, by the Abbot, the venerable and religious Abbot, as he is ſtiled, of St. *Edmundbury*, the Patron of it. But it does not appear whether he owed this Preferment to any perſonal Intereſt, which he had with that Abbot, or to the Recommendation of his Friends at Court.

5. Beſides his Diligence and Capacity, he ſeems to have had in particular, one [k] Qualification, towards recommending himſelf to

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* Collect. N° 2.

[k] *What I ſhall preſently cite from Archbiſhop* Parker, *in a marginal Note, concerning the Cardinal's elegant Manner and Dreſs, might probably contribute not a little to enforce that natural Dignity which I am here proceeding in ſome meaſure to deſcribe.*

Favour and Eſteem, which is every where of great Force to that End, but eſpecially in the Courts of Princes. I do not mean a free and generous Aſſurance, whether in Speaking or Acting, which is a Qualification more common, as well as neceſſary to thoſe, who, in that Scene of Life, would not be treated with Diſregard or Neglect; and may for the moſt Part, by Converſation and Uſe in ſome competent Meaſure, be acquired; but I ſpeak concerning a natural Dignity of Manner or Aſpect, that no Art can imitate, and which no Rules or Method of Practice will ever be able perfectly to form. An Advantage, which alone ſupplies the Want of many, and is with a moderate and ordinary Share of Underſtanding, ſometimes of greater Importance to a Man, who breathes the Air of a Court, than all the other ſhining Qualities there would have been without it. I mean, that *Aſcendent*, for ſo I take the Liberty of calling it, which commands without ſpeaking, and at Sight, gains our Approbation, before we know, or can conſider the Reaſons of our giving it. *Cæſar* found it, on continual Occaſions, of great Service to him, and particularly when under the diſadvantagious Circumſtances of a Captive in the Hands of rugged and intractable Pyrates. And the ſuperiour Genius, which *Anthony* was told, always leſſened his Dignity in the Preſence of *Auguſtus*, was nothing but this Quality, of which, upon a Congreſs between theſe two great Men, *Auguſtus* ever appeared to be poſſeſſed in a more eminent and conſpicuous Degree. It may be termed a viſible Spirit of Authority and Dominion, wherewith Nature has diſtinguiſhed ſome Particular, but few Perſons: And which is ſometimes obſerved to ſhine, even in People of a lower Rank, with a Gracefulneſs and Luſtre, that is ſurpriſing. But in conjunction with other valuable Qualities, eſpecially of a ready Wit, of a lively and bold Imagination, it gives Laws, it governs, and domineers at Pleaſure. When it ſpeaks, as with theſe Advantages it always ſpeaks well, all Men are ſilent, and inclined to ſubmit to its Deciſions, without examining the Reaſons of them, as to an Oracle; or to ſome innate extraordinary Power, that has a Right to dictate. One, who has the *Aſcendent*, if in ſhort he does not always find Things, as he commonly will, ready done to his Hands, has ſo great Opportunities of facilitating the Execution of his Deſigns, that he cannot eaſily fail of Succeſs. It was this Power, which diſarmed the Soldier, who was ſent with expreſs Orders, and came with a full Reſolution, to aſſaſſinate *C. Marius*. It is neceſſary to a General at the Head of an Army; and, eſpecially, to Princes, in whom we therefore expreſs it by a peculiar Character, That of Majeſty. It was frequently ſeen in the ancient Senate, and afterwards in the Emperors of *Rome*, ſome of which might probably owe their Elevation to it. But perhaps it hath no where diſcovered it ſelf more Eminently, or in more Inſtances than in the *Britiſh* Senate.

6. I have the longer inſiſted on this natural Prerogative, as it appears, ſo far as we are able to judge of the Cardinal's Manner, and the wonderful Facility, wherewith he continually brought his Deſigns to bear, to have been one of the ſuperior Diſtinctions, in his Character. And it is not improbable, his Superiority, in this reſpect, might afford the real Occaſion for a common Prejudice, which has been entertained againſt him, as if he was naturally of a Temper proud, inſolent, and over-bearing. For, notwithſtanding there is a very ſenſible and wide Difference between ſuch a Temper, and that innate Authority, of which I have been ſpeaking; yet the Generality of the World, judging more by Appearances, than by the true Reaſon and Meaſure of Things, may eaſily confound Qualities in themſelves really oppoſite, but which at firſt View, bear ſome Reſemblance of one another. They who have drawn the Cardinal in Colours, or taken thoſe Prints of him which ſtill remain, ſeem to have a particular Deſign of giving him this Air; but it is no where expreſſed with ſo much Life, Power, and Grace, as in the excellent Statue by Mr. *Bird* lately done, and erected in *Chriſt-Church* at the Expence of the Right Reverend the late Lord Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, Sir *Jonathan Trelawny*.

7. After Mr. *Wolſey* was made Chaplain to the King, according to Lord *Herbert* Chaplain in the Houſehold, having frequent and juſt Occaſion of being in the Preſence, and of ſaying Maſs in the King's Cloſet, he endeavoured to improve theſe Honours and Advantages to their proper Ends. And was careful to addreſs himſelf to thoſe, who were obſerved to have the greateſt Weight and Authority at Court, and to be moſt in the King's Favour. He endeavoured, particularly, and with Succeſs, to inſinuate himſelf into the good Graces of *Fox* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, at that Time Lord Privy Seal, and of Sir *Thomas Lovel* [b] Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, [c] Treaſurer of the Houſehold, [d] Preſident of the Council, and [e] Knight of the *Garter*, afterwards [f] Conſtable of the *Tower*, and [g] Maſter of the Wards. This great Man, ob-

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[b] Pat. 1 *H.* 7. *p.* 3. 12 October.
[c] 1 *H.* 7. *See* Rymer *vol.* 12. *p.* 285.
[d] Vinc. MS. in Offic. Armorum, *n.* 40. *p.* 406.
[e] *Before the* 18*th of* Hen. 7. Black Book *of the* Garter.
[f] Pat. 4 *H.* 8. *p.* 2. 19 *of* March.
[g] Pat. 5 *H.* 8. *p.* 1. 17 *of* July.

ſerving his uncommon Capacity and Diligence, not only thought him worthy of Preferment, but of being employed in the important Affairs of State. And it was not long before they had a proper Occaſion, whereof I ſhall give an Account in the next Chapter, of doing him real Service, upon which they united in recommending him to the King, for his fine Wit, his Eloquence, Learning, and Aſſiduity.

CHAP. III.

1. *A Treaty of Marriage between the King and the Ducheſs Dowager of* Savoy. *Mr.* Wolſey *recommended as a proper Perſon to be employed in an Embaſſy on that Occaſion.* 2. *Mr.* Rymer *referred to.* 3. *The King confers perſonally with him.* 4. *Having received his Inſtructions, he proceeds on his Journey with the utmoſt Expedition.* 5. *Is admitted to Audience ſo ſoon as he arrives at the Emperor's Court.* 6. *The Reaſon why that Treaty had not the propoſed Effect.* 7. *He is diſpatched by the Emperor.* 8. *And returns with ſuch Expedition, that the King ſeeing him, ſuppoſed he had not been gone.* 9. *He adventures to negotiate an Affair, which he had not in his Inſtructions.* 10. *And is not only pardoned, but thanked for it.* 11. *His two Patrons approve his Conduct.* 12. *After having reported his Embaſſage, he is made Dean of* Lincoln. 13. *A probable Conjecture why Biſhop* Fox *ſo earneſtly eſpouſed his Intereſts at Court.* 14. *Whether Almoner to King* Henry *the Seventh.*

THERE was a Treaty of Marriage at that Time depending between the King, and Lady *Margaret*, Ducheſs Dowager of *Savoy*, only Daughter of *Maximilian* the Emperor; concerning which, in an Interview between theſe two Potentates, ſome Overtures had been formerly made. The King, adviſing with Biſhop *Fox*, and Sir *Thomas Lovel*, about an Embaſſy to the Emperor relating to that important Article, they took the Opportunity of recommending Mr. *Wolſey*, as a proper Perſon to be employed, in negotiating it.

2 Several Conventions relating to this Treaty, are recited at large by [ſ] Mr. *Rymer*, but not as negotiated between the Emperor *Maximilian*, and *Henry* the Seventh of *England*: But between *Henry*, and *Philip* King of *Caſtile*, Brother to the Lady *Margaret*; to the Conditions whereof, the principal Import of this Embaſſy might be to gain *Maximilian*'s Conſent and Approbation.

[ſ] Rym. Con. T. 13. p. 127.

3. The King being deſirous to confer perſonally with Mr. *Wolſey*, who had been ſo advantagiouſly recommended to him, and that he might make ſome Judgement of his Abilities from his own Knowledge and Obſervation, commanded him to be brought into his Preſence, and having propoſed ſeveral Things to him relating to Affairs of State, diſcovered him to be a Perſon of ſo prompt a Wit, and withal of ſo excellent an Underſtanding, that he thought him fit for the Charge to which he had been recommended, and that required great Nicety and Addreſs in the Conduct of it: And thereupon ſpeedy Orders were given that he ſhould prepare for his Journey.

4. Whilſt his Inſtructions were drawing up, he had frequent Acceſs to the King and Council, to whom he continually gave freſh Proofs of his Capacity for political Affairs. Having received his Diſpatches, he ſet forward from *Richmond*; about Four in the Afternoon he came to *London*, where he found a Barge from *Graveſend*, that lay ready to receive him. In leſs than three Hours he was at *Graveſend*, where he ſtayed no longer than while Poſt-horſes could be provided for him to *Dover*; where he arrived the next Morning, and immediately took the Opportunity of a Paſſage-boat that was juſt going to ſet Sail for *Calais*; to which Place he came long before Noon: And proceeded forward with ſuch Expedition, as brought him that Night to the Imperial Court, which was then in *Flanders*.

5. The Emperor having notice, that a Perſon was come with Credentials, and in Quality of an Embaſſador from the King of *England*, immediately gave him Audience. His Imperial Majeſty readily embraced ſo proper an Occaſion of ſhewing his Regard to that wiſe and great Monarch, and his good Ally. Tho' it is probable the Affair in particular, wherewith Mr. *Wolſey* was charged, might alſo contribute to make the Way to his Audience more open and eaſy. It is an Argument, the Buſineſs in general upon which his Maſter had impowered him to treat, was very acceptable, that his Propoſals were ſo ſoon received, and every Article of them approved.

6. However that Treaty came, in the Event, to nothing; for it being protracted from Time to Time, by reaſon of the King's Infirmities, who was now in the Twenty-ſecond Year of his Reign, not only much afflicted with the Stone, but alſo, at certain Intervals, with the Tyſick, he ſeemed rather to turn his Views towards another World, and upon doing ſome [t] Charitable Works preparatory

[t] *Ld* Bacon, *Hen.* VII.

tory to it, than to think of celebrating the Rites of Marriage, notwithſtanding all the Overtures which had been made, and concluded, to that End.

7. But to return to the Progreſs of this Negotiation. Mr. *Wolſey* having opened his Credentials to the Emperor, made it his humble Requeſt, for Reaſons reſpecting the ſpecial Service of both Courts, that his Return might be expedited. To which Requeſt the Emperor was ſo favourable, that the next Morning he received his Diſpatches, wherein every thing was agreed to, that had been propoſed on the Part of his Maſter. Upon this he immediately took Poſt for *Calais*, conducted by ſuch Perſons, as the Emperor had appointed to attend him, on the Way.

8. He came to *Calais* at the Opening of the Gates, where he found the Paſſengers ready to put to Sea, in the ſame Boat, which lay ſo conveniently for him, when he arrived, in his Way forward, at *Dover*, to which Place he returned about Ten before Noon. And Poſt-horſes being there ready for him, he came that Night to the Court at *Richmond*. Where taking his Repoſe, after ſo fatiguing a Journey, 'till the next Morning, he then prepared to throw himſelf at the King's Feet, as he came firſt out of his Bedchamber, to hear Maſs in his Cloſet. The King not expecting to ſee him there, and ſuppoſing he was not gone upon his Embaſſy, gave him a ſevere Rebuke for his Neglect of the Orders wherewith he had been charged; upon which, to the King's great Surprize, he addreſſed himſelf in the following Words. "If it "may pleaſe your Highneſs, I have been already with the Empe-"peror, and diſpatched your Affairs, I truſt with your Grace's "Contentation." And then he preſented his Letters from the Emperor.

9. The King diſſembling, for the preſent, his Admiration at the extraordinary Diſpatch and quick Return, which Mr. *Wolſey* had made, asked him if he had received no Orders by a Meſſenger that had been ſent after him; and who, it was ſuppoſed, might overtake him before he got out of *London*; he told his Majeſty he had met with ſuch a Meſſenger, upon the Road, in his Return, who acquainted him with what he had in Command from his Majeſty; but that himſelf, when at the Imperial Court, having preconceived the Subject-matter of it, as abſolutely neceſſary to his Majeſty's Service, had preſumed, of his own Accord, to ſupply the Defect of his Credentials, in that Particular; and becauſe he had herein exceeded his Commiſſion, he humbly implored his Majeſty's moſt gracious Pardon.

10. The King being pleaſed with the Expedient, and, in general, with the Succeſs of his Negotiation, excuſed a Temerity, which on other Occaſions has ſometimes proved fatal to thoſe who have taken upon them to execute certain Projects, to which their Orders did not extend, and who could perhaps have pleaded Reaſons of Neceſſity or Advantage, of equal Force with thoſe, upon which Mr. *Wolſey* had been induced to make ſo bold an Effort of his Zeal for the King's Intereſts. Yet he had not only Aſſurances of Pardon, but the Royal Thanks for a Service, which, as to the Manner of it, is rarely to be drawn into Imitation, and never without great Danger.

11. The King for that Time diſmiſs'd Mr. *Wolſey*, to the End he might take ſome Refreſhment after his Journey, and commanded him to attend when Dinner was over. In which Interval, it is no unreaſonable Conjecture, that a Perſon animated with his Views and Spirit, inſtead of conſulting his Eaſe, and the Appetites of Hunger or Thirſt, would rather take the Opportunity, if he had not ſeen them before, of waiting on his two Patrons, and of recounting to them the Circumſtances and Succeſs of an Embaſſy, wherein he had the Honour to be employed, upon their Recommendation. And they could not but be highly pleaſed to find, by ſo happy an Experiment, that they were not miſtaken in their Opinion of him; nor had led the King into any Miſtake, by the Repreſentations, which they had made in his Favour. *Cavendiſh* reports they expreſs'd their Satisfaction at his Conduct in a very obliging Manner; and particularly commended his Wit for the Means he found of ſupplying what was omitted in his Inſtructions.

12. Mr. *Wolſey* was ready, at the Time appointed, to report his Embaſſy, which he did ſo diſtinctly, with ſo good a Grace, and in ſo proper and [b] eloquent a Manner, that he received the Applauſe of the whole Council, and was conſidered by them as a Perſon, who, in every Reſpect, had given Proofs of a Capacity, equal to his Addreſs and Diligence. The King was, on all Accounts, ſo well ſatisfied with him, that the Deanery of ***Lincoln*** being at that time vacant, his Majeſty of his ſole royal Pleaſure, and without any Mediation of the great Men at Court, immediately
1508. made him a Grant of that Dignity. It was in the Year 1508, on the Second of ***February*** when he was made Dean of ***Lincoln***.

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[b] *Archbiſhop* Parker, *after all the ſevere Things he has ſaid of the Cardinal, gives him the following Characters.* Doctus & Oratione Dulcis — Corporis etiam Geſtu & Habitu Concinnus. *Brit. Antiq.*

He was inſtituted there by Proxy *May* 25, 1509; ſo that his [c] Sup- 1509.
plication for his Degree of Batchelor in Divinity in the Univer-
ſity of *Oxford*, *April* 24, 1510, wherein he is mentioned as Dean 1510.
of *Lincoln*, was before his Inſtallation there in Perſon, which was
not 'till the 21ſt of *Auguſt* 1511. [d] On the 20th of *February* in 1511.
the ſame Month when he was promoted to the Deanery of *Lincoln*, he was made Prebendary of *Walton Brinhold*, in that Church wherein he had alſo ſome time the Prebend of *Stow*.

13. There has been another Reaſon aſſigned beſides Mr. *Wolſey*'s perſonal Merit, why Biſhop *Fox* ſo earneſtly on all Occaſions, eſpouſed his Intereſts. It is thought that Prelate had a particular View of doing himſelf Service in the Promotion of One, ſo well qualified for any Employment at Court, and who had been formerly his Chaplain. He might ſuppoſe himſelf, by the Aſſiſtance of ſo able and active a Perſon, in a better Condition, to obviate the Deſigns of his potent and perpetual Rival, the Earl of *Surry*; and by that means hinder his Lordſhip, who was then Treaſurer, from filling the Court with his own Creatures and Dependents. Tho' this Deſign of Biſhop *Fox* did not appear ſo openly, as in the Begining of the next Reign, when with the Aſſiſtance of Sir *Thomas Lovel*, he made freſh Inſtances in favour of Mr. *Wolſey* to the young King.

14. During the ſhort Time that *Henry* VII. reigned after Mr. *Wolſey*'s Promotion to the Deanery of *Lincoln*, I have not met with any private Records or [e] publick Memoirs, which give any Light into the Hiſtory of his Life. It has been commonly indeed reported, and ſeveral Writers have mentioned it as a Thing paſt all Doubt, that he was made Almoner and Privy Counſellor to that King, but the Truth of the Facts does not appear, or of either of them, from any publick [f] Inſtrument: And as to the ſpecifick Time when theſe Honours were conferred on him, there is ſtill as great Uncertainty.

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[c] Reg. G. P. 83. *b.*

[d] Prebend. de *Walton Brinhold* in Eccleſ. *Linc.* 20 *Feb.* 1508. Reg. Ep. Linc. Fuit Prebendar. de *Stow*. ibid.

[e] *Except a Diſpenſation from* Julius II, ad tertum incompatibile. *But this was granted before he was made Dean, and he is mentioned in it, not by that Title, but as Rector of* Lymington, *Rym. Con. T.* 13. 217. 1508. Ex. Origine.

[f] *In the 22d of* Henry VII. *I find a Patent to* John Ednam, *for the Office of Almoner. This was ſo ſhort a Time before this King's Demiſe, that without poſitive and direct Proof of the Fact, it ought not to be preſumed, the Cardinal either ſuperſeded, or otherwiſe ſucceeded, that Almoner before the next Reign.* Rym. Tom. 13. 1507.

CHAP. IV.

1. *The Methods, by which Mr.* Wolſey *recommended himſelf to the Favour of the young King.* 2. *A ſignal Proof of the King's Munificence towards him.* 3. *The Time of his being Almoner, with a Remark on Biſhop* Burnet *and Mr.* Fulman. 4. *He is preſented to the Rectory of* Turrington, *made Canon of* Windſor, *and Regiſtrary of the* Garter. 5. *Prebendary of* Bugthorpe, *and Dean of* York. 6. *Character of* Henry VIII, *upon his Acceſſion.* 7. *The Reaſon of it.* 8. *His prime Miniſters, the Earl of* Surry *and Biſhop of* Wincheſter. 9. *By what Methods he firſt made his Government popular.* 10. *Reflections on the Abuſe of Power in the Prince or his Miniſters, applied to the Caſe of* Empſon *and* Dudley. 11. *The State of our Affairs in reſpect to foreign Powers.* 12. *To* Maximilian *the Emperor.* 13. *To* Margaret *Ducheſs of* Savoy *Regent of the* Low Countries. 14. *To* Lewis *the Twelfth of* France. 15. *A former Treaty with him not thought very honorary or advantagious to* England. 16. *To* Ferdinand *King of* Arragon. 17. *The ample Powers of a Commiſſion from him.* 18. *To* James IV, *King of* Scotland. 19. *To Pope* Julius II: *He moves the King to enter into the* Italian *League, and to make War upon* France. 20. *Which terminates very much to the King's Honour, and the* Almoner's *Advantage.*

1. MR. *Wolſey*, after the Death of his royal Patron, *Henry* the Seventh, ſoon found Means of inſinuating himſelf into the Favour of his Son and Succeſſor. The Reaſons, upon which *Fox* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, firſt introduced him to Court, and placed him in a Light proper to his aſpiring Genius, ſtill ſubſiſted; and his Capacity for Affairs of State appeared ſtill more conſpicuous, the more he was converſant or employed in them. He had now indeed drawn the Eyes of the Court upon himſelf, and was in ſo great Reputation and Eſteem, that he became in good Meaſure capable of puſhing his Fortune, on the Merit of his own Character. But what principally tended to facilitate his Advancement, was his happy Addreſs to thoſe Inclinations of the young King, which he obſerved to be moſt predominant in him. He had alſo the Art of attaching thoſe ſo effectually to his Intereſts, in whoſe Company the King, as being of the like Age and Diſpoſition, did moſt delight, that they were always ready to forward his Views, and to do him the beſt Offices in their Power: Being of a gay, facetious, and open Temper, he would divert himſelf with them,

in ſuch Exerciſes, as were moſt agreeable to the Levity and Paſſions of Youth, and which, if what [g] *Polydore Virgil* relates be true, did not perfectly ſuit with the Character of a Clergyman, eſpecially of a Prieſt, who was poſſeſſed of the firſt Dignity in the Church (for ſo the Deanery of *Lincoln* was then thought) next to that of a Biſhop; for he would deſcend, as that Author reports, to ſing, to laugh, to rally, and even to dance with them, as if for the Time he had quite laid aſide his proper Character, and that Severity of Behaviour, which became both his Order, and his Station in the Church. It muſt however be obſerved, that amidſt all theſe Irregularities, which if juſtly charged upon him, I would by no means undertake to defend or excuſe, he was careful when any proper Occaſion offered, to inſtil wholſome Inſtructions into the Mind of the King, as well in reſpect to his perſonal as political Conduct, and highly tending, on both Accounts, to his Advantage and Improvement.

2. Mr. *Wolſey* having by theſe Methods rendered himſelf very acceptable to the King, his Majeſty ſoon took an Occaſion of giving him a moſt ample Teſtimony of his royal Favour and Munificence. For ſhortly after the Attainder of Sir *Richard Empſon*, a Grant from the Crown was made to him of ſeveral Lands and Tenements ſituate in the Pariſh of St. *Brides*, by *Fleetſtreet*, which the Prior of the Convent there, had ſometime conveyed over to that Knight, and which did now, by his Forfeiture, devolve to the Crown. In the ſame Grant are included an Orchard and twelve Gardens, which the Prior of Saint *John* of *Jeruſalem*, and his Fraternity, had alſo made over in Form to Sir *Richard Empſon* for the Term of ninety-nine Years. For which Term the Premiſſes, that had been in his Poſſeſſion, are granted to Mr. *Wolſey*, his Heirs and Aſſigns; the King expreſsly diſclaiming for himſelf, and his Succeſſors, all Right and Title to them, in virtue of the ſaid Forfeiture, without any reſerve whatever of Rent, or Acknowledgment to the Crown.

3. This Grant bears date the eighteenth Day of *October* 1509, and Mr. *Wolſey* is mentioned in it as [h] Counſellor and Almoner to the King; ſo that Biſhop *Burnet* is miſtaken in his Calculation of the Time, when he was made Almoner, in ſuppoſing it was about the Year 1512: But it is more unaccountable that Mr. *Fullman* in his Remarks upon the Hiſtory of the *Reformation*, ſhould

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[g] Pol. Virg. *p.* 17. H. VIII.
[h] Rym. Con. T. 13. 267. v. Append.

make it a Queſtion whether Mr. *Wolſey* was really Almoner at that Time.

Nov. 28. Wood Ath. 570. 4. In 1510 he was preſented by the King to the Rectory of *Torrington* in the Dioceſe of *Exeter*, being then Batchelor of Divinity; and on the 17th of *February* following, was made Canon of the Collegiate-Church of *Windſor*; and about the ſame Time [b] Regiſtrary of the moſt noble Order of the *Garter*.

1512. *Jan.* 31, Wood. *Feb.* 21. 5. In 1512 he was preferred by Archbiſhop *Bambridge* to the Prebend of *Bugthorp* in the Church of *York*, wherein he ſucceeded Dean *Harrington* of that Church; and did alſo in *February* following ſucceed the ſaid *Harrington* in that Deanery: About which Time I find an original [i] Letter from the Archbiſhop, then reſiding as the King's Embaſſador at *Rome*, under this Direction, but in a different Hand: *To my right entirely beloved Broder in Chriſt Mr.* Tho. Wulſeye *the King's Almoner, and Dean of my Church at* York. In the Clouſe of this Letter, the Archbiſhop deſires the Continuance of the Almoner's *kind and loving mynde towards him, and his Cauſes.* And there are other Expreſſions in it, from which it appears, the Almoner was then a Perſon of conſiderable Weight at Court, and capable of doing his Friends Service with the King. So that notwithſtanding he had not yet attained that Height of Power, to which he afterwards arrived, yet he was continually making nearer Advances towards it, and had a great Share in the King's Confidence, and the publick Adminiſtration; 'till by degrees, at laſt, in the Year 1515 the whole Direction of Affairs, both in Church and State, was in a Manner, committed to him. It may, however, be proper to give us a more juſt Idea of his Abilities, and a better Light into the Reaſons of his Conduct, to conſider in both reſpects the Situation of Affairs, and ſome of the principal Events, wherein he was intereſted before that Period.

6. In reſpect to the State of the Nation, upon the Demiſe of King *Henry* the Seventh, we find his Son, a young Prince of an active and enterpriſing Spirit, aſcending the Throne, and in poſſeſſion of a large Treaſure which his Father had amaſſed, amounting to the Sum of Eighteen hundred thouſand Pounds, a larger Fund than any King of *England* had ever ſeen at one time in his Exchequer before. Another extraordinary Advantage which *Henry*

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[b] V. Mem. *p.* 1. *In the Regiſter of the* Garter *under* 2 Hen. VIII. *there is this Entry.* Supremus Conſilio ceterorum Equitum, e veſtigio delegit ad id officium [*Scriba*] Elemoſinarium ſuum magiſtrum *Thomam Wolſey*, ut deinceps eo fungeretur.

[i] 2 Collect. N° 3.

the Eighth had upon his Acceſſion to the Throne, above many of his Predeceſſors, was a clear, undiſputed, and univerſally acknowledged Title. The contending Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*, whoſe different Claims to the Crown had for many ſucceſſive Reigns occaſioned a vaſt and almoſt continued Flow of Blood, were united in his Perſon, by the Marriage of the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, eldeſt Daughter of *Edward* the Fourth, to *Henry* Earl of *Richmond* his Father the late King; but who for Reaſons either of Policy, or an irreconcileable Prejudice to the Houſe of *York*, would never recogniſe his Queen's Title, tho' his own was defective, even as derived from the *Lancaſtrian* Line itſelf. *Henry* the Eighth had not only a Soul which animated him to great Atchievements, but a Body formed to ſuſtain Labour and Hardſhip; of a regular and majeſtick Shape, and apt to give ſtrong and awful Impreſſions of that Authority wherewith he was inveſted: With theſe Advantages of Body and Mind, which he owed to Nature, he was diſtinguiſhed by a great many acquired and excellent Endowments. He underſtood *Latin* very well; had made conſiderable Progreſs in Theology and Philoſophy; and was ſo great a Maſter of Muſick, that he compoſed two intire Maſſes, which were frequently ſung in his Chappel: But being inflamed to a high Degree with the Thirſt of Glory, he much addicted himſelf to the martial Exerciſes then in Faſhion, wherein his Strength and Dexterity rendered him continually ſuperior to his Competitors; ſo that at Juſts and Tournaments he even carried away the Prize from Perſons highly celebrated for their Skill and Reputation in ſuch Kind of Atchievements. Yet it muſt not be diſſembled, that as his great Talents had accidentally an ill Effect in expoſing him to the Arts of Flattery, againſt which the Wiſdom and Experience of Age, do often prove too inſecure a Guard; ſo he was ſuſceptible of other Temptations more incident to the common Paſſions and Ardor of Youth, eſpecially in Perſons fired with the Luſt of Ambition. So that his Courage did not ſeem to be altogether without ſome latent Mixture of Cruelty, which, in the Sequel of his Reign, more openly diſcovered it ſelf; and his good Diſpoſitions towards improving himſelf in the more uſeful and polite Parts of Learning, were attended with certain Symptoms of Opiniatry, and a viſible Impatience of being oppoſed, whether in reſpect to his Sentiments, or his Inclination. If he ſometimes gave proper and ample Teſtimonies of a magnificent Spirit, he has been charged, on other Occaſions, as being not only of a different and leſs generous Diſpoſition, but rather inclined to Avarice; which he diſcovered by the more violent Methods that were ſometimes taken by him, of extorting Money from his Subjects. Without deſcending into the Detail of his Character, there was found ſo great a Variety in it, of good and leſs commendable Qualities, that it ſometimes appears hard to determine, if we may judge from his natural Temper, which of them operated with more Force: Tho' were we to make a Judgement concerning them, from what happened in the following Part of his Reign, and in particular from the Treatment which moſt of his royal Conſorts, which ſome of his Friends and principal Favourites, and eſpecially his great and faithful Miniſter, Cardinal *Wolſey*, met with, it ſeems to be leſs Matter of Diſpute, on which Side his Qualities did really preponderate.

7. I thought proper to obſerve this in general, concerning the Character of *Henry* the Eighth, that it might appear, how far the Perſon, whoſe Hiſtory I am writing, might be ſuppoſed to act in the Direction of Affairs under him, from his own Judgement, or Reaſons of State; and how far, with regard to the Temper or Inclinations of his Maſter.

8. *Henry* VIII, when he firſt took the Reins of Government into his Hands, was alſo very happy in a wiſe and faithful Council, ſelected from among thoſe who had been in the greateſt Confidence with *Henry* the Seventh, by Advice, or upon the Recommendation of that virtuous and prudent Lady, *Margaret* Ducheſs of *Richmond*, Grandmother to the preſent King. But the two Perſons to whom the Adminiſtration of Affairs, was principally committed, were *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Surry*, afterwards Duke of *Norfolk*, and *Richard Fox* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; the former of them being at that Time Lord Treaſurer, the other Secretary of State and Lord Privy Seal. It has been obſerved before, that certain Animoſities between theſe two great Men, did probably give the firſt Occaſion upon which Mr. *Wolſey* was introduced to Court. Some have thought their mutual Jealouſies and Altercations proceeded from a Deſire, which each of them entertained of having, or, at leaſt, of being thought to have, the greateſt Share in the King's Favour. Whatever might be the Origin or End of their Emulation, it was too viſible they ſought all Means of doing reciprocal ill Offices, and, had that been practicable, of ſupplanting one another. They often quarrelled, and by the Interpoſition of the King, or of common Friends, had, to Appearance, been reconciled; but ſome latent Impreſſions of former Injuries ſtill remained, which were ready upon any ſleight Provocation to break out, and openly diſcover themſelves. My Lord Privy Seal did not want ſpecious Grounds upon which to charge the Treaſurer. He repreſented to the King, that the great Sum

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left by his Father had been miſapply'd and exhauſted; that in the Diſpoſition of the King's [k] Bounty, the Earl conſidered nothing ſo much as how he might beſt advance his own Fortune, or provide for his Friends; and that all his Actions and Deſigns pointed one way or other at his own Intereſts. The Treaſurer urged in his own Defence, that he had diſpoſed of the King's Money, in purſuance of his Majeſty's ſpecial Order and Appointment, and that the Secretary envying him the Glory of his Majeſty's Favour, did, for that Reaſon, accuſe, and endeavour to diſgrace him. The Truth is, the patrimonial Eſtate of the Earl had been much impaired by the Civil Wars in the foregoing Reign, when himſelf was for ſome time made a Priſoner: And his Conduct in making uſe of his great Power and Intereſt at Court towards retrieving the Fortunes of his Family, had nothing in it extraordinary or unprecedented. And tho' he was later in Credit than the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, yet being a Man of Spirit, and having an excellent Underſtanding, he eaſily found Means of ſerving himſelf and his Friends, notwithſtanding all the Obſtacles which that Prelate could throw in his Way, who yet was a very wiſe and able Counſellor, and thoroughly acquainted with all the Myſteries of State. But as with Stateſmen the true Reaſon is generally diſſembled or concealed, it is not impoſſible, that the Imputations caſt upon the Treaſurer by the Privy Seal, might not ſolely proceed from a Motive of doing the King, or the Nation ſervice, but in ſome Degree out of Oppoſition to the Deſigns of the Earl, who had not only enriched himſelf, but his whole Family; filled the Court with his Creatures, and every where ſettled ſuch Dependencies as rendered him formidable to thoſe, who were not upon good Terms of Amity or Alliance with him: And of this the Biſhop was ſo apprehenſive, that he thought it neceſſary to introduce a Perſon to Court, if ſuch a One could be found, of a bold and active Spirit, of a ready Wit, and inſinuating Addreſs, who might in Time, ſerve as a Counterpoiſe to the Treaſurer's Power and Greatneſs, or at laſt perhaps be the Inſtrument of procuring his Removal. And the Event ſhewed, that the Biſhop, in recommending Mr. *Wolſey*, upon this View, was not miſtaken in his Man.

9. The Beginning of this Reign, was very happy and auſpicious upon another Account. The Nation then enjoyed perfect

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[k] *The Conſumption of the King's Treaſure, is not ſo directly charged by Biſhop* Burnet, *upon the Earl of* Surry, *as upon the King himſelf. Yet the Earl has been repreſented as rather too compliant to the King's Humour, as more eaſy than he ought to have been in anſwering, if not acceſſory to the procuring, Warrants for the Diſtribution of the King's Money.*

Tranquillity at home, and was in Friendſhip and Alliance with all the neighbouring Potentates. The good Diſpoſition which the People were in, upon the King's ſucceeding to the Crown, was very much improved by his calling a new Parliament; this they looked upon as a good Earneſt of his Intention to exerciſe a legal Government, and of his having a juſt and tender regard to the Rights and Liberties of his People; in the Poſſeſſion of which, they will never think themſelves perfectly ſecure, while they are by any Means precluded from ſending their Repreſentatives frequently to Parliament. But the Proceeding of the King, in relation to *Empſon* and *Dudley*, ſtill endeared him the more to his Subjects, by giving them a greater Idea of his Juſtice; as the Execution of his Father's Will, by which Reparation was offered to thoſe who had ſuffered by the rigorous Proceedings of thoſe Men, tended very much to demonſtrate his Clemency and Goodneſs. For beſides the Promiſe of Reſtitution where the Rights of any of his Subjects had been unjuſtly invaded, he publiſhed, under certain Reſtrictions, an *Act of Indemnity*, but the Benefit whereof did not extend to thoſe two notorious Inſtruments of Violence and Oppreſſion in the former Reign. Though they acted by virtue of the King's Warrant, in reviving certain obſolete Laws, and in taking the Advantage of thoſe Pains and Forfeitures, which had been incurred by ſeveral Offences againſt ſuch Laws; and tho' they endeavoured to excuſe the Rigour of their Proceedings, both upon a Pretence of publick Good, and the King's ſpecial Service and Intereſt; yet this Defence, however it carried ſomething of a ſpecious Appearance in it, was not admitted as reaſonable or ſufficient: And the Clamour of the People againſt them being general, and running very high, eſpecially from thoſe who had been perſonally aggrieved, it was thought adviſeable in the Beginning of this Reign, in order to render the firſt Proceedings of it more popular, to make them a Sacrifice to the Demands of publick Juſtice. For it appeared, their general Commiſſion from the King, upon which they pretended to juſtify themſelves, was not only executed with a Severity contrary to all equitable Conſtruction, but that they had in many reſpects, exceeded the Powers of it, and abuſed their Authority in open Violation of the Laws. What rendered them ſtill more obnoxious to the Publick, was, That tho' they had by their rapacious Fines or other Mulcts, brought large Sums of Money into the King's Exchequer; Yet they had taken care, by many private and ſometimes by more open Means of Conveyance, to enrich themſelves to a Degree, that was become highly invidious; and the more ſo, on Account of the ſmall Fortune to which they were both of them originally born: ***Dudley*** indeed was better deſcended, and a Gentleman, but ***Empſon,*** though raiſed at laſt to the Order of Knighthood, was only the Son of a Sievemaker. Upon the Death of ***Henry*** the Seventh, who had employed them both in the ſame Service, as Men learned in the Laws, and protected them as acting by his Direction, and in ſubſerviency to a Paſſion for accumulating Money, which was thought to be too predominant in him; they met with a Fate common, under a Change of Government, to Favourites, chargeable with abuſing the Truſt or Powers veſted in them, under a former Adminiſtration. For the Reſentments of an oppreſſed or injured People, always ariſing from the ſame reaſonable Grounds, will ever put them upon the ſame Methods of ſeeking Redreſs, and, where it is practicable, of avenging themſelves upon the unjuſt Authors of their Ruin or Misfortunes.

10. The loweſt and moſt ignorant Part of Mankind have a natural Idea of Probity and Juſtice, and in particular of the Neceſſity which lies upon the Civil Magiſtrate, of acting conformably to them, in order to preſerve the Peace and Happineſs of Society, and to ſecure the Rights and Liberties of private Perſons. However Men have differed in determining the Meaſures of civil Obedience to the ſovereign Power, or in what Hands ſoever they have thought that Power ſhould be ultimately lodged; yet they have all agreed in deteſting Tyranny and Oppreſſion, as contrary to the primary End and Inſtitution of civil Government, which is, confeſſedly on all Sides, for Protection and Security of the Subject, not for ***Deſtruction.*** And therefore if ſome have thought that the Perſon of the ſupreme Magiſtrate is ſacred and inviolable, and upon no Pretence of Male-Adminiſtration whatever to be reſiſted, it is not in favour of illegal and unjuſt Force, which they abhor and condemn; but becauſe Order requires, that there ſhould be a laſt Reſource of Power ſomewhere, and that Men ſhould know diſtinctly, and in ſome regular Method, where to find it. But no ſuch Method can be found in popular and tumultuary Proceedings, where the Frame of Government is unhinged; or, where every Man aſſumes the Character of a Judge, and a Right, without any legal Reſtraint, to do that which ſeems good in his own Eyes. It is not then, as hath been ſometimes diſingenuouſly inſinuated to ſupport or encourage a tyrannical Government, that this Notion has been advanced, but to prevent the barbarous and dreadful Effects of Tyranny when the ſovereign Power devolves, or is pretended to devolve, on a confuſed and diſorderly Multitude: Since there is a Mixture of Im-

perfection in every Government, ariſing from the preſent imperfect State and Corruption of Mankind, that Model ſeems preferable which, all Things conſidered, offers the leaſt Violence to Order, and to the eſtabliſhed Laws. If, at certain Conjunctures, and in the natural Courſe of Things, the Danger of ſuffering by unjuſt and illegal Force is unavoidable, from the Prince on one Part or the People on the Other; it ſeems more eligible, and for the greater Benefit of Society, that a Power of doing Miſchief ſhould be lodged in One, than in many Hands. The Proſpect of Redreſs by the Death of a ſingle Tyrant, by the Change of his Miniſters or his Meaſures, is much more open, than where ſeveral diſtinct Heads, eſpecially if they act in Conſert, have eſtabliſhed ſo many Dependencies, or erected ſo many diſtinct Colonies, in ſubſerviency to the common Tyranny throughout all Parts of a Nation.

11. Theſe Reflections are not altogether foreign to the Caſe of *Empſon* and *Dudleigh*; though there was no Way of coming at them by the Perſons, whom they had ſo generally aggrieved and injured, under the Reign of that Prince who employed and protected them; yet, no ſooner were they left to ſtand upon their own Defence, without his Protection, or thoſe other adventitious Helps which ordinarily accompany the Sunſhine of royal Favour, but they felt themſelves oppreſſed, and at length, overwhelmed by a greater Weight than they were by any Means able to ſuſtain. And the People, who are never better pleaſed than when publick Juſtice is done upon mercenary and rapacious Miniſters, had the Satisfaction in a ſhort Time of ſeeing them both brought to condign Puniſhment, and ſeveral of their inferior Agents and Abettors to open Shame and [l] Diſgrace.

12. Our Affairs at that Time, if we conſider them in reſpect to foreign States and Alliances, were alſo in a very happy Situation.

13. *Maximilian* the Emperor was glad, on many Accounts, to preſerve the Alliance which he had entered into with ſo conſiderable a State as *England*, but eſpecially, that he might better ſecure to Himſelf and his Houſe, *Burgundy* and the *Low-Countries*, of which he was poſſeſſed in Right of *Mary* his Wife, Daughter to *Charles the Bold*. For as it was thought impolitick in the Court of *England* under the former Reign, and not very conſiſtent with that Character of Wiſdom, for which *Henry* the Seventh had ac-

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[l] *They were accuſed, during the King's Illneſs, of ſummoning certain of their Friends to be in Arms at an Hour's Warning; from whence it was concluded, they had an Intention to ſeize the young King.* Herb. *p.* 9, 10.

quired ſo great Reputation, that a Ceſſion of thoſe Countries was ſo eaſily conſented to in favour of a neigbouring Prince, and otherwiſe very Potent; ſo it was certainly very adviſeable for him, by a Renewal or Continuance of former Treaties, to prevent any Meaſures that *England* might take towards retrieving that Error in Politicks. Though there was indeed one political Reaſon reſpecting both Powers, why the ‖ Amity between them ſhould be preſerved, founded on the mutual Advantage, which their Ships had reſpectively of trading, or in foul Weather of repairing to the Ports and Havens on each Side. Theſe Reaſons of Amity between *Maximilian* and our Court, had been corroborated by a late Treaty of Marriage, which yet after ſeveral Conventions to that End came to nothing, between *Charles* Grandchild and Heir of *Maximilian*, and the Lady *Mary* Siſter to the preſent King of *England*. But tho' this Treaty had not the Effect propoſed, yet in the Progreſs of it, Occaſion was adminiſtred of ſeveral Overtures towards Peace and Alliance between theſe two Potentates in other reſpects, to which, on both Sides a proper Sanction was given.

14. The Intereſts of *Maximilian*, and of his Daughter *Margaret* Ducheſs of *Savoy* and Regent of the *Low-Countries*, were ſo complicated and inſeparable, that an Alliance with her naturally followed upon the Conventions which were made with his Imperial Majeſty. And yet there were Reaſons alſo reſpecting the perſonal Qualities and Conduct of this Lady, whoſe Vertue, Wiſdom, and Diſcretion, had gained her great Reputation, why the Court of *England* ſhould deſire to cultivate a good Correſpondence with her.

15. *Lewis* King of *France*, the Twelfth of that Name, had great Reaſon too for keeping himſelf at that Time upon good Terms with *England*. He was not only engaged in War with ſeveral Powers in *Italy*, where he was puſhing the Deſigns of his Ambition with all the Force he could raiſe, but he was making an Attempt to annex for ever the Dukedom of *Bretaign*, which he claimed in Right of his Wiſe, to the Crown of *France*. And as it was another Imputation upon the Conduct of our Court in the late Reign, that they had ſuffered that Dukedom, ſo near to this Iſland, and of ſo great conſequence to us whenever we might think fit to make a Deſcent upon *France*, to be united with that Crown, it was very natural for ſo wiſe and jealous a Prince as

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‖ *Accordingly a Treaty between theſe two Potentates, which had been concluded at* Antwerp *in the Year* 1502, *was now renewed and confirmed.* Vid. Rym.

Lewis the Twelfth, to conſerve the Peace with us, at leaſt 'till the Union, which he had ſo ardently deſired and projected, ſhould be more effectually eſtabliſhed.

16. The Reaſon on our Part why we had entered into a Treaty, which not only ſtrengthened an old Enemy by the Acceſſion of a neighbouring Country, but rendered us leſs capable of annoying him in caſe of a Rupture, by depriving us of their Aſſiſtance, who had formerly been and were ſtill well diſpoſed to be our Confederates, can only be aſcribed to the ill State and Condition of our Affairs at home, to which they had been of late Years reduced by our many inteſtine Diſſentions. *Lewis* however was ſo ſenſible of the Advantage which he had obtained from us, and ſo ſedulous to prevent any Occaſion of our diſturbing him in the quiet Poſſeſſion of it, that on the 23d of *March* after the King's Acceſſion, he procured a Treaty of Peace and firm Friendſhip to be made with *England*, which on the twentieth Day of *June* following was formally ratified. In which Treaty he not only acknowledgeth himſelf [m] Debtor to the Crown of *England* for the Value of a Hundred and twenty thouſand Crowns, but accountable for the [n] Expence which *Henry* late King of *England* had been at, in Defence of his Claim to the Dukedom of *Bretaign* in Right of *Ann* Relict of *Charles* late King of *France*, and now married to himſelf. So that it appears, *Henry* the Seventh did not ſo much concur by a ſubſequent Conſent, that *Bretaign* ſhould be annexed to the Crown of *France*, as that he antecedently and directly aſſiſted his Brother *Lewis* to that End.

17. *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon*, in his own Right, and of *Caſtile* in Right of his Wife *Iſabel* during her Life, had Reaſons for maintaining a ſtrict Union with *England*, not only in regard to the Intereſts of his Daughter *Catherine*, Relict of the late Prince *Arthur*, and after his Death eſpouſed and now married to the preſent King; but from a Proſpect, wherein the Event ſhewed he was not deceived, of Aſſiſtance from his Son-in-Law, in caſe of a Rupture with *France*. For when the War afterwards broke out between thoſe two Powers, the King of *England* ſent under the

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[m] *And whereas at the Treaty of Peace in* July 1498, Lewis *the Twelfth had given Caution unto* Henry *the Seventh to pay that which remained of* 745000 *Crowns, due according to a Treaty made between* Charles *the Eighth and the ſaid* Henry, 13 *Nov.* 1492, [*the Remainder of which was the Sum of*. 120000 *above ſpecify'd*] *now* Lewis *ſtipulated anew to pay it*. Herb. *p.* 13.

[n] Et pro Expenſis per bonæ Memorie *Henricum* nuper *Angliæ* Regem — factis pro Defenſione Dominæ *Annæ* de *Britannia* Relictæ inclitæ Recordationis Domini *Caroli* nuper & noviſſimi Regis *Franciæ*, & de preſenti Spenſæ & Uxoris præfati Domini noſtri *Ludovici* Regis *Franciæ*, & Patriæ *Britanniæ*. Rym. Con. T. 13. *p.* 287, 510.

Command of *Thomas Grey* Marqueſs of *Dorſet* (who was accompany'd by ſeveral Noblemen and other Perſons of Diſtinction) about Ten thouſand Souldiers to the Aid of *Ferdinand*, among whom there are computed by the *Spaniſh* Hiſtorians to have been Five thouſand Archers. But, the Event of this Expedition was not ſo glorious to *England*, as might have been expected, from the Bravery of her Troops, and the Reputation of her former Atchievements; becauſe tho' *Ferdinand* found the *Engliſh* Troops of great Service to him, yet preferring his private Schemes to the Good of the common Cauſe, the *Engliſh* General did not think it adviſeable to concur with him in all the Operations of War, which he had projected.

But without putting future and remote Caſes, to which ſo wiſe and politick a Prince as *Ferdinand*, may naturally be ſuppoſed to have had regard in preſerving Peace with *England*, the Eſpouſals of his Daughter *Katherine* to the young King, was of itſelf a powerful Inducement, why he ſhould take all proper Meaſures to that End, and even make ſo near and ſacred an Alliance the Foundation of a more ſtrict and inviolable Friendſhip. Accordingly he took an early Occaſion, after the King's coming to the Crown, to ſend certain Miniſters with full [o] Powers, and ample Inſtructions, to renew the Treaty both concerning Peace, and the Marriage, with our Court. In their Commiſſion that Prince ſeems to ſpeak from the Heart, and to expreſs the Sentiments of a Father, as well as of a Friend and Ally: But he is ſo particularly taken up with the Affair of the Marriage, that he makes all the Conceſſions by way of diſclaiming whatever Right might in future Time be pretended by *Spain* to her Dowry, or to any Part of it, that the Court of *England* could poſſibly deſire. He declares in the moſt plain and undiſguiſed Manner, it is his Will and Pleaſure, that the former Treaty relating to Peace and Marriage, and every Article of it ſhould continue in force and be ratified anew: And if any contingent unforeſeen Circumſtances ſhould make it requiſite, that certain new Articles ſhould be added, the better to explain or corroborate the Former, or to effect, that the main Deſign of the Treaty ſhould be more fully or perfectly executed, then they are empowered to agree to an Addition of thoſe Articles. More ſtrongly to cement the Union between thoſe two Crowns, by the Blood of *Spain* and *England*, the Commiſſioners have it in Charge, to renew and confirm the Treaty of Marriage between *Charles* Prince of *Caſtile*, and the Lady *Mary* the

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[o] Bibl. Cott. Veſp. *c.* 12. Rym. T. 13, *p.* 294.

King's Siſter, and to make any new Conventions which may cauſe it to operate effectually. And here I ſhall take Leave to obſerve, on occaſion of a Queſtion which Biſhop *Burnet* makes [p] Whether Queen *Catherine* was Princeſs of *Wales?* that ſhe is expreſly ſtiled ſo in this [q] Commiſſion.

18. *James* the Fourth King of *Scotland*, was not only in a Treaty of Peace and Alliance with King *Henry*, but his Brother-in-Law by the Marriage of *Margaret* his Siſter. But ſome Umbrage notwithſtanding had been taken in the Cloſe of the late Reign, on account of the great Attachment which the Court of *Scotland* ſhewed to that of *France*, and the ſtrict Correſpondence which was then kept up and obſerved between them: Yet ſome time before the Death of *Henry* the Seventh, theſe Jealouſies were diſpelled, and a good Underſtanding re-eſtabliſhed between *James*, and that Prince his Father-in-Law; ſo that his Son had been but a very ſhort time in poſſeſſion of the Throne, before *James* ſent Letters of Congratulation to him, and cauſed the Treaty of Peace with him to be renewed. The Oath which was made the 29th of *Auguſt* 1509, in his Name, by *Andrew* Biſhop of *Murray*, as to the Form and Tenour of it, appears ſomewhat remarkable: And the King the ſame Day took an Oath to the ſame Effect, towards preſerving Peace and Friendſhip on his Part, at his [r] Mannor of *Hanworth*, after which, proper Inſtruments were then and there ſigned and atteſted. And upon the Tenth of *September* following a Commiſſion was made to Sir *Robert Drury*, Sir *Marmaduke Conſtable*, and one *Batemanſon* Doctor of Laws, to treat with the King of *Scotland* or his Commiſſioners, concerning any ſuch Matters of Complaint, Injury or Offence, as might have happened in Breach of the Treaties at the Time ſubſiſting between the two Nations.

19. *Julius* the Second of an active and martial Spirit, then ſat in the Papal Chair: But he was ſo far from giving the King any Cauſe of Umbrage from that Quarter, that he took all proper Methods to engage his Friendſhip and Alliance. Fearing the further Progreſs of the Arms of *Lewis* King of *France*, who had then entered ſome Part of *Italy*, he thought it might be of the greateſt Importance to him, if he could by any Means bring our

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[p] Fullman's *Correct.*

[q] Arthur *Duke of* Cornwall *was created Prince of* Wales *and Earl of* Cheſter *in the fifth Year of his Father's Reign; and even after Queen* Catherine's *Divorce ſhe was treated as Princeſs of* Wales, *and ſtiled Prince* Arthur's *Dowager.*

[r] Rymer, T. 13, 263.

King over to his Intereſts, or perſuade him to make War upon *France*, and by that means cauſe a Diverſion of the *French* King's Forces then in *Italy*, towards the Defence of his own Dominions. *Julius* upon this View, who took that Name in Honour to the Memory of *Cæſar*, and not without ſome Emulation, as it has been thought, in reference to that of his predeceſſor *Alexander the Sixth*, makes his Compliment to the King by ſending his Majeſty a golden Roſe dip'd in Chriſm and perfumed with Muſk, directed to Archbiſhop *Warham*, who had Inſtructions to preſent it to the King at High Maſs with the Pope's [ſ] Benediction, with a Letter full of Complaints againſt the *French* King, and repreſenting him as one, who had no Regard either for God, or a good Name or Conſcience, and, among other Invectives, whoſe Deſign was to lay the Foundation of his Empire, in the Uſurpation and Conqueſt of all *Italy*. And therefore he employeth the moſt proper and forcible Topicks of Perſuaſion to move the King to engage in his Cauſe, he exhorts him by the Mercies of *Chriſt*, and the Merits of his famous Anceſtors, who had never forſaken the Church in Diſtreſs, and laſtly, by the ſtrong Tye of his filial Obedience, that he would enter into the *Italian* League, of which they had conſtituted him the Head.

20. The King thus inſtigated by the Pope, to go into the Confederacy againſt *France*, and more by his own Ambition to aſſert his Title to that Crown, ſent *Chriſtopher Bambridge* Archbiſhop of *York* in Quality of his Ambaſſador to *Rome* to concert proper Meaſures with his Holineſs, concerning the Operations of War, and other Projects to be agreed upon towards promoting the common Cauſe. This Prelate acquitted himſelf in negotiating the Buſineſs about which he was ſent, and in his Conduct towards the Pope, ſo much to his Satisfaction, that he ſoon conferred on him a Cardinal's Hat; in gratitude for which Honour and Dignity he was more earneſt in his Inſtances to the King on the Pope's Behalf. He begged of his Majeſty, that he would conſider the Danger and Diſtreſs which the Holy Father was in; that he would not deſert the Head of the Church in his Extremity, who had deſerved ſo well of the common Cauſe of Chriſtianity, nor ſuffer him to be oppreſſed by the Violence and unjuſt Force of wicked [t] Men. Theſe Repreſentations being agreeable to the King's own Sentiments, were ſo well received and approved, that the Queſtion was propoſed in Council, whether

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[ſ] Spelman's Counc. *v.* 2. 725.

[t] Polyd. 6, 7.

a War with *France* was at that time adviſeable? Upon the Debate there were very different Opinions; but it was at laſt determined, that this was a proper Time for the King to claim, and recover the *Engliſh* Dominions in [u] *France*. Upon this, firſt it was reſolved, that a monitory Embaſſy ſhould be ſent to *Lewis* the Twelfth, requiring that he ſhould deſiſt from proſecuting the War in *Italy*. But that Prince, whether from an Impulſe of Courage or Reſentment; whether confiding in his own Strength, good Fortune, or the Friendſhip of the Emperor, of which he then thought himſelf ſecure, ſhewed no regard to this Meſſage [x]. Our King being ſtill more irritated by this Behaviour of *Lewis*, and that he might have more Reaſons than One for a War upon *France*, ſent by *Clarencieux* to demand in Form, the Duchies of *Normandy*, *Guyen*, *Anjou*, and *Mayn*, as his patrimonial Inheritance, and in caſe of Refuſal, to denounce War; which being proclaimed, it was reſolved that the King ſhould in Perſon invade *France*; and an Army being levied in purſuance of this Reſolution, the [y] Care of ſupplying it with Proviſions was committed to the Almoner and new Favourite Mr. *Wolſey*, who accompanied the King in this Expedition, in the Succeſs and Glory whereof, he in a ſhort Time after found his own Account, by a further Encreaſe of Power, Riches, and Honour, and, which laid the Foundation of them all, of Credit with his Prince. And in this View I ſhall leave him, 'till I have deſcended to ſhew, what Situation the eccleſiaſtical State was in (where he afterward preſided as Legate) the Beginning of this Reign.

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[u] Vid. ad hanc Rem. Pol. *p.* 7. Med.

[x] Vid. Pol. *p.* 8. Med.

[y] Herb. Cavend.

CHAP. V.

1. *The Extent of the* Romiſh *Church upon the King's Acceſſion, with a tranſient Character of the* Waldenſes, *&c. from Father* Paul. 2. *And the Followers of* John Huſs *and* Hierom *of Prague.* 3. *Of the Schiſm under Pope* Julius II. 4. *In what Reſpects Unity in the* Romiſh *Church was notwithſtanding preſerved.* 5. *The State in general at that Time of the* Engliſh *Church.* 6. *Perſecution on a religious Account condemned.* 7. *A Reflection on Mr.* Fox *his Martyrology.* 8. *The Right of the civil Magiſtrate in Reſpect to ſuch Principles as tend to the Diſturbance or Subverſion of his Government.* 9. *The Penal Laws againſt the* Lollard'*s were the Laws of the State, and executed by Authority from the State.* 10. *A Defence of Archbiſhop* Arundel, *in Reſpect to one of his Conſtitutions at* Oxford. 11. *That the Reading of the Scriptures in the vulgar Tongue was not at that Time abſolutely condemned.* 12. *A Reflection upon a Cenſure of Archbiſhop* Parker. 13. *A further Account of the Penal Laws and Proceedings againſt the Followers of* Wickcliff. 14. *In both Reſpects too great Rigour.* 15. *The Incroachments of the Papal Power.* 16. *Yet the Power of the Crown, in reſpect to the Clergy, ſtill conſiderable, particularly by the Nomination of Biſhops, and the Reſtitution of their Temporalities.* 17. *What Right of Election was ſtill in the Chapters.* 18. *An Act of Parliament in the firſt Year of* Edward VI, *cited.* 19. *Of the ancient Method of beſtowing Biſhopricks by the Delivery of the Ring and Staff.* 20. *The Principles and Conduct of the young King, in relation to the Church of* Rome. 21. *Yet deſirous to aſſert his Royal Power and Dignity, and particularly in what reſpect.* 22. *A Conteſt about the Civil and Spiritual Juriſdiction.* 23. *The Advantage which* Hunn *a Merchant-Taylor propoſed to reap by it, with his Caſe by Biſhop* Burnet. 24. *Wrong ſtated.* 25. *An unjuſt Inſinuation by that learned Hiſtorian, to the Diſadvantage of Cardinal* Wolſey, *with a Miſtake of Mr.* Collier. 26. *A further Confutation of the Biſhop's Charge from Sir* Thomas More.

1. WHEN *Henry* the Eighth came to the Crown, the greateſt Part of the Chriſtian World was in Communion with the Church of *Rome*, and viſibly conformed to her Faith, her Doctrine, and Worſhip; the *Waldenſes* or *Albigenſes* indeed, as they were called, Inhabitants of that Tract where the *Alps* are joined with the *Pyrhenees*, had ſeparated from her; but they were a People of great Simplicity and Ignorance; neither conſiderable

for their Number, nor much capable of propagating their Doctrine, in a ſtrict or perſuaſive Way of Argumentation. [a] Beſides, their Neighbours were prepoſſeſſed with ſuch an Opinion concerning certain Impieties wherewith they were charged, and entertained ſuch ſtrong Prejudices againſt them, on that Account, that had they been much better qualified to undertake the Converſion of others, there was little Probability of their ſucceeding in an Attempt, to all Appearance, ſo very impracticable.

2. There were alſo ſome Followers of *John Huſs* and *Jerome* of *Prague*, in *Bohemia*, who yet differed not much from the eſtabliſhed Doctrine or Worſhip, except in Reference to the Article of the Sacrament, and the Adminiſtration of it, under one Kind. But neither did theſe Perſons appear very formidable, either for their Strength or Learning, or acted with any extraordinary Zeal for diſſeminating their Principles, in order, by that Means, to gain Proſelytes abroad.

3. There was yet ſome Danger of Schiſm from the Head, as he had been then publickly acknowledged, of the *Romiſh* Church. *Julius* the Second, tho' poſſeſſed of ſeveral extraordinary Qualities, yet being rather of a Temper too warm, imperious, and turbulent, had, by his Conduct, provoked certain ſecular Powers, and ſome of his Cardinals, to ſeparate themſelves from him, and to call a Council, which firſt began to be formed by [b] *Lewis* the Twelfth at *Tours*; where an Inquiſition being propoſed concerning the Pope's Authority, and his late Actions, they reſolved againſt him upon both Articles; and declared the Sentence, whereby he had condemned and excommunicated them, to be void; Decreeing further, That a monitory Meſſage ſhould be ſent to him, by which he might be perſuaded to embrace Peace, and Moderation; and in caſe of Incompliance, they would proceed to ſummon him before a free and general Council, according to the Decree of the Council of *Baſil*. *Maximilian*, at preſent, united with the *French* King and the Cardinal's againſt *Julius*, and ſhortly after a Council was called at *Piſa*, where his Holineſs was commanded to appear. But the Emperor did not long act in concert with *Lewis* in thoſe Meaſures, which ſo viſibly tended to the Pope's Diſgrace and the Diminution of his Authority; ſo that whether in regard to a perſonal Affection for him, or to the Dignity of the Papal-Chair, or to the Peace of the Church in general, or from any Umbrage at the growing Power of *France*, and the Succeſs of her

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[a] F. Paul's *Hiſt. of the Council of* Trent, p. 3.

[b] Dup. Eccleſ. Hiſt.

Arms, *Maximilian* thought fit to leave *Lewis* to himſelf in proſecuting thoſe Deſigns, which were now become, by the Diſtreſs and hard Conditions to which the Pope was reduced, very invidious, and to join with our King, and *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon*, in Defence of his Holineſs againſt that Monarch. The Council of [c] *Piſa* notwithſtanding continued under his Protection in paſſing their Cenſures, and purſuing their Deſigns againſt the Pope; but apprehending themſelves ſlighted by the Inhabitants of that City, they removed to *Milan*, and being treated there with the like Indignity, they ſhifted the Scene of their Reſidence to *Lyons* in *France*, where the Pope not appearing or anſwering according to their Summons, they finally ſuſpended his Authority. Theſe Proceedings irritated the Pope ſo far, that he not only iſſued out his ſpiritual Fulminations againſt *Lewis* and his Subjects, but exerted the higheſt Inſtance of Power, which any of his Predeceſſors had aſſumed, in Virtue of their ſitting in the Papal-Chair, and expoſed the Kingdom of *France*, together with that of *Navarre*, whoſe King favoured *Lewis*, to the Capture of any Perſon who ſhould attempt to make it: And in Oppoſition to what had been done againſt him, at the Council of *Lyons*, or rather, to the End he might perfectly annihilate all the Acts and Decrees of it, he ordered one to be held at the *Lateran* in *Rome*, at which *Silveſter* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, *John* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, *Thomas Docwra* Lord Prior of Saint *John's*, aſſiſted on the Part of the *Engliſh* Church, and where the Authors and Abettors of the other Council were excommunicated, and all their Proceedings declared null.

[c] Dupin Ecc. Hiſtory.

4. Yet theſe Conteſts between the two Councils, and the Parties who reſpectively adhered to them, did not directly affect the eſtabliſhed Faith, Doctrine, or Worſhip of the Church of *Rome*, but chiefly turned upon a Diſpute, which to this Day is undetermined, concerning the Extent of the Pope's perſonal Authority, and the Meaſures of Subjection and Obedience due to him, eſpecially in Oppoſition to the Power and Authority of a Council: The Grounds of which Controverſy I am not here concerned to examine. It is ſufficient for my Purpoſe to obſerve at preſent, that wherever, or in what meaſure ſoever the Superiority was ſuppoſed to be lodged, or did really reſide, the Church in general was not then divided upon any of thoſe Articles relating to Faith, Worſhip, or Diſcipline, from which the Reformation afterwards took its Riſe and proceeded. *Julius*, whoſe Mind was formed for vaſt Deſigns, had before his Elevation, given his Friends the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances, that he would re-eſtabliſh the Honour and Dignity of

the Holy See, and did indeed throughout the whole Courſe of his Government, endeavour to make good thoſe Aſſurances; but he dying about this Time, and being ſucceeded by *Leo* the Tenth of that Name, who thought proper to take more gentle and pacifick Meaſures with the Chriſtian Princes in his Patriarchate, particularly with *Lewis* the Twelfth, ſoon found Means of reconciling at once that King, and the Cardinals in his Faction, and of putting an End to the Diviſions, which had ſo much troubled the Church under the Pontificate of his Predeceſſor.

There was alſo a warm Conteſt about this Time between the *Dominican*[c] Fryers, and thoſe of the Order of St. *Francis*, concerning the immaculate Conception of the holy Virgin. But tho' this was a Subject of much Altercation, and ſcholaſtick Diſpute throughout the Univerſities, and among the Doctors of the *Romiſh* Church, yet the common Peace and Unity of it was ſtill preſerved.

The *Franciſcans* held, that the bleſſed Virgin, prevented by the Grace of the Holy Ghoſt, was ſanctified, ſo as never to be ſubject one Moment, at the Time of her Conception, to original Sin. The *Dominicans* in oppoſition to this Doctrine maintained, ſhe was conceived as all other Children of *Adam* are, in Sin; and that the Privilege of an immaculate Conception belonged only to *Chriſt*. Yet they owned ſhe was by a ſpecial Privilege actually ſanctified in the Womb, much after the ſame Manner as they ſuppoſed a previous Sanctification of *John the Baptiſt* or the Prophet *Jeremy*, before they were born. The contending Parties were divided under the two great Chiefs of the ſcholaſtick Wars, *Duns Scotus* and *Thomas* of *Aquin*. The ſubtle Doctor had aſſerted the Holy Virgin to be perfectly and originally free from the common Stain or Contagion of humane Race, and therefore contended, that the anniverſary Feaſt of her Conception ought to be perpetually celebrated in the Church. On the other Side the angelick Doctor without his Followers, accounted it heretical to ſay, ſhe was conceived with Sin, and condemned the Celebration of that Day as impious, and founded in a dangerous Error.

1476. Pope *Sixtus* had by a Decree in the Year 1476, determined in favour of the *Franciſcans*, and appointed that Feaſt to be annually ſolemnized in the Church for ever: Which Decree he after-
1483. wards corroborated by a Bull in 1483, which, notwithſtanding his pretended Infallibility, did not put an End to the Diſpute among thoſe, who yet owned his Authority, and continued in Communion with him; a plain Argument that his perſonal Infallibility at leaſt, even when he pronounced from the Chair, was not

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[c] Fox Martyrol.

not then any Article of Faith; for this Controverſy was continued and agitated with much Heat 'till the Year 1509. It was obſervable in the Conduct of it, that the *Franciſcans*, to repreſent by a ſenſible Image, what they found it very difficult to eſtabliſh in a clear and ſtrict Way of Reaſoning, made a Picture of *Joachim* and *Anna* kiſſing, with a Deſign to ſhew, that the Holy Virgin was generated and conceived merely by virtue of a Kiſs. 1509.

5. At home there appeared at this Time to be as perfect an Union of this Church with That of *Rome*, as had happened under any preceeding Reign; if there were any Grounds of Complaint from that Side againſt our Biſhops and Paſtors, it could not be on Account of their oppoſing the Pope's Authority, the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the *Romiſh* Church, or the Powers of the Clergy in general: They were rather blameable indeed for diſcovering too violent and unreaſonable a Zeal againſt ſuch Perſons, whoſe Principles tended to a Reformation of Religion in theſe ſeveral Reſpects.

6. It cannot be denied, there were at this Time in the Kingdom ſeveral Perſons who embraced and endeavoured to propagate certain Doctrines of *Wickcliff*, and that ſome of his Followers had been perſecuted and even ſuffered Death, for maintaining Principles condemned by the Church. I would by no means ſay any thing in Defence of Perſecution purely on a religious Account. Religion is founded in Reaſon; it ſuppoſes the free Uſe and Exerciſe of our reaſonable Faculties, and is therefore to be propagated after a Manner ſuitable to them; that is, in a rational Way of Perſuaſion. All that external Force can do, is to make Men Hypocrites, and compel a formal exterior Aſſent; And therefore ſhould never, upon any Pretence, be uſed either for the Conviction of Men, or the Puniſhment of the Errors into which they may have fallen, provided ſuch Errors do not affect the Peace or Well-being of civil Society.

But then we ſhould be very cautious, tho' Men may really ſuffer upon Principle, and for Conſcience ſake, how we dignify them with the Name and Character of Confeſſors or Martyrs in a proper Senſe, becauſe their Sufferings may notwithſtanding proceed from an erroneous Perſuaſion: I do not ſay, but even in this Caſe, God may ſometimes approve and reward the Effects of an ignorant or miſtaken Zeal; becauſe the ſtrongeſt Teſt of Obedience, the higheſt Evidence, any Perſon can give, of the Sincerity of his Love to God, is to ſuffer, and, where that is required, to lay down his Life for the Truth, or what he really apprehends to be ſo. But ſtill, when we judge concerning the Sufferings of other Men, we are not to regulate our Judgement from the ſecret Motives upon which they may ſuffer, which are known only to God, but from the Principles which they profeſs. Otherwiſe our Judgements ought to be equally favourable to thoſe who ſuffer for the Truth, and who ſuffer againſt the Truth, or perhaps in direct Oppoſition to the Principles of one another.

7. Mr. *Fox* ſeems, in his Martyrology, not to have had a ſufficient Regard to this Diſtinction. He ſometimes makes Martyrs and Confeſſors of Men who not only maintained erroneous Doctrines, but who gave juſt Occaſion of Scandal by Expreſſing an irregular and indiſcreet Zeal in Defence of them.

8. Whatever Judgement we may form, concerning the Innocency of Error, or the Immunity where the civil Magiſtrate is not concerned, which it has a Right to plead from all penal Reſtraints; yet in Caſes where the State is in viſible Danger of ſuffering by the Toleration of any ill Principles, the civil Magiſtrate has certainly a Right to interpoſe, by temporal Sanctions againſt them: Otherwiſe he cannot anſwer the End of his Inſtitution, which is to ſecure the Peace, and provide for the Happineſs of Society, againſt all thoſe who directly, or indirectly endeadeavour to deſtroy them.

9. I am not afraid to make theſe Remarks in Defence even of certain of our *Engliſh* Prelates before the Reformation, who were many of them pious and good Men, tho' obliged as they conceived, to execute the penal Laws againſt the *Lollards*, and Followers of *Wickcliff*, at that Time. It was not for their ſpeculative Opinions, conſidered purely as ſuch, that theſe People were proſecuted; but becauſe in certain reſpects they maintained Principles derogatory to the Rights of the Prince, injurious to Society, and contrary to the Laws then in Force. This Charge may be eaſily made good by an Induction of Particulars. That chriſtian Princes ought not to make War upon one another, is a Principle, which renders the ſupreme Magiſtrate, in caſe he be invaded, incapable of defending his Subjects, or of preventing their utter Ruin, and, if that ſhould be attempted, their utter Extirpation. That the Improvement of manual Arts, concerning Things not abſolutely neceſſary to the Support of Life, ſerve only to miniſter Occaſion of Sin, or a ſinful Luxury, is a Concluſion directly tending to promote the great Bane of Society, Idleneſs, and to impoveriſh innumerable Families, who ſubſiſt by the Profits ariſing from manual Occupations,

cupations, tho' perhaps not of indiſpenſable Neceſſity to the common Ends or Uſes of Life. And laſtly, the Opinion concerning the Unlawfulneſs of paying or receiving Tythes, which were then and are ſtill made Part of our civil Rights, for the Appropriation of which, there was both the Reaſon of the Thing and a divine Precedent, had ſomething in it ſo weak and capricious, ſo reflecting on the Honour, Wiſdom, and Juſtice of our Legiſlature in the many publick Proviſions to this End, that the Authors of it were very juſtly cenſured, and where they perſiſted in it, expoſed to the civil Penalties awarded againſt them. In ſhort, the Growth of the *Lollards* and of their enthuſiaſtick Opinions, had been formerly apprehended ſo dangerous to the State, that in the ſecond Year of [a] *Henry* V, a Law was expreſsly made to ſuppreſs them: And if we may credit [b] Archbiſhop *Parker*, in his *Britiſh Antiquities*, it was not without good Reaſon, that Law was enacted, on Account of their Numbers, and the Tumults they occaſioned, to the Diſturbance, and even to the Terror of the civil Government.

10. Theſe Things conſidered, [c] Archbiſhop *Arundel* in his Conſtitutions at *Oxford*, acted with a due Regard to the Intereſts of the State, as well as the Peace of the Church: In one Article, indeed, by which he condemns the Reading of *Wickcliff*'s Books, he is repreſented by Archbiſhop *Parker*, as inconſiſtent with himſelf, becauſe in his funeral Sermon at *Weſtminſter* upon the Death of Queen *Ann*, he had among other excellent Qualities particularly extolled her Zeal and Piety, in devoting Part of her Time for Reading the holy Scriptures. But this Conduct of the [d] Archbiſhop is not ſo irreconcileable as the Author of the *Britiſh Antiquities* repreſents it. The Reading of *Wickcliffe*'s Tranſlation was prohibited, not ſimply as a Verſion in the vulgar Tongue, but as diſapproved by the Church, becauſe the Tranſlator was not thought to have rendered the Original faithfully, and according to the full Import and true Meaning of the Text, or at leaſt, becauſe it was not a Work of Authority. Archbiſhop *Arundel* could not be of Opinion, that it was ſimply unlawful to render or to read the holy Scriptures in the vulgar Tongue; becauſe in thoſe very Con-

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[a] *Statutes at large.*

[b] Cum motus & perturbatio Reipublicæ timeretur & de *Hujus Wicliffianæ* multitudinis Ducibus timeretur, *&c. Antiq. Brit.* p. 275.

[c] Vid. Spel. Conc. *p.* 648.

[d] *The Archbiſhop acted agreeably herein to a Commiſſion by Letters Patent from King* Rich. II. *whereby all Perſons are prohibited to keep, tranſcribe, to buy, or ſell* Wickliffe'*s Books, Treatiſes, and Libels in any manner whatever: And to a Statute of* Hen. IV, *in the Beginning of his Reign, that none ſhould favour or abet reputed Hereticks, or keep their Books.* Vid. Stat. at Large.

ſtitutions which prohibit the Reading of *Wickliffe*'s Books, or any other Verſion by Perſons unauthorized, it is declared, this Prohibition ſhould only continue in Force, 'till ſuch Tranſlations ſhall be approved by a provincial Council, or the Biſhop of the [e] Dioceſs: Which ſuppoſes, in the Judgement of that Prelate, there might be very good Reaſon why ſuch Tranſlation ſhould be approved when faithfully done, and by Perſons duly authorized to that End. Archbiſhop *Arundel* might therefore juſtly applaud Queen *Ann* for reading the Scriptures in the vulgar Tongue, the Verſion whereof was tacitly at leaſt allowed, or not condemned by the Church, and yet conſiſtently with this Elogy on that Queen, prohibit the Reading of ſuch Verſions, which the Church had condemned. A Liberty, which conſidered ſimply in itſelf, may be both lawful and expedient, is yet never to be exerciſed againſt Reaſons of Order and Government, or the Authority of publick Laws.

11. And that the Reading of the Scriptures or certain Portions of it in the vulgar Tongue, was not univerſally condemned, but approved and recommended, appears from that Exhortation to the Laity, that they ſhould *hear Goddy's Service every* Sonday *with Reverence and Devotion, and ſay devoutly the Pater-noſter, and hear Goddy's Law taught in the modern* [f] *Tongue*.

12. I cannot therefore, with ſubmiſſion, think the Cenſure paſſed upon the Death of this Metropolitan by Archbiſhop *Parker*, to be either ſo very juſt or pious as might have been expected from ſo great and learned a Primate: For he inſinuates, as if in the Circumſtances that attended the Death of Archbiſhop *Arundel* there was ſomething obſervable, which denoted a judicial Revenge [g] of Providence, upon his Conduct in this Particular. God does, indeed, ſometimes in the Courſe of his Providence, make himſelf ſo evidently known by the Judgement which he executeth, that it plainly appears to be his Doing, and to point at the particular Occaſion of his interpoſing after ſo ſpecial and remarkable a Manner; but where the Connection, between the Event and the Cauſe or Action to which we refer it, is not viſibly clear, Reaſons both of Modeſty, Prudence, and Charity, ſhould render us very cautious how we interpret the Judgements of God to the Diſadvantage of other Men.

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[e] Lynd. Prov. Lib. 5. T. 4. *p.* 286.
[f] Ant. Hamer. *p.* 57. Coll. *p.* 10. *b.*
[g] Ant. Brit. 276.

13. To return to the State of the Church at that Time, the Followers of *Wickcliff* were ſo numerous, that the Laws were put, and ſometimes with too great Rigour, in execution againſt them. Many of them were obliged to abjure, a Hundred and twenty or more at [h] once, and ſome of thoſe who after Abjuration incurred the Cenſure of the Relapſed, were expoſed to the Flames. Theſe Severities are commonly charged upon the Clergy of thoſe Times, as Men of a cruel and perſecuting Spirit, and as if ſuch a Spirit were the more peculiar Character of Clergymen. But why ſhould the Clergy, and they alone ſuffer, becauſe the Laws enacted, and executed by the ſecular Power, were thought ſevere? The Clergy neither have, nor ought to have, conſidered as ſuch, any Power but what is purely Spiritual: If the civil Magiſtrate will, in conſequence of what is thought neceſſary to preſerve Peace or Order in the State, inflict, upon any account, temporal Penalties upon the Subject, Penalties that are ſuppoſed unreaſonable, or contrary to the Rules of natural Equity; he is to anſwer for the Abuſe of his Power in inflicting them, as being the proper Judge, what Laws are moſt fit to attain the Ends of civil Government: And if he thinks proper to give greater Force to eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, by adding certain penal Sanctions, as conſidering any heretical Opinions deſtructive to the State, he has the ſame Right to do it, if that Conſideration be well founded, as he has to coerce or puniſh Delinquents of any Kind. But if in this caſe he ſhould extend his Power too far, it is he alone and not a Body of Men who claim no ſuch Power, that is accountable for the Exerciſe of it. To obviate what is here ſaid, it may be pretended, that it was at the Inſtigation of the Clergy, the penal Laws againſt Hereticks or Perſons then reputed ſo, were obtained and enacted, and not for Reaſons reſpecting the Peace of the State. To this it may be anſwered, That the Fact here alledged, does not ſufficiently appear: We may rather reaſonably infer, that the Act of *Henry* the Fifth before cited, againſt the *Lollards*, was founded in Reaſons reſpecting the [i] civil State. If the Clergy were inſtrumental in procuring That, or any other penal Laws againſt Hereticks, from a Principle of Perſecution, or any Motive of Cruelty, no

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[h] *This great Abjuration was made before* Smith *Biſhop of* Lincoln, *in the Year* 1507. Wood.

[i] *By a Statute of the Fifth of* Richard II. *it alſo appears, there were certain Perſons without Licenſe of the Ordinaries of the Places, or other ſufficient Authority, preaching daily, not only in Churches and Church-yards, but alſo in Markets, Fairs, and other open Places, divers Sermons concerning Hereſies and other notorious Errors — They are charged with engendring Diſcord and Diſſention betwixt divers* Eſtates *of the ſaid* Realm, *as well* Spiritual *as* Temporal, *and in exciting of the People to the great* Peril *of the Realm; that, when ſummoned to appear, they did not pay Obedience, or regard the Cenſures of the Church: that they maintained People in their Errors, by ſtrong Hand and by great* Routes. *Stat. at Large.*

Cenſure can be paſſed upon them too ſevere or opprobrious; notwithſtanding the *Lollards*, againſt whom thoſe Laws were principally made, had attacked the Clergy in their proper Rights and Character, denied all Authority and Church-power, the Succeſſion of the Prieſthood, and aſſerted, that every Man had a Right to take that Honour upon him, without being called of God, as was *Aaron:* And tho' they had endeavoured to lay waſt the Patrimony of the Church, and render Miniſters contemptible, by withdrawing thoſe Supports, or making them precarious, without which, the Reſpect due to the miniſterial Character, cannot be preſerved; Yet all theſe Provocations, we grant, had not been ſufficient to juſtify the rigid Diſcipline of the Church at that Time, and the temporal Puniſhments, by which it was enforced, if the State had not apprehended Conſequences injurious to the publick Peace, from a Toleration of thoſe Men, particularly from their Notions of Property, and the [k] Rights of civil Government.

14. We do not deny, that certain Truths were then in ſome Meaſure diſcovered, which were afterwards more univerſally profeſſed, and upon more clear and ſolid Grounds: But as yet, they who were in Search of them, had but little Light; and beſides, that their Knowledge was confuſed and imperfect, like that of Men juſt creeping out of Darkneſs; the Truths they began to diſcover, were mix'd with ſeveral and great Errors. Which yet, conſidering the Simplicity of thoſe who ſuffered towards the Concluſion of the late Reign, and in the Beginning of this, ſhould rather have moved Compaſſion towards them, than rendered them the Objects of that ſevere Treatment, to which they were expoſed. For though the civil Power may, and ought to guard, by proper and penal Interminations, againſt all Errors which may diſturb the publick Peace; yet as Laws are intended not for Deſtruction, but in order to prevent it, it is agreeable to the Wiſdom, Clemency, and Ends of Government, that where the Safety of it

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[k] *By the 2d of* Hen. V. *they are charged with an Intent not only to deſtroy and ſubvert the Chriſtian Faith, and the Law of the Church, but alſo to deſtroy the King and all the Eſtates of his Realm, as well* Spiritual *as* Temporal, and all Manner of Policy, *and* finally the Laws of the Land. *Upon which, all Perſons bearing Office, were required with their whole Power and Diligence, and that upon Oath when they entered into their Office, to deſtroy all Manner of Hereſies and Errors called* Lollardys, *and to aſſiſt the Ordinaries and Commiſſaries to the ſame End. This Statute, as appears by the Preamble, was made on Account of the* great Rumours, Congregations, *and* Inſurrections *they had occaſioned.* Statutes at Large.

The former Law Biſhop Burnet *obſerves, was paſſed by the Lords, and aſſented to by the King, but never ſent down to the Houſe of Commons: Who in the next Parliament preferred a Bill, reciting that Act, and declare, they never intended to bind themſelves and their* Succeſſors the Prelates, more than their Anceſtors had done in Time paſt. *But I did not recite that Law ſo much to aſſert the binding Force of it, as to ſhew, how numerous the Followers of* Wickcliffe *were at that time.*

By the 2d of Hen. IV. *If any Heretick Convict did refuſe to abjure, or after Abjuration did fall into Relapſe, he was to be left to the Secular Court.*

will admit, they ſhould be executed with all poſſible Tenderneſs and Moderation. By which Characters, if we may make a Judgement of the Proceedings againſt the Perſecuted at this Time, it will be difficult in all Reſpects to excuſe or defend them.

15. In all theſe Proceedings the Church acted in ſubſerviency to the Authority of the State, and by Virtue of ſtanding and expreſs Laws. The Extent of the civil and the eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction was not then ſo nicely controverted, as it happened to be ſome Time after in the Sequel of this Reign. Tho' the Encroachments of the papal Power had been oppoſed by ſeveral of our Kings, who thought themſelves concerned in Honour and Juſtice to preſerve the Rights of the Crown, and to ſecure their Subjects as much as poſſible from foreign Impoſitions of any Kind, or under any Pretence; yet the Court of *Rome* ſtill, by one Means or other, made Irruptions upon the civil Power, and enlarged the Bounds of her Authority. Statutes of Proviſors had, indeed, been made to obviate and reſtrain it; yet the Laws to that End, were ſeldom executed, according to the proper Tenour and Deſign of them: Nay, in ſome reſpects, even where the Dignity or Prerogative of the Prince was more immediately concerned, the Laws had not only grown into Diſuſe, but were in a Manner buried in Oblivion: Inſomuch, that when Cardinal *Wolſey* was ſhortly after charged, upon his Impeachment, with Contempt of the King's Authority, and againſt the Statute of Proviſors heretofore made, becauſe he had obtained and exerciſed the Legatine Powers, it was thought a reaſonable Plea by his Council, that he did not know the Impetration of thoſe Powers to have been contrary to Law. And it appears, that the King by his conſenting they might be ſued for and obtained from the Court of *Rome*, either was a Stranger to that Statute himſelf, or thought he had a Power of diſpenſing with it, and that it might be diſpenſed with, without any Derogation to his Royal Dignity, or Civil Juriſdiction. To which of theſe Cauſes ſoever we attribute his Concurrence on the Occaſion, there was nothing in it new or extraordinary, nothing but what he could plead Precedents for in the Courſe of ſeveral foregoing Reigns.

16. Yet the Kings of *England* ſtill retained a very conſiderable Power and Influence over the eccleſiaſtical State, notwithſtanding the independent Authority at that Time of Primates in calling Provincial Synods, and of ſummoning their Suffragans to them: For Biſhops were nominated to the vacant Sees, and reſtored to their Temporalities by the Crown. Our Kings had for-

merly indeed a Power of giving Inveſtiture to Biſhops, by Delivery of the paſtoral Ring and Staff, without Election from the Clergy or Chapter. But tho' deprived of this Power, in that Way of Exerciſing it, they ſtill enjoyed it in effect, as to the main Ends and Purpoſes of it. [k] Upon the Vacancy of any Biſhoprick, a Writ iſſued out of *Chancery*, to veſt the Temporalities of it in the King; upon which, the Perſon deſigned for ſuch Biſhoprick was recommended to the Pope, and by him conſecrated and inveſted: But he was firſt obliged to take an Oath to his Holineſs, the Import whereof, as to other Biſhops, may be diſcovered from the [l] Form of that which was adminiſtered to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. But there being ſomething in the Profeſſion of Obedience to the Pope, not eaſily reconcileable to the Duty of a Subject, or the Rights of ſecular Princes; before any Archbiſhop or Biſhop could have his Temporalities reſtored, upon his doing Homage to the King, he was obliged to diſclaim and renounce all Clauſes in the Pope's Bull, prejudicial to the Rights of the Crown, or the King's Prerogative.

17. The Chapters notwithſtanding ſtill preſerved an Appearance of their ancient Right of Election, which had been exerciſed in the *Saxon* Reigns, and was after the *Norman* Conqueſt ſecured to the Church by a Charter of King *Stephen*, agreeable to the Practice and canonical Elections in the primitive Church, and that divine Precedent, in the firſt Election of a Biſhop to ſucceed in the apoſtolical College, upon the Death of *Judas*. How far the civil Power may interpoſe to influence, direct, or preſcribe, in ſuch Elections, upon any political Conſiderations, I ſhall not preſume to enquire: But only beg Leave to obſerve, that if the Church be a regular Society, and formed upon a wiſe and good Model, it is reaſonable to believe, in Honour to the Founder of it, that he has taken care a Succeſſion of proper Officers and Paſtors ſhould be preſerved in it, without any Neceſſity of calling in the ſecular Power to appoint or ſpecify them. The Method which to this Day obtains in our capitular Elections, plainly ſuppoſes, that there is an inherent Power lodged in the Church to this End: Their Prayers to God to direct their Choice, if they do, after the [m] Example of the Apoſtles, pray for his Direction to that End, proceed upon this Ground, that they have a Right of chuſing ſuch a Perſon, who, according to the beſt Judgement they may be moved or excited to make by his holy Spirit, ſhall be thought moſt fit for ſo high a Truſt. How ſuch a Prayer conſiſts with a previous Deſignation of the Perſon to be choſen, with the Right which the Church has to chuſe, with the

[k] Burn. *Hiſt. Reform.*

[l] Collect. N° 5.

[m] *Acts* i. 23, 24, 25.

the Freedom which every Man is preſumed to have of judgeing for himſelf, are Problems which I dare by no means undertake to reſolve.

By an [l] Act of Parliament in the firſt Year of *Edward the Sixth*, it is ordered, That the King may by his Letters Patents, at all times, when any Archbiſhoprick or Biſhoprick ſhould become void, confer the ſame on ſuch Perſon as he ſhall think fit, by Donation, without *Conge de Eſlire* or Election. And tho' this Statute was afterwards repealed, and the former Method of Election reſtored, yet one Reaſon upon which it is founded, ſeems ſtill to ſtand in its full Force, and to require, if that could be made, ſome good and diſtinct Anſwer; namely, * *That Elections by Writ of* Conge de Eſlire, *have indeed Colours, Shadows, or Pretences of Elections, but ſerve nevertheleſs to no Purpoſe.*

19. The Method of Electing by the Clergy, was confirmed by a Grant of King *John:* And yet before his Reign the Uſage of beſtowing Biſhopricks by Donation, or the Delivery of a Ring and a Staff, had for a long time obtained; tho' indeed [m] *Henry* I, had formerly made the ſame Grant, which was afterwards confirmed by the 25th of *Edward the Third*. And again, It is provided by an Act made in the ninth Year of *Henry the Fourth*, That all Elections of all the Archbiſhops and Biſhops be free, without being any wiſe interrupted either by the Pope, or by commandment of the ſaid Sovereign Lord the King.

20. King *Henry the Eighth*, upon his Acceſſion to the Crown, proceeded in Relation to the Church of *Rome*, much after the ſame Method, to which his Predeceſſors had for a long Time generally ſubmitted. He ſhewed himſelf indeed a moſt obſequious Son to the Church, and was ſo far from attempting any Innovation in the eccleſiaſtical State, to the Prejudice of the *Roman* See, that ſo ſoon as a proper Occaſion offered, he readily engaged in the Pope's Defence by his Sword, as he did ſometime after with his Pen. It may be queſtion'd, whether his very Method of Study did not tend to animate him with a greater Zeal for the Religion then eſtabliſhed. He was particularly converſant in the Works of *Thomas* of *Aquin*, that great and ſtrenuous Aſſertor of the *Romiſh* Doctrine in every Article of it; he was ſtill prepoſſeſſed more

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[l] Gib. Cod. T. 1. 132. * Gibſon, Cod. *ib.*

[m] Annuit Rex *Henricus* & Statuit, ut ab eo tempore in reliquum nunquam per Donationem Annuli & Baculi, Quiſquam de Epiſcopatu vel Albatia, per Regem, vel quamlibet laicam manum inveſtiretur in *Anglia*. Gib. Cod. T. 1. 122.

in Favour of the Religion wherein he had been educated, on Account of many learned and good Men, who lived at that time; and were bright and conſpicuous Ornaments of it. Several of the Biſhops, tho' profeſſing the eſtabliſhed Doctrines, had acquired great Eſteem for their Knowledge both in divine and human Affairs; they were venerable in their Perſons and Conduct, careful to maintain good Works, and to ſupport the Reſpect due to their Character by a holy and exemplary Life. A Prejudice on theſe Accounts, for the Religion which they profeſſed, and wherein the King had been from his Infancy inſtructed, was more excuſeable in him at an Age, when he had as yet neither Force, on Account of his many Avocations, nor perfect Liberty of Mind to give every Thing a due Examination. But his Zeal indeed, afterwards, in Oppoſition to *Luther*, where no perſonal Regards or publick Conſiderations ſeemed to require he ſhould engage in the Controverſy, plainly ſhewed how much he was attached to the Church of *Rome* by Inclination as well as Judgement. So that had it not been for a Paſſion, whereof he was naturally ſuſceptible, that had got the Dominion over his Heart, and which he was reſolved to gratify at any Rate, he wanted no Qualification to render him a zealous and laſting Advocate for Popery. For 'till the Period commenced, when his Love for *Ann Boleign* put him upon ſolliciting, by all poſſible Means, a Divorce from the Queen, and he had ſuffered ſome Repulſe from the Court of *Rome* in his Suit to that End, he ſought and embraced all Opportunities of obliging the Pope, and, in general, Churchmen of any Learning, or other ſuperior Character, throughout his Dominions.

21. But, notwithſtanding the King profeſſed, on all Occaſions, ſo much Devotion for the Church of *Rome*, he ſtill retained ſome Regard for the Honour and Dignity of the Crown; and was unwilling any Applications ſhould be made to the pontifical Court, or any Bulls ſued out there, without ſpecial and expreſs Licenſe firſt obtained from him: And therefore, whereas a Premunire was incurred by the 16th of *Richard* II, by which all Perſons who ſhould ſue to *Rome*, contrary to the King's Prerogative, ſhould be put out of his Protection, when any Commiſſions were granted by him to ſue out Bulls there, the Grounds and Reaſons of this Act were recited in the Preamble to them.

22. Yet it was not long before an Occaſion happened of Conteſt between the two Powers of the civil and the eccleſiaſtical State, concerning the Exemption of the Clergy from the Cognizance of temporal Courts in criminal Caſes. I ſhall not enter

into the Merits of the Arguments which were managed with great Heat on both Sides of the Queſtion; but only take notice of a remarkable Occurrence which happened in conſequence of it, and wherein the Memory of Cardinal *Wolſey* is concerned.

23. One *Hunn*, a Merchant-Taylor of *London*, encouraged by the Advantage which had been obtained in the Progreſs of this Conteſt, againſt the ſpiritual Juriſdiction, and having been ſued in the Spiritual Court for a Mortuary, which he refuſed to pay, in Revenge proſecuted the Clerk, who brought that Action againſt him, in a Premunire, for bringing the King's Subjects, as Biſhop *Burnet* ſtates the Caſe, "before a foreign Court, the Spiritual "Court ſitting by Authority of the Legate. This, *continues the* "*Biſhop*, ſo touched the Clergy to the Quick, that *Hunn* is in-"dicted for an Heretick, and put into the *Lollard's* Tower, where "to ſtop his Mouth and Suit at once, *Horſey* the Biſhop of "*London's* Chancellor, the Sumner, and Bell-ringer murther him, "as appeared from the Sumner's Depoſition." I think it incumbent on me, in regard to Truth and Equity, and to a ſecret Inſinuation, as the Caſe is here repreſented to the Cardinal's Diſadvantage, to make ſome tranſient Remarks on theſe ſeveral Particulars.

24. And, firſt, I would obſerve, that the very Matter of Fact, which is the Foundation of the Story, is wrong ſtated: *Hunn* did not ſue the Clerk who demanded a Mortuary of him, for bringing him before a foreign Court, as the word Foreign is here intended to be underſtood; but for citing him into the Spiritual Court, for a Matter, as he pleaded, only triable at Common Law.

25. Neither, ſecondly, is it true, That the Court, wherein *Hunn* was proſecuted, did ſit by Authority from the Legate. The Perſon, againſt whom this ſeems to be deſigned, if the Biſhop had any intelligible Deſign in it, was not then Legate, nor ſo much as Cardinal, or Archbiſhop; neither if he had been Legate, would the Proceſs againſt *Hunn* have any ways affected him; becauſe *Hunn* was ſued in the Court of the Biſhop of *London*, whoſe Chancellor acted in virtue of his ordinary Juriſdiction, without any Bulls, Inſtruments, or other Powers obtained or tranſmitted from *Rome*. By what Legatine Authority then did the Chancellor, at that time, ſit? Or what can poſſibly be the Meaning of this Aſſertion by our learned Hiſtorian, in prejudice to a Perſon who did not then ſubſiſt, according to the Character under which he

is here repreſented to act? Had Mr. *Collier* conſidered this, there would have been no Occaſion for the following Reply, which he makes to the Charge before us, in his eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. "If by a Stretch of Conſtruction the Biſhop of *London* ſhould "be ſaid to be an Abettor of foreign Juriſdiction, becauſe he "did not formally diſclaim *Wolſey*'s Legatine Authority." To this I anſwer, "That Cardinal *Wolſey* had the King's Licenſe under "his Broad Seal, to execute the Function of a Legate." The Biſhop of *London* could no more diſclaim, than the Cardinal could excuſe an Authority, which it is certain, though neither of theſe learned Hiſtorians obſerved ſo much, was not then in Being.

26. *Hunn*'s Suit could not touch the Clergy to the Quick, as his Lordſhip out of his great Regard to the Order, candidly repreſents, becauſe it was over-ruled by the concurrent Opinion of the Judges, the Matter in Diſpute being a Mortuary, which by the Law, was cognizable and properly within the Juriſdiction of the Spiritual Court. For the Biſhop of *London*, leſt it ſhould be pretended *Hunn* had hard Meaſure, as not being permitted to make the Moſt of his Action at Common-Law, ordered, that the Proceedings againſt him for erroneous Doctrine, of which he was accuſed, ſhould be ſuſpended in the Spiritual Court, 'till the Judges ſhould come to a Reſolution in his Caſe; who, having declared that his Action would not bear at Common Law, the Clergy could be in no Danger from *Hunn*, nor under any Temptation to murther him, on Account of his Suit, wherein he was baffled; and which therefore could not now affect the Clergy, either in reſpect to their Reputation, or Intereſts. But this Affair cannot be more clearly ſtated, than in the Words of Sir *Thomas More*, who, to uſe his own Expreſſion, *knew this Matter from Top to Toe*, and had ſpoken with almoſt every One that could give him any Light into it, except, as he ſays, the dead Man himſelf. "Now "it is well known of a Truth, that he was detected of Hereſy, "before the Premunire was ſued or thought upon; and he began "that Suit to help ſtope t'other Tryal; as indeed it did for a "While: For albeit that he that was ſued in the Premunire, was "nothing belonging to the Biſhop of *London*, before whom *Richard Hunn* was detected of Hereſy; yet leaſt ſuch, as would be "glad ſiniſterly to miſconſter every Thing towards the Clergy, "might have occaſion to ſay, the Matter was hotely handled "againſt him, to force him to forbear the Suit of the Premunire; "the Biſhop therefore did the more forbear, 'till it appeared "clearly to the temporal Judges, and all that were any thing

“ learned in the temporal Law, that hys Suit was nothing worth
“ in the King's Law. For as much as by plain Statute the Mat-
“ ter was out of Queſtion, that the Ple to be holden upon Mor-
“ tuaries belonged to the Spiritual [n] Court.”

In anſwer to what our learned Hiſtorian difinitively concludes from the Sumner's Depoſition, that *Hunn* was murdered by *Horſey* Chancellor to the Biſhop of *London*, aſſiſted by the ſaid Sumner, and Bell-ringer; It may be obſerved, that his Confeſſion in the *Tower*, if we may credit the Biſhop of *London* in his Letter afterwards to the Cardinal, was obtained by Pain and Durance; That he denied the Fact both at his taking Sanctuary, and at his Tryal; That he was a Man of looſe Behaviour, and much in Debt, and had no Regard to the common Principles of Vertue or Humanity, as appears from his Saying to his Maid *Julian Litle*, *It is merry, to turn the Penny* [nn]; at the ſame time he charged himſelf with one of the moſt horrid and ſhocking Crimes, whereof human Nature is capable. To this may be added the Depoſition of *Allen Creſwell*, That the Night before *Hunn* died, he deſired to borrow the Keeper's Knife, and upon his being asked, What he would do with it? ſaid, *It were better to kill himſelf, than to be ſo entreated.* *Horſenaile* alſo depoſed, That *Charles Joſeph* the Sumner, declared himſelf guiltleſs of *Hunn*'s Death. Theſe Things being conſidered, it is much to be ſuſpected, this *Joſeph* did, for a Reward, and under Aſſurance of Pardon, or out of Revenge to Doctor *Horſey*, who had turned him out of his Office, charge himſelf and others with a Crime, which none of them had committed.

To what may be farther pretended, from the Inqueſt and Verdict of the Jury, which ſat upon *Hunn*'s Body; from the Proceedings relating to this Caſe in the Parliament-Houſe, where it was brought, and from the King's Precept for the Reſtitution of his Goods, all which Particulars are pleaded in order to acquit him from the Guilt of Suicide; it may be anſwered, That the Verdict of Juries in like Caſes, is not infallible, but frequently ſet aſide; That the Perſons who compoſed the Jury being Citizens, might think themſelves affected by the Proceedings, as in a common Cauſe, againſt *Hunn* who was one of their Body; and upon that Account be more inclined to judge favourably of him, and to receive any ill Impreſſions concerning *Horſey*: Good Men cannot always entirely diſengage themſelves from the Ties of Friendſhip, of mutual Intereſt or Alliance, but will be apt, in judicial Caſes, where the State of them is not very clear and evident, to feel ſome little Byaſs upon their Judgement, and an Inclination to follow it; and that the Citizens of *London* were at that Time particularly prejudiced againſt *Horſey*, and very probably on Account of his being concerned in proſecuting *Hunn*, may well be concluded from a Paſſage in the forementioned Letter of *Fitz-James* Biſhop of *London* to the Cardinal, where he declares, "Aſſured I am, if my Chancellor be tried by any twelve Men "in *London*, they be ſo maliciouſly ſet in [o] Favour of *Hereſy*, "that they will caſt and condemn any Clerk, tho' he were as "innocent as *Abel*." It was not impoſſible, but ſome Perſons in the Parliament-Houſe might be in the ſame Diſpoſition and Sentiments with the Citizens, in relation to the Clergy, and the Acquittal of *Hunn* from the Imputation of having killed himſelf. As to the Reſtitution of his Goods by Order of the King, it may be reſolved into an Act of Royal Clemency, or a Motive of Compaſſion to a diſtreſſed Family; or perhaps to a real Opinion which the King had, at that time, of *Hunn*'s Innocencc. But Sir *Thomas More* aſſures us, that ſome time after when the Matter came to be thoroughly examined, the King was ſatisfied, that Doctor *Horſey*, with others proſecuted with him on the ſame Account, had been wrongfully charged with *Hunn*'s Murther. And that the Biſhop of *London*, who appears to have been in general a good Man, was fully convinced that his Chancellor had nothing to fear from the ſtricteſt Scrutiny concerning the Circumſtances of *Hunn*'s Death, may be further concluded from the main Deſign and Requeſt of his Letter, which is, that the Cardinal would move his Majeſty to appoint, "That the Matter may be duly "and ſufficiently examined by indifferent Perſons, of his diſcreet "Council, in the Preſence of the Parties, 'ere there be any more "done in the Caſe. And that upon the Innocency of the ſaid "Chancellor declared, it may further pleaſe the King's Grace to "award a Placaerd to his Attorney to confeſs the ſaid Enditement "to be untrue, when the Time ſhould require it." In ſhort Sir *Thomas More*, whoſe Candour and Probity, were equal to his great Learning and Judgement, and who had examined this Matter, with every thing relating to it, carefully and to the Bottom, poſitively avers, that there is nothing in the Story. As for *Hall*, the original Authority among our Hiſtorians for it, we may judge of his Reſpect and good Affection towards the Clergy, from almoſt all the Occaſions which he takes of ſpeaking concerning them, but eſpecially from the following Inſtance. One *Packington* being ſhot dead in the Streets as going to Maſs at Four a-

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[n] More's *Works*, p. 297.

[nn] Fox *his Acts and Monuments*.

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[o] In Favorem hereticæ pravitatis.

Clock in a miſty Morning, this Author, out of his great Charity, without any Evidence, or Pretence of Evidence, charges the Clergy with his Death, upon this ſingle Suggeſtion, that *Packington*, tho' a moſt zealous Papiſt, was yet a free Speaker in the Houſe of Commons: Whereas the Man who did the Fact, publickly confeſſed it at *Banbury*-Gallows, where, many Years after, he was ſentenced to be hanged for Felony. *Hall*, and other Hiſtorians after him, who have endeavoured to make a Merit by expoſing the Clergy to publick Hatred and Contempt, ſhould have been careful at leaſt to cite Facts to this purpoſe, which had ſome true and certain Foundation.

After all, neither the Cauſe of Religion in general, nor the Character of the Clergy is much concerned, whether *Hunn* died by his own Hands, or thoſe of *Horſey* and his ſuppoſed Accomplices. It is impious, it is contrary to all the Rules of common Equity and Honeſty, to charge the Crimes of particular Perſons, upon a whole Body of Men to which they may be allied. Neither if *Hunn* was really murthered, does it therefore follow that he died a Martyr, or that any Honour or Advantage will redound to the Reformation from his Death. To what End then are thoſe tragical Repreſentations which ſome of our Hiſtorians have made of his Death, except with a Deſign, in regard to which they are ſometimes indeed viſibly formed, of rendering the Clergy odious, upon a Charge or Inſinuation at leaſt, that they are of a cruel and perſecuting Spirit.

As to the Principles upon which *Hunn* was proſecuted as an Heretick, there appears to have been nothing very meritorious in them. The firſt Charge againſt him was, That he had publiſhed and obſtinately maintained, the Clergy had no Right to demand Tythes, and that they had nothing but their own Covetouſneſs for their Title. The Second, That Biſhops and Prieſts are the *Scribes* and *Phariſees*, who crucified *Chriſt*, and condemned him to die. The Third was, much to the ſame Effect, reflecting on the ill Lives and Idleneſs of the Clergy, their Avarice and Rapine, their Want of Juſtice and Charity.

Theſe Articles, ſo far as they relate to the Conduct of the Clergy, might poſſibly, in certain Inſtances, have ſome Foundation: But as they are general and indefinite, without any diſtinct Application, it was agreeable to Reaſons of Order and Prudence, that they ſhould be cenſured. A Society which will openly ſuffer its Rights to be diſputed, or the principal Members of it to be traduced and inſulted, cannot long, or in any becoming Meaſure, ſupport its Authority.

It is true *Hunn* diſowned theſe Opinions as expreſſed in the Articles, yet acknowledged he had ſpoken Words which might be interpreted to a like Conſtruction: But it will not therefore follow that a Proceſs, upon ſuch a Conſtruction, could entitle *Hunn* to the Honour of Martyrdom, ſuppoſing he was really murdered during the Courſe of it. Beſides, the Church of *Rome* will never envy us the Glory of a Martyr, who, whatever the Manner or Occaſion of his Death might be, yet is ſaid to have died in their own Communion.

I have longer inſiſted on this Story of *Hunn*, to confirm what I obſerved before, That it has no Relation to the Conduct of Cardinal *Wolſey*, as the Pope's Legate; as Biſhop *Burnet*, according to the moſt obvious and natural Conſtruction of his Words, appears to inſinuate; for he was at the Time of *Hunn*'s Death, in the Year 1514 neither Cardinal nor Legate. A more diſtinct Examination of this Affair was alſo ſubſervient to my Deſign of ſhewing in what Situation the Eccleſiaſtical State was at that time. I ſhall now deſcend to another Article, proper to be conſidered towards giving us a better Light into the Cardinal's Hiſtory, relating to the Subject of the King's Marriage.

Chap. VI.

1. *Concerning the Marriage of* Henry the Eighth, *and the Motives upon which it was concluded.* 2. *With certain Conſiderations that tended to remove the Difficulties which obſtructed it.* 3. *A Report of Sir* Richard Moriſon, *That* Henry the Seventh *had ſometime adviſed his Son againſt it.* 4. *Conjectures concerning the young King's real Sentiments in Relation to it.* 5. *The Author's Deſign in theſe occaſional Obſervations.*

1. Henry *the Seventh*, upon the Death of his eldeſt Son *Arthur*, who had been married to *Catherine* of *Arragon*, procured a Contract to be made between that Princeſs, and *Henry* his ſecond Son. The political Motives to this Match were, her Dowry, her Reſidence in *England*, the Benefit of a ſtrict Amity and Alliance with *Spain*, with her perſonal Merit and Qualifications. Her Dowry, which was to be return'd with her, was conſiderable, and more than *Henry the Seventh*, who knew the Value of Money, and loved it, was willing to refund. Beſides, if ſhe ſhould happen to marry to a Prince of the Houſe of *France*, that Kingdom, by the Acceſſion of it, might, in caſe of a War,

be rendered more formidable. It was further conſidered, That the Lady was preſent; That many Formalities of treating with a Stranger, and much Expence of Time and Money would by this Means be ſaved. Beſides, ſhe had a great many fine and engaging Qualities; ſo much Sweetneſs in her Temper and Carriage, and was ſo ſtrictly virtuous in her whole Conduct, that it had been very difficult in any foreign Court to have found her Equal. She was then not paſs'd the Bloom of Youth, about the Age of Twenty-two, and as *Speed* reports, *Beauteous.* [p] *Paulus Jovius* repreſents her as a Lady of moſt excellent Accompliſhments. Her Parents were careful to give her a religious Education, and cauſed her to be inſtructed in the Sciences, wherein ſhe made conſiderable Progreſs. It was alſo thought adviſeable to cultivate Peace and Friendſhip with *Ferdinand* her Father, and, when *Henry the Eighth* ſucceeded, to remove the Occaſion of Offence which that Prince ſeemed to have taken, on Account that the Treaty was not perfected ſooner; and for which a Diſpenſation had been obtained from the Pope in the Reign of *Henry the Seventh.*

2. To remove the Difficulties which might obſtruct this Affair conſidered as a Caſe of Conſcience, beſides that Diſpenſation, there were Preſumptions from the Age and Imbecillity of *Arthur*, that the Princeſs was ſtill a Virgin; but chiefly from her own Declaration, and the Teſtimony of ſome great Ladies at [q] Court, to whom in private Converſation ſhe had revealed her ſelf upon that Head, and now propos'd to be tried by a Deputation of Matrons. But the Legality of the ſecond Marriage was not pleaded only upon this Article; the Law in *Deuteronomy*, that a Man might marry his Brother's Wife, who died without Iſſue, was thought ſufficient, under the Pope's Licenſe, to juſtify this Marriage, even though Prince *Arthur* had really conſummated the former Marriage. And the Pope out of a refined Policy, was more ready to diſpenſe with it, as the Children which ſhould be born in Conſequence of it, would by this means be more firmly ſecured to the Intereſts of the Papacy; for in caſe they ſhould ever renounce the Pope, they would in effect diſclaim by that very Renunciation, the Authority by which themſelves were legitimated.

3. Yet Sir *Richard Moriſon* reports, *Henry the Seventh* afterwards charged his Son, the preſent King, to break the Contract upon a Principle of Conſcience, and becauſe he was fully convinced, that it was unlawful. For which Reaſon, when Prince of *Wales*,

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[p] Lectiſſimis moribus.

[q] Teſtabantur probatiſſimæ Fœminæ. *Pol.* 2d.

he was for ſome time reſtrained from viſiting the Princeſs, and from holding any Correſpondence with her; leſt a familiar Entercourſe ſhould mutually inflame a Paſſion to a Height, which it might be afterwards more difficult to moderate. It has been ſuppoſed for this Reaſon, that the Prince, in formally proteſting againſt the Marriage about two Years after, conformed to his Father's Advice and Pleaſure. It is not probable, he felt at that [r] Age, any great Trouble or Remorſe of Conſcience, about an Affair which had been concluded in Form, and by Concurrence of the two Courts of *England* and *Spain*; That this Proteſt was not the Effect of his own Choice or Judgement ſo much as of his Father's Direction, may be inferred from the ſpeedy Concluſion of his Marriage after his Father's Death, when being more at Liberty to follow his own Inclination, we may better judge how far he acted in purſuance of it, and how far he had been formerly influenced by the Authority of a Father. It is probable, if he had before really entertain'd any Scruples of Conſcience on Account of the Contract, yet the near Proſpect of being married to a young Princeſs, ſo excellently accompliſhed, might more eaſily prepare the Way to their Removal: For we never ſooner ſatisfy our ſelves, or get over any Difficulties, in diſputable Caſes, than when we diſpute or argue from our Inclinations.

Some have thought indeed that the King married this Lady more out of reſpect to filial Piety, and his Father's firſt Appointment, than from the Devotion that he really had for her. But there was nothing in the Temper of the King, for he was very reſolute, and impatient of being oppoſed in his Deſires, that ſhould induce us to form ſuch a Judgement. If he had been willing to make a Sacrifice to filial Piety, he ought not to have conſulted his Father's firſt Appointment ſo much as his laſt Thoughts, when it might be ſuppoſed he had examined Things more ſtrictly, and found Reaſons which he had not conſidered before, for a Change of his Mind. If the young King had been in the leaſt reluctant to this Marriage, he might probably as eaſily have obtained a Diſpenſation for diſſolving the Contract, as his Father had obtained one to legitimate it. Whatever his private Inclinations were, it is certain he acted in the Matter agreeably to the Advice of his wiſe Council; and to ſhew at leaſt, how well pleaſed he was with the Proſpect of perfecting the Marriage, in Honour to the Princeſs, he refuſed to be crowned 'till the Marriage might at the ſame time be ſolemnized; when, among other Ceremonies ſuitable to the Occaſion, the Bride, tho' a Widow, was dreſs'd all in White, to denote her inviolable Virginity, which ſhe and all her Friends aſſerted to the Laſt.

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[r] *He was then under Fourteen.*

I thought proper to mention this Article diſtinctly, as the Occaſion of many great and important Events, wherein the Cardinal was immediately concerned, and which terminated at laſt in his Diſgrace and Ruin.

CHAP. VII.

1. *In what Capacity the Almoner ſerved upon the King's Expedition into* France. 2. *Why he is thought to have adviſed that Expedition.* 3. *A Liberty common to the Hiſtorian and the Reader.* 4. *Motives to the War more immediately reſpecting the King.* 5. *Eſpecially his Title to the* Engliſh *Dominions in* France. 6. *Other political Reaſons for that War.* 7. *A Cenſure upon* Spondanus *and* Mazerai. 8. Polydore Virgil *is ſilent as to the Article upon which they are charged.* 9. *The King commands his Army in Perſon: Beſieges* Therouenne. 10. *An Enterview with the Emperor.* 11. *Who ſerves under the King.* 12. *The* French *attempt to relieve* Therouenne. 13. *Are repulſed with Loſs, upon which the Garriſon capitulates, is ſurrendered and evacuated.* 14. Tournay *inveſted, and taken. The Almoner repreſented by Lord* Herbert, *as diſſuading the Demolition of it, and upon what Grounds.* 15. *Whether the Almoner's Title to the Biſhoprick of that Place was well founded.* 16. *That the Rights of the Epiſcopate do not depend upon emergent Reaſons of State.* 17. *The Oppoſition which the Almoner met with in this Affair.* 18. *The Difficulty of demonſtrating his Right to that Biſhoprick freely acknowledged.*

1513.

1. I NOW return to the Situation wherein we left the Almoner upon the King's Expedition into *France*, who committed to him the Direction of the Supplies, and Proviſions to be made for the Army: An Office which ſhew'd how high he ſtood in the King's Favour, and gave him ſtill nearer Acceſs to his Perſon; and he was not ſo regardleſs of his own Intereſts, as to neglect theſe Advantages. Tho' he may rather perhaps be ſaid to have known the Uſe of Money, and how to apply it to the moſt excellent Ends, than to have loved it; yet he was careful to improve all the Opportunities, which were put into his Hands of enriching himſelf; and upon that View, if *Cavendiſh* has been juſt to his Memory, would ſometimes condeſcend, as

other great Men near the Throne have done, before his Time, and ſince, to accept ſuch Preſents and Gratuities, as were tendered to him.

2. Some have thought that the Almoner, making uſe of the Power he then had with the King, was the Perſon who principally adviſed his Majeſty to this Undertaking; and the Motives which induced him to adviſe it, are ſuppoſed to have been, [ſ] a Deſire of ſhewing his Zeal for the Church, and the Honour and Intereſts of the Papal See, and by that Means of recommending himſelf to the good Graces of the Court at *Rome*, where he was already [t] known, and look'd upon as a Perſon of great Weight and Authority. Beſides the Ends of his Ambition on that Side, he might reaſonably hope, while he attended upon the King's Perſon, and was entruſted with ſo conſiderable an Employment, he ſhould, more Ways than One, find his own Account in the Progreſs, but eſpecially in a ſucceſsful Iſſue of this Expedition.

3. The Hiſtorian is at Liberty to make ſuch Conjectures which have a ſpecious and reaſonable Foundation, as the Reader is to credit or reject them. But whether the Almoner adviſed this War upon any private Views reſpecting himſelf or not, it is certain, there wanted not many publick and political Reaſons which might perſuade the King to it.

4. It was no unpopular Deſign in a young Prince of the *Romiſh* Communion, and who had then no Scruples upon the Head of his Religion, to aſſiſt the common Father of the Faithful, (I ſpeak according to the Principles of that Time) brought into great Diſtreſs by the Diſobedience of ***His Moſt Chriſtian*** Son, ***Lewis the Twelfth*** of ***France***. ***Henry the Eighth***, on the other Hand, aſfected ſo much to be thought a true Son of the Church, that he was unwilling to loſe ſo favourable and inviting an [u] Opportunity of ſhewing his Zeal for it, and, in particular, for the Maintenance of the Papal Authority, without which the Church was conſidered as a Body without Head. That the King had the Cauſe

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[ſ] Strype Mem. Eccl. *H.* 8. p. 3.

[t] Collect. N° 6. *Letter of* Sylveſter *Biſhop of* Woſter. *Cott. Lib. Vitell.* B. 11. F. 40.

[u] *The King in a Letter to Sir* David Owen *concerning this Expedition, repreſents,* “ *That it*
“ *was according to his Duty to God and the Church; at the Requeſt and Deſire of the Pope's Holi-*
“ *neſs, and other Chriſtian Princes; and, that it was for the Defence of the Church, being by the*
“ French *King oppreſſed; and for extinguiſhing the deteſtable Schiſm raiſed by certain perverſe Car-*
“ *dinals, and maintained by the ſame King; and that for God's Quarrel, as well as for his own*
“ *Right, he would purſue and continue the ſaid War, and perſonally proceed himſelf into* France *with*
“ *a royal Army: and that Sir* David *ſhould accompliſh his Command, as he tendered his Honour,*
“ *and the Advancement of ſo meritorious a Voyage.*” Strype, *Hen.* 8. p. 3, 4.

of Religion really at Heart, may be inferred from the great Ambition which he entertained of having the Title of *Moſt Chriſtian King* transferred from his Brother of *France* upon himſelf. This he looked upon as ſo glorious an Acquiſition, that it is thought, the [x] Hopes of it contributed very much to engage him in this War, if they were not the principal Inducement to his undertaking it, in which he was notwithſtanding miſtaken, the Intention which the Pope had ſignified to this End [y] producing no Effect.

5. But the principal Reaſon was founded in his Title to the *Engliſh* Dominions in *France*; where the People retaining ſtill a Senſe of their Duty, and of the Benefits formerly received from this Nation, were ready to favour and aſſiſt his Pretenſions: It was added, That *Lewis* had ſuffered ſome Diſgrace, and had Work enough to do in *Italy*; That there were a great Number of Malecontents among his Subjects, who would readily join our Forces; That as to the Expence of the War, the King had large Sums in his Exchequer to ſupport it, and the [z] Parliament of *England* which was ſhortly to ſit, would never be wanting to grant Supplies, where the Publick Service, in a juſt and neceſſary War, might really require them: And tho' *Maximilian* the Emperor then acted in concert with *France*, yet Means might probably be found to diſſolve the League and Amity between them.

6. If the King had not thought neceſſary to aſſert his Title at this conjuncture, to his Dominions in *France*, by Force of Arms,

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[x] *The other* Motive to the War was, *That he underſtood from* Rome *the Pope had an Intention to take away the Stile of* Chriſtianiſſimus *from the* French, *(which their Hiſtorians confeſs) and transfer it on him, which he thought would be a perpetual Glory to the Nation.* Lord *Herbert*, Page 18.

[y] *Yet this Title had ſome time before been given to certain of his Predeceſſors the Kings of* England. *There is a Petition preferred by the Officers of Arms in the* 18*th of* Henry VI, *under this Direction*, To the Right Chriſtien Kyng, *for their Livery-Cloathing at* Chriſtmas, *like to other Eſquires and Gentlemen of the King's Court, which was granted them by a Privy Seal. And though the Name of the King is not mentioned in this Petition, and only* Henry *in the Privy Seal, yet it muſt be that of* Henry VI, *becauſe* William Philippe *Lord* Bardolph, *who counterſigns the Petition, was then Lord Chamberlain. See the Original in the* Cotton. Lib. Fauſt. E. 1. *This Note is taken from a Manuſcript Hiſtory of Heralds wrote by* John Anſtis, *Eſq*; Garter King of Arms; *and I ſhall make no Apology to the Reader for reciting the following Obſervation which he hath therein made upon it.* " It may not be too foreign for an Herald here to make a ſhort Digreſſion, " that the Attribute of *Right Chriſten Kyng* given here by the Officers of Arms to *Hen.*VI, is " the ſame with *Tres-Chreſtien* which the *French* Kings claim to themſelves, excluſive of all " others; and this Title is uſed in this Petition, before Pope *Paul* II, about 1461, gave " that Appellation to the King of *France*, which is commonly aſſigned as the *Æra* of its " Original. If that Poſition be true, this Epithet could not be attributed to *Henry* VI, " in the Capacity of his being King of *France*. And in truth the ſame is in a (1.) Statute " given to *Henry* III, as afterwards to *Henry* V, in the Hiſtories of *Elmham* and *Livy de Foroliviis*, and to our *Henry* VI in the Records of (2) Parliament, as the Style of *Moſt Chriſten Sire and mighty King* was afterwards to (3) *Edward* IV. (1.) *Dictum de Kenilworth.* (2.) *Rot. Parl.* 20 *H.* 6. *n.* 10. (3.) *Rym. v.* xi. *p.* 788. *Rot. Parl.* 1 *Ed.* 4. *See Diction. de Trevoux v. Tres-Chretien.*

[z] Concilium Regni ſummum (quod Parliamentum vocamus) ſub initium hujus Anni 1513 coactum eſt. In eo Bellum Gallo magnis viribus inferendum decernitur, ſimulq; in ejus Belli ſumptus pecunia Ingens ſubſidii nomine populo imperatur. *Godw. Annal. H.* 8. *p.* 5.

or there had been no Motives to engage him in this War from any religious Conſiderations, yet Reaſon of common Prudence and Caution ſeemed to require it. *Lewis* was a Perſecutor of the Church, and not only an Enemy to the Pope, but had formed a Deſign to depoſe him, and executed it ſo far as he was able, to the End he might advance ſome Creature of his own to the Papacy, who would favour and aſſiſt his Attempts towards the Conqueſt of *Italy*, or at leaſt not directly oppoſe them. Reaſons of national Emulation, and Jealouſy, would not ſuffer that Advances ſhould be made towards ſuch an Acceſſion of Grandour and Power to *Lewis* King of *France*, and *England* remain an unconcerned Spectator of them.

7. Theſe are Reaſons of ſuch Weight, there was no Occaſion to ſuppoſe, as ſome Writers have done, that the *Engliſh* were influenced to engage in this War, by a Bribe from the Pope. [a] *Spondanus* reports, That his Holineſs ſent hither a Ship laden with Wine, Cheeſe, and Gammons of Bacon, which being preſented in his Name to the King, and the great Men about him, were received after a Manner which teſtified how grateful the Preſent was to them: And as the Populace are ſometimes affected with inſignificant as well as great Occurrences, a numerous Train of them, with ſenſible Demonſtrations of Joy, went to ſee the Ship, glorying, that no Veſſel of that Kind had ever been ſeen before in this Iſland under the Pontifical Colours. *Mezerai* too reports, but after a Manner more ſatyrical, and injurious to the ancient Spirit of our Nation, That the *Engliſh* were inebriated with the vain Glory of defending the Holy See, and by the Fumes of delicious Wines, with which the Pope had loaded a Ship, and wherein to make them reliſh the better, he had ſent Gammons of Bacon.

8. Some have pretended this Token from the Pope is not taken notice of by *Polydore*, tho' he could not but know it, and had a fair Occaſion where he ſpeaks concerning the Reaſons of the War to mention it, becauſe in reſpect to both Nations he was obliged to conceal it. He had reflected highly on the Honour of the Pope, whoſe Miniſter he was, in reporting he offered ſuch a Bribe, but had expoſed the *Engliſh* Court, from which he had received many great Favours, to the greateſt Infamy, had he char-

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[a] *Annal.* 1512. — Quæ nomine Pontificis Regi & Principibus, Antiſtitibuſq; donata, ab omnibus miro Applauſu accepta ſunt, & plebem, quam plerumq; non minus levia quam gravia movent, ad eam navem videndam ſumma cum voluptate accurriſſe, gloriantem antea nunquam in Inſula navem ullam cum Pontificiis vexillis conſpectam.

ged them with accepting it. It is moſt probable the Story has no good Foundation, or if there be really any thing, it has been much amplified and improved by the Writers on the *French* Side.

9. The King had taken a Reſolution to Head his Army in Perſon, embarked, and arrived at *Calais* the laſt Day of [b] *June*, having given Orders before to his Generals, *George Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and [c] Lord *Herbert* Lord Chamberlain, to advance towards *Therouenne* in *Artois*, to which Place they came, and encamped about the Diſtance of a Mile from it, on the 22d of *June*. The King, after he had for ſome Days ſtayed to refreſh himſelf, and received the Compliments that were made to him, commanded his Army with all Expedition to follow him to the Camp before *Therouenne*, upon Advice that the *French* were preparing to relieve that Place, under the Command of the Duke of *Longueville*. The Rearguard of the Army was compoſed in great Part of the Retinue of *Fox* Biſhop of *Winchester* and the Almoner, to the Number of Eight hundred Men, commanded by Sir *William Compton*. We had ſcarce entred the *French* Territories near *Ardres*, when News was brought that the Enemy approached, upon which the King's Army advancing towards them, they retired with the [d] utmoſt Precipitation.

10. On the 9th of *Auguſt* there was an Enterview between the Emperor, who was now come as far as *Ayre*, and the King, but the Weather being foul and unpleaſant, the Ceremony of it was ſoon over. This [e] Progreſs of the Emperor, was in purſuance of a Promiſe he had made by Article to join with the King in Perſon againſt the *French*, on Condition the King would ſupply him by Way of Loan with 125000 Crowns. It appears from his Majeſty's Ambaſſadors *Wingfield*, *Knight*, and *Spinelli* in the *Low-Countries*, that the Lady Archducheſs advertiſed them, great Offers had been made to the Emperor, by the Kings of *Arragon* and *France*, to bring him into their Meaſures, but neverthelesſ, conſidering the good Diſpoſition which the Emperor was in towards their [f] Maſter, her Highneſs was of Opinion, that upon any friendly Propoſals from him, his Imperial Majeſty would not only reject all Overtures made by thoſe two Powers, but uſe great and

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[b] Rex — quam maximo Exercitu coacto, Junii ultimo Quadringentarum navium Claſſe Caliſium delatus eſt. *Godw. Annal.* H. 8. *p* 6.

[c] Charles Somerſet, *afterwards Earl of* Worceſter, *and Chamberlain of the Houſehold.*

[d] Quaſi viſi ſimul & victi. *Godw. ib.*

[e] Maſt. *p.* 165.

[f] Maſt. *ib.*

ſpeedy Diligence towards the Performance of what he had promiſed to the King of *England.* [g] *Spinelli* further informs the King, “That his Majeſty ſhould take into his Service at leaſt Four thouſand *Almains*, ſaying, That a proſperous Beginning of the War would be a good Sign and Earneſt of future Succeſs; and that if the *French* met with a Repulſe or Defeat upon the firſt Congreſs, they would from that time loſe their Courage.” Wherein ſhe appears to have ſpoken agreeably both to Events and a common Obſervation upon the Temper of that People, wherein the Diſtance of Time in which we now live, ſeems to have made no extraordinary Alteration.

11. On the Twelfth of *Auguſt* the Emperor entred the King's Camp in Quality of a [h] Soldier in his Service, for which he actually received Pay, to the Value of twenty-five Pounds a-day. The King was very ſenſible how great an Honour was done to him by his Imperial Majeſty, an Honour which none of the Kings his Predeceſſors, nor any other Crowned-Head could ever boaſt; and thetefore he ordered a Tent to be prepared for his Imperial Majeſty ſuitable to his Dignity, of Cloth of Gold, wherein for the Space of two Days, while he ſtay'd in the Camp, he was entertained after the moſt ſplendid and magnificent Manner.

12. *Therouenne* was not ſo cloſely inveſted, but on one Side there was a Way open, through which the *French* might with leſs Difficulty or Danger attempt the Relief of it. The Town being in Diſtreſs for Want of Proviſions, the King was apprehenſive they would make ſome Effort that Way towards it, and therefore immediately ordered Bridges to be made over the River to the other Side of the Town, where it was moſt eaſy of Acceſs to the Enemy; upon which himſelf, attended with *Maximilian*, paſſed with Part of the Army, and immediately received Intelligence by the Light-Horſe, that the *French* Convoy was in Sight, which advancing, and finding the *Engliſh* Army ready to oppoſe them made a Shew as if they were reſolved to diſpute the Field, and at firſt engaged warmly; but after they had for ſome time maintained the [i] Fight, fled in the greateſt Conſternation and Diſorder. From their precipitate Flight, that Engagement received a memorable

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[g] Maſt. 166.

[h] *Wearing the red Croſs* (Herb. 38.) *of St.* George, *with a Roſe* (*the King's Badge.*) Speed. *Theſe Authors, according to* Godwin, *are very conſiſtent.* In Caſtra noſtratum venit *Maximilianus Cæſar*, & (quod Genti noſtræ honorificum & memoratu digniſſimum arbitror) accepto 100 Aureorum diurno ſtipendio ſub ſignis Regis noſtri ipſe militare dedignatus non eſt. Geſtata rubra Cruce & Roſa bicolore *Anglo* Militantium ſymbolo. *Godw. Annal.* H. 8. p. 7.

[i] *Auguſt* 16. Hanc Pugnam calcariam *Galli* ipſi ſolent appellare. Quod in eo calcaria quam Gladii magis fuiſſent uſui. *Godw. ib.*

Diſtinction, and was called the ***Battle of Spurs***: For their Cavalry only engaged, which yet was compoſed of the braveſt Men among them. In the Purſuit, the Duke of *Longueville* with ſeveral General Officers was taken, together with nine Cornets and ſix [k] Standards. By occaſion of this Victory, the King and *Maximilian* (who gave him Precedence) congratulated each one the other upon the Place, and afterwards aſſiſted in ſolemnizing it by a publick Thankſgiving.

13. During this Action, part of the *French* Cavalry divided, to try if they could open a Way for carrying in the Proviſion on the other Side of the River, where they endeavoured to force the Quarters of the Earl of *Shrewsbury* and Sir *Rhys ap Thomas* Knight of the Garter, but were ſoon repulſed; tho' to favour that Attempt, and cauſe a Diverſion of the King's Forces, the Garriſon and Townſmen took the Opportunity at the ſame time of ſallying forth upon the Trenches of Lord *Herbert*; but he being upon his Guard, received them in ſuch a Manner, that they were ſoon obliged to retire. The *Engliſh* ſtill obtaining new Advantages, and the Governour of the Place finding himſelf reduced to Extremities, without proſpect of Relief, capitulated to ſurrender the Town with the Ordinance, on Condition they might depart with their Arms, and Baggage, and Drums beating, with other Characteriſticks of military Honour. Upon which, the King with the Emperor entred that City, and dined in the Biſhop's Palace. But a Queſtion ariſing, whether the Place ſhould be diſmantled, or kept in its preſent Condition, it was determined, that the Town and Fortifications ſhould be demoliſhed, and nothing preſerved but the Cathedral and Religious Houſes. The King, notwithſtanding the great Expence of Blood and Treaſure he had been at in taking it, came into this Reſolution, at the Emperor's Inſtance, on whoſe Territories it confined, and whoſe Subjects had been much harraſſed and incommoded, by the Irruptions made from it: So great Deference did the King pay to this mighty Prince, who bore Arms under him, and perhaps the greater on that Account. Though his Majeſty might alſo more readily conſent to the Demolition of the Place, as it would contribute to weaken his own Army, ſhould he have left a ſufficient Number of Men behind him to garriſon it: Yet it was not ſo entirely evacuated, but the *French* found Means afterwards to repair the Fortifications, and put it in a Poſture of Defence.

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[k] *Herbert*, p. 39.

14. After this the King, by the Advice of *Maximilian*, inveſted *Tournay*; and tho' the Gates bore this Inſcription, *Thou haſt never loſt thy Virginity*, yet it was forced, after a ſhort Siege, to ſurrender upon certain Conditions that were not very hard or diſhonourable; the King promiſing, on his Part, that the Inhabitants ſhould have their ancient Privileges and Cuſtoms continued to them, provided they would admit a Garriſon. Of this City *Wolſey*, the King's Almoner, being made Biſhop, and conveening the Inhabitants before him, took an Oath of Fidelity from them to his Maſter, who was reſolved to keep the Place with a ſtrong Garriſon under the Command of Sir *Edward Poynings*. Lord *Herbert* makes it Matter of Admiration, that *Therouenne*, which was near to the *Engliſh* Pale, ſhould be raſed, tho' it might have been better defended, and that *Tournay* ſhould be garriſoned; and he reſolves the Conduct of the King, as to this Difficulty, into the Advice of the Almoner, and that Advice into a Motive of private Intereſt. His Lordſhip ſuppoſes *Wolſey* had the Biſhoprick of *Tournay* in his Eye, and with a View of That, perſuaded his Majeſty not to evacuate it. He told his Maſter he had laid a laſting Obligation upon the Emperor, and ſufficiently eſtabliſhed a Confidence in him by the Demolition of *Therouenne*; but as for *Tournay*, it was fit it ſhould ſtand as a laſting Monument of his Victories, and the rather, as *Cæſar* in his Commentaries acknowledgeth he no where found ſo generous and brave a Reſiſtance as in this Place. This Conjecture of his Lordſhip may poſſibly be grounded upon Truth; but ſince that does not appear, it ſhould, I humbly conceive, be conſidered only as a Conjecture, and not have been propoſed in thoſe deciſive Terms, wherein his Lordſhip has expreſſed it. The Reaſon of preſerving *Tournay* may be accounted for, in reſpect to the greater Strength and Dignity of the Place, being a Biſhop's Seat, having beſides the Cathedral, [l] ten Pariſh-Churches, two Abbies, and ſeveral Religious Houſes, with large Dependencies without in the Country. Beſides, Winter then approaching, and it being reſolved an End ſhould be put to the Operations of War for that Seaſon, it was neceſſary that where the Scene of Action lay, the *Engliſh* ſhould be poſſeſſed of ſome ſtrong Place, to facilitate their Deſigns and cover their Forces, or to which in caſe of any Misfortune they might ſafely retreat.

15. It ſeems more difficult to juſtify the Almoner, either for ſolliciting or accepting that Biſhoprick, which in Right appears

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[l] Moreri. Dict. Ed. 1718, Paris.

to have belonged to another [m] Perſon. For I do not ſee what Power Conqueſt could give the King of *England* to break in upon the Rules of the Church, or to diſſolve the Union between the other Biſhop and his Flock; this ſpiritual Relation might, and, in my humble Opinion, ought to have been preſerved, notwithſtanding the temporal Government of the City was changed: There is no Neceſſity that the ancient and apoſtolical Order of the Church ſhould be diſturbed, becauſe Princes think fit to diſſeiſe one another of their temporal Domains.

16. It is acknowledged if that Matter be conſidered purely in relation to the common Maxims of civil Policy, there wanted not Appearances of Reaſon in that kind, why the King ſhould chuſe a ſpiritual Paſtor of the Place, who was moſt in his Confidence and Intereſts. And upon theſe Maxims the Lord *Mountjoy*, firſt Lord Lieutenant, ſounds his Advice, when he repreſents to the King, " That if this Biſhoprick might be got clear into his Ma-" jeſty's Hands, it were good that the Town being under the Bi-" ſhop of *Tournay* and *Cambray*, and all the Bayliage, ſhould have " no Reſort in no caſe to the Archbiſhop of *Rheims*, but to the " Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*." By the ſame Rule as if any Epiſcopal Seat within the Province of *Canterbury* had, upon ſome Accident or Emergency been reduced by the Arms of *France*, the Conqueror would have acquired thereby a Power not only of depoſing ſuch Biſhop, but of ſubſtituting one who ſhould no longer acknowledge the leaſt Dependency on the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, or Relation to him as ſuch, but become a Suffragan to any Archbiſhop in *France*. Certainly the wiſe Founder of the Chriſtian Church has eſtabliſhed other Rules for electing thoſe who are to preſide over it, and towards preſerving the Peace and regular Government of it, than ſuch as depend on the Succeſs of the Sword, or the Caprice of ſecular Princes. It is impoſſible indeed, while the Church is governed or new-modelled at every Turn by Reaſons of State, that either Peace, Amity, or Order can be preſerved in it. Nothing can produce or preſerve theſe invaluable Bleſſings, but thoſe ſtated Rules, and that uniform Manner of Acting, by which the Fathers of the Church originally governed it, before Princes became Chriſtian, and ſucceeding Paſtors found it expedient to make their Court to them, by Acts of Submiſſion,

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[m] *It coſt our great Prelate no ſmall Trouble and Oppoſition before he could obtain the Poſſeſſion of this Biſhoprick: Which indeed he ſeemed to come into more violently than juſtly. — For there was another Biſhop elect, a* Frenchman, *whom the* French *King had preſented.* Stryp. Mem. Eccl. *H.* 8. p. 15.

unknown to the Dignity and Spirit of the apoſtolical and preceeding Ages.

17. The Oppoſition for ſeveral Years which the Almoner met with in aſſerting his Title to this Biſhoprick, convinced him, that the Steps he had taken to poſſeſs himſelf of it, were not thought perfectly regular, the *French* Biſhop aſſerting his Claim to the Laſt, and the Revenues of the Biſhoprick being difficultly levied, and not without danger ſometimes of raiſing a Commotion. Of this [n] Dr. *Samſon*, *Wolſey*'s Vicar-general, wrote to him an Account, at large, telling him, "That as he came to *Bruges*, as he had before in *Guant*, by his Letters Patents he deſired the Favour and Aid of the Lords of the Town, but he found them nothing favourable; that a few Days after he called the Biſhop's Officers together, and ſhewed them the Pope's Breve and Letters Patents of the Lady *Margaret* written in *Wolſey*'s Favour, which notwithſtanding when they had read, becauſe the Matter was of great Weight, they deſired a Day's Reſpite to conſult what might beſt be done." He adds, "My Lord, the *French* King, as I think, hath not kept all his Promiſes with your Grace; for the Biſhop-elect had made for all *Flanders*, both another Vicar-general, and alſo a Receiver, and all the Profits without fail, of the Year paſt be received, and all paid and delivered to the Elect in *France*. Moreover he hath ordained his Officers ſtrongly to reſiſt when I ſhall come: They had readily their Appellations made with other Remedies, as ſtrong as by the Law poſſibly might be made; which this Day when they aſſembled, they ſhewed expreſsly; and if with Rigour I ſhould have made Proceſs againſt them, without fail I ſhould have made a Commotion among the People, whom they had before provoked." And then interpoſing his Advice, he ſubjoins, "That if his Lordſhip ſhould quietly have this Adminiſtration, there were no other Remedy, but that the *French* King muſt by his Letters Patent charge the Biſhop-elect to be content, and ſuffer this Adminiſtration, not to reſiſt; or elſe if theſe Officers ſaw the *French* King's Letters favourable to it, they would all immediately obey. But if his Grace ſhould follow the Proceſs of the Law, and the Biſhop-elect defend his Poſſeſſion, with marvellous great Trouble, his Grace ſhould never have Profit. Wherefore they had inſtantly deſired a Day of Reſpit to counſel with the Biſhop-elect, and accordingly that he had granted them 'till St. *Martin*'s Day; except that in the mean time it

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[n] Strype Mem. Ecc. *H.* 8. p. 16.

“ might appear the Biſhop-elect ſhould not return perſonally to
“ defend his Poſſeſſion, always provided that Profits as in the
“ mean time ſhould fortune, ſhould be preſerved, that he granted
“ them this Time ſo boldly, for that if it ſo were that the
“ *French* King favoured his Grace at this time, as he thought he
“ did, ſhortly it might be known that the Biſhop ſhould not return;
“ and his Grace haſtily, or they come to him, might cauſe
“ by his Letters, that the *French* King might charge him to have
“ Patience.”

17. We may judge from this Letter, how many Obſtacles there were in the Almoner's Way, before he could propoſe to himſelf a peaceable and quiet Adminiſtration of this Biſhoprick; tho' if he could have ſurmounted them all, the Difficulty as to his Right to it, would ſtill remain. For tho' he had a Brief from the Pope ſpecifying the Reaſons, why he was admitted by his Holineſs to the Adminiſtration, yet it was liable to ſome Objections, which ſeemed to have Weight in them. In anſwer to what was ſaid in it, That the other Biſhop had abſented, and deſerted his Seat; it was replied, That Neceſſity and his own Safety required that he ſhould withdraw, and for that Reaſon he could not properly be ſaid to deſert. The moſt ſpecious Plea in favour of the Almoner ſeems to be, That the other was only Biſhop-elect: But if his Election, as according to the ordinary Rules in like Caſes, gave him a canonical and juſt Right to the Epiſcopate and the Revenues annexed, the Want of ſome Forms to be obſerved in order to give him plenary Poſſeſſion, could not much tend to corroborate or juſtify the Pretenſions of his Competitor. But not to enter on a formal Diſcuſſion of his Right, I ſhall only remind the Reader of Dr. *Sampſon*'s Opinion, declaring in a free ingenuous Manner, and in repeated Terms to the ſame Effect, that there could be no other Way to ſecure a peaceable and quiet Adminiſtration of that Biſhoprick to his Grace of *York*, unleſs the *French* King might be induced to expreſs himſelf in ſome proper and publick Manner well affected to his Grace, or would by ſome Means or other oblige the Biſhop-elect to acquieſce.

CHAP. VIII.

1. Lyon *King of Arms in* Scotland *is ſent to King* Henry *with Powers, but proviſional, to declare War againſt him.* 2. *Which* James the Fourth *of* Scotland, *whatever Reaſons of Complaint he pretended, would not undertake in a clandeſtine or diſhonourable Way.* 3. *In his own Judgement againſt it.* 4. *Yet at length perſuaded to it by the* French *King, and his own Miniſters.* 5. *He takes the Field, and receives a Challenge from the* Engliſh *General.* 6. *After the Acceptance of it, ſeeks to evade it, is afterwards ſlain in the Battle of* Flodden Field; *certain memorable Circumſtances relating to his Death and Burial.* 7. *Reflection upon the Power of the Eccleſiaſtical State at that Time.* 8. *The Advancement of* Leo X. *to the Pontificate no Obſtacle to the Cardinal's Deſigns: Some farther Character of* Julius II. 9. *And of Pope* Leo. 10. *A Letter of Archbiſhop* Bambridge *at* Rome *to the King.* 11. *What may be inferred from this Letter.* 12. *A Letter of the Biſhop of* Worceſter *to the Almoner, concerning a Diſpenſation in his Favour from the Pope.* 13. *A ſignal Victory over the* French *by the Duke of* Millain. 14. *A Letter from the Almoner to Biſhop* Fox. 15. *A further Account of it.* 16. *To what End it is principally cited.* 17. *A Letter from Pope* Leo *to the King, relating to the Title of* Moſt Chriſtian King.

1. WHILE the King lay before *Therouenne*, *Lyon* King of Arms of *Scotland*, in his Herauld's Habit, came to the Camp and deſiring Leave to deliver a Letter to the King, was introduced to his Majeſty by *Garter* Principal King of Arms of *England*: The Import of that Letter was, a Remonſtrance concerning certain Injuries which his Maſter pretended to have received from our King, and a proviſionary Declaration of War in caſe Satiſfaction were not given to his Demands. The King made a verbal Anſwer to *Lyon's* Meſſage, which he apprehended ſo reproachful to his Maſter, that he deſired he might not be charged with a Report of it, and moved, that his Majeſty would be pleaſed to commit it to Writing. The King thought his Requeſt ſo reaſonable, that he wrote a Letter in return to his Brother of *Scotland* to this Effect: “That he looked upon this Memorial to be nothing but a pretended Occaſion of Quarrel, to the End he might aſſiſt the *French* King, and invade *England* in his Abſence: He adviſed him to recollect how *John* King of *Navarre*, by taking Part with the *French*, had been deprived of his Kingdom, and that he ſhould take Caution from his Example how he engaged in the

"ſame Cauſe. Laſtly, That he might be aſſured of a juſt and "plenary Retaliation for any Attempts he ſhould make upon his "Subjects or Dominions in his abſence." Notwithſtanding this ſharp Anſwer, and that 'tis probable this ſame Officer had miſreported to his Maſter a former Anſwer of the King's, yet he ordered a handſome Preſent to be made to him, according to the Cuſtom of that Age in Caſes of carrying Defiances.

2. *James* the Fourth of *Scotland* apprehending, he had juſt Cauſe of Complaint againſt King *Henry*, thought he had a ſeaſonable Opportunity of Revenging himſelf, while the King was out of his own Dominions engaged in a foreign War; yet he would not break through the common Rules obſerved by all civilized Nations, and therefore conſidered as having the Force of a Law to all Nations; but before he made War upon *England*, he ſignified his Intention in Form to that End: He ſcorned to take the Advantage of a baſe and ignominious Surpriſe, or to fall upon his Enemy, unguarded, ſecure of Peace, and under no Apprehenſions of being attacked without common and previous Notice.

3. It appears, indeed, that it was not withour ſome Reluctance the *Scots* King came into the Projects of this War. When Doctor *Weſt* Dean of *Windſor* was ſent on an Embaſſy to *James* the Fourth, to know whether he would keep the Peace in the King's Abſence, he made this proviſional Anſwer; He would keep it, if Juſtice were done to him on the Borders: At another Audience, That he would keep the Peace if the King of *England* would do the [a] like. And it being demanded by the Dean, whether he would make that Anſwer in Writing, he refuſed to make it upon this Reaſon, *That the King ſhould have no Letter of his to ſhew in* France. The Dean told him, he took this Anſwer as a Declaration, that he did not intend to keep the Peace; and that it was only a Delay of Time to ſay, he expected whether King *Henry* would do him Juſtice or not. The laſt Anſwer to the Dean was by one of the Council, "That concerning the Treaty of Peace, the King his "Maſter was and would be contented to keep it accordingly, "provided the King of *England* would do the ſame, and that there "never was nor ſhould be occaſion given on his Side to the "Breach thereof; and as touching Love and Kindneſs, he would "ſhew them to the King of *England*, as ſoon as he knew how "Juſtice would be miniſtred upon the Borders; and that he

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[a] Scot's *Affairs*, Maſt. 172.

" would then ſend his Embaſſador to the *Engliſh* Court to aſcer-
" tain the King how Juſtice was done, and his further Mind." This Dr. *Weſt* inſiſted ſhould be delivered in Writing, but that was denied. Upon which, and ſome other Appearances of their prevaricating with him, he ſaid under Proteſtation, that it appeared they meaned not truly: Upon this the King came in, and after ſome Diſcourſe, the Lords withdrawing, the King took the Opportunity of diſcovering his own Sentiments in a free and open Manner to the Dean. Whereby it appeared, that he had before delivered himſelf under ſome Reſtraint from the Council. " Ye
" know, *ſays he to the Dean,* what Promiſe the *French* King hath
" made me, wherefore I would not loſe him, and for that Rea-
" ſon I ſpeak ſharply before my Lords, or elſe they would certify
" it to *France*; but my determinate Mind is to keep firm Peace
" with my Brother." And this probably was the Promiſe, with the Breach of which the King charges him in a Letter from the Camp before *Therouenne*. King *James* added, " he was obliged to
" expreſs himſelf in general Terms to preſerve Appearances; yet if
" the King of *England* would make the ſame Promiſe to him the
" *French* King had done, he ſhould have leſs Regard to his Friend-
" ſhip or Alliance;" and to ſhew how ſincere the King of *Scotland* was in this Declaration, he wiſh'd King *Henry* might be as ſure of *France*, as he was of *England*. This Miniſter obſerves further, the *Scots* were very proud of the Overtures of Peace that were made to them in the King's Name, but withal thought themſelves by a late Treaty ſo obliged to *Lewis* the Twelfth of *France*, that they were very unwilling to give any Umbrage to that King.

4. Yet the *French* at laſt prevailed, and King *James*, in compliance with the Inclinations of his Court, and the Populace, determined contrary to his Declaration to *Weſt*, to break with *England*. His Pretence was, That the Engagements to cultivate Peace were reciprocal between him and the King of *England*; that the Oath they had mutually taken equally obliged them both; that the firſt Infraction of the Peace had been made by *England*, by the Attack upon *Andrew Barton*; that the King of *England* aſſiſted the Dutcheſs of *Savoy* againſt the Duke of *Guelders*, a Couſin and Ally of *James*; that the Queen of *Scots* had not, after repeated Demands, received her Legacy; that the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners ſent to accommodate Matters upon the Borders, had but trifled; and, that he ought to aid and ſupport the *French* King: But what ſeems to have irritated him in a particular Manner, was, the monitory Brief againſt him from *Rome*, which had been obtained at the In-

ſtance of *Banbridge* Archbiſhop of *York*. Upon *Weſt*'s repreſenting to him in a former Converſation, that the Pope of his own mere Motion, cauſed this Brief to be expedited, he ſaid he would Appeal from it, and ſend the Biſhop of *Murray* to the new Pope, to prevail with him not to give Sentence againſt him unheard, and if he could not obtain a Promiſe from his Holineſs to that End, he would never do Obedience to him. He added, That if he were diſpoſed to make War upon the King of *England*, he ſhould not deſiſt upon the Pope's Monition. By this Brief of *Julius* II, Sentence was given againſt him, under Condition that he brake the Peace, and whatever Application was made to *Leo* the Tenth, to have it reverſed, He was not able to obtain that Grace; this Pope confirming the Act of his Predeceſſor, and the King dying in Conſequence of it, under the Sentence of Excommunication, could not have Chriſtian Burial, 'till a Diſpenſation was granted by his Holineſs to that End.

5. The Death of this King was occaſioned by his proſecuting the War. When he had in Perſon, at the Head of 50,000 Men or more, entered the Borders, and after a Siege which laſted but a few Days, taken *Norham* Caſtle, *Thomas* Earl of *Surry* with an Army ſcarce exceeding half the Number, advanced to meet him: But before he prepared to engage him, he ſent a Challenge to Him ſpecifying the Time and Field of Battle, which *James* complying with, afterwards thought fit to change his Meaſures. Upon this, in a ſecond monitory Challenge the Earl charges him with Breach of Promiſe, and with *putting himſelf into a Ground more like a Fortreſs or Camp, than upon any indifferent Ground for Battel to be tried*. This Letter, tho' written with a Spirit that became a brave Commander, yet in the Language and Addreſs of it is very courtly and reſpectful: The Buſineſs of it is to deſire *James* to deſcend from the Mount, where he had poſted himſelf, and there was no coming at him, into the Plain of *Milfield*, which lay between the two Armies. The Admiral, Son to the Earl of *Surry*, had ſent a Meſſage to the like Effect, ſignifying, [b] *That becauſe he could meet no* Scot*'s Ships at Sea, he landed that he might juſtify* Andrew Barton*'s Death: And, That as he expected no Mercy from his Enemies, he would ſpare none but the King himſelf if he fell into his Hands, and to make all good, he would be in the Front of the Battle.*

6. The Letters of Challenge having no Effect towards bringing King *James* down from the Hills, to make Good what he

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[b] Maſt. 272.

had given Expectation of to the Earl, that General by poſſeſſing himſelf of a Poſt, whereby he cut off ſuch Communication which the Enemy had with the Country, ſo as to prevent any Supplies of Proviſion, found Means of obliging the King of *Scotland* to remove; in conſequence of which happened the memorable Battle of *Flodden-Field*, where, after a hot and bloody but doubtful Fight, wherein great Bravery was ſhewn, and many gallant Actions performed on both Sides, that King was ſlain, doing all that a magnanimous Prince could do, with one Archbiſhop, two Biſhops, and about Ten thouſand other Perſons: The dead Body of the King being embalmed by Order of the Earl, was removed to *Newcaſtle*, and from thence to *Shene* in *Surry*, where it was honourably interred. But that Prince dying under the Sentence of Excommunication, before the propet Rites of Chriſtian Burial could be performed, it was neceſſary that a Diſpenſation ſhould be obtained from *Rome* to that End, which was granted at the King's Inſtance. Accordingly *Leo* the Tenth in the firſt[c] Year of his Pontificate, writes a Letter to King *Henry*, ſignifying, that “Whereas *James* late King of *Scotland*, in a Treaty he had made with *Henry* the Seventh of *England*, confirmed by Pope *Alexander* the Sixth, had articled, That if at any Time he ſhould act contrary to the Tenour of that Treaty, or in Breach of it, he would incur the Sentence of Excommunication, as was ſpecified by proper Inſtruments of the ſaid Pope; and that *James* afterwards upon his Marriage with the King's Siſter, renewed and eſtabliſhed the ſaid Treaty, and ſubmitted himſelf to the ſame Cenſure if he infringed that Treaty; and notwithſtanding, in violation of ſo many powerful Ties and Engagements had broken the Peace, and for that Reaſon had been declared and pronounced Excommunicated by *Chriſtopher* Archbiſhop of *York* (Cardinal) in virtue of full Powers granted him to that End by *Julius* the Second, and that dying in the Field of Battle, upon the Borders of *England*, his Body had not been interred in ſacred Ground, therefore in Conſideration of the Dignity of his Character, his Alliance to the King, the common Events of Life, and his perſonal Vertues, the King had been induced to deſire that his Body might be carried to *London*, in order to be interred in the Cathedral Church of St. *Paul*'s according to his royal Dignity; and the Pope being moved with ſo pious and laudable an Inſtance of Zeal in his Majeſty, and ſtudious of giving all proper Teſtimonies of his Regard to him, and being further charitably perſwaded, that the ſaid King *James*, in his laſt Mo-

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[c] Bibl. Cott. Vitell. 2 Fol. 54. & Rym. T. 13. 385.

" ments, might exerciſe ſome ſuitable Acts of Contrition, ſuch
" as the Circumſtances of the Time would admit: He therefore
" granted a Licenſe to his Majeſty to remove his Body, and cauſe
" it to be buried in the ſaid Cathedral, with ſuch Funeral Rites
" and Solemnities as his Majeſty ſhould think requiſite and be-
" coming: And that his Majeſty might appoint the Biſhop of
" *London* or any other Biſhop, before his Interment, to abſolve
" him by Virtue of the Pope's Authority, from all Impediments
" or Difficulties on Account of the Cenſures paſſed againſt him;
" provided withal, that his Majeſty, in the Name of the decea-
" ſed King, ſhould himſelf undergo ſome convenient Penance,
" notwithſtanding any Rules or Conſtitutions to the Con-
" trary."

7. We may judge from this Letter, how great an Aſcendent the Popes had at that Time over Chriſtian Princes, what Regard was paid to their Decrees, and how ſacred and awful the Cenſures of the Church were then thought. I do not ſay, but that the Eccleſiaſtical Power was in many Inſtances extended beyond its juſt Bounds, and ought to have been in ſuch Inſtances reſtrained: But the Abuſe of any Thing ought not certainly to be pleaded for its Abolition, eſpecially where the Exerciſe of it is neceſſary to the Being and Ends of Society: As to the particular Occaſion, upon which King *James* had been excommunicated, ſucceſſively by three Popes, it was interpretatively owing to his own Act. He had inſerted it as a Condition in the Treaty with *Henry* VII, that in Conſequence of his violating the Faith he had given, he ſhould be liable to be Excommunicated: The Pope therefore in pronouncing the Sentence of Excommunication againſt him, or in conſidering him as a Perſon out of the viſible Communion of the Church, did not act, as himſelf and others dignified with the Pontificate, would ſometimes do, in virtue of the Plenitude of his Power, or after a Manner wholly Arbitrary, but by Right, a ſpecious Pretence at leaſt to it, of a ſpecial and expreſs Stipulation, to which *James* himſelf had conditionally agreed.

8. The Advancement of *Leo* the Tenth to the Pontificate was no Obſtacle to the Almoner's Riſe, or the Succeſs of his Affairs at *Rome*. This Pope purſued the Steps of his Predeceſſor *Julius*, and ſhewed the ſame Zeal in aſſerting the Power of the *Triple Crown*, and in condemning thoſe who ſeparated from him. *Julius* did not live perfectly to execute the Deſigns which he had formed againſt the Enemies of the Church, but left them, when almoſt brought to Maturity, to be finiſhed by his Succeſſor; who was more mo-

derate to Appearance in his Temper and Manner of Acting, but not leſs vigilant in bringing Matters, which he had reſolved upon, to bear. *Julius* had a martial Spirit, and in the Characters of Valour and Intrepidity few Heroes have exceeded him. He appeared and aſſiſted in Perſon, and in all the Pomp of military Dreſs at the Taking of Towns. He was ſo impetuous in puſhing his Deſigns that nothing could obſtruct him, or be done ſoon enough; he had no Regard to the Cold of the Seaſon, or to the Imbecillity and Decays of old Age. It was ſaid, he threw the Keys of St. *Peter* into the *Tyber*; to ſhew, that he only deſigned to make uſe of his Sword. But this Story ſeems only to be founded upon an Epigram, and great Allowance is to be made in Compoſitions of that Kind to Fiction, and the Diſtreſs wherein the Poet frequently finds himſelf, for Want, as he may conceive it, of an agreeable Turn. It is certain however, that this Pope, with his great Courage, did not want a political Head, by which he form'd Leagues and broke them, like other Princes, as the Scene of Affairs happened to vary, or new Exigencies of State were thought to require. The Emperor and King of *France* being equally diſguſted at his Conduct, endeavoured to humble him, by a Method ever formidable to the Popes: They approved by their Letters Patents the Council of *Piſa*, and protected the Fathers who compoſed that Council, and who declared *Julius* ſuſpended from the Adminiſtration of the Pontificate, and forbad Obedience to him: Far from being herewith intimidated, he excommunicated and degraded thoſe Fathers in his Council of *Lateran*; and tho' he did not live to oblige *Lewis* the Twelfth to renounce and condemn their Sentence againſt him, yet he left Things in ſuch a Situation, that *Leo* the Tenth, his Succeſſor, found this a Work of much leſs Difficulty.

9. This Pope, though he had a great Spirit, was better verſed in the Arts of Condeſcention, and of gaining his Point by that Means. He had a great many fine Talents, the Luſtre of which was tarniſhed with certain Vices, and a Levity on many Occaſions, which very ill became him, tho' the Diſorders into which he fell, have been aſcribed by ſome to a Temper more [d] eaſy and complaiſant, rather than naturally vicious. Yet in proceeding againſt the Schiſmaticks, and thoſe who adhered to them, he acted with great Vigour and Reſolution.

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[d] Ita tamen ut Jucunditate blandæ facilisq; naturæ, potius quam certo depravati Animi Judicio, in ea vitia prolabi videretur. *Paul. Jov.* 129.

10. In a Letter from [e] Archbiſhop *Bambridge* to the King, that Prelate gives his Majeſty an Account of what had paſſed in the Council of *Lateran* againſt them, at the Time of his writing it, and of ſome private Converſation he had with his Holineſs in relation to two of them, and to what he had done for their *Rebuke, Shame,* and *Infamy*. And tho' his Holineſs determined to reſtore them, yet it was in ſuch a Method, as ſhould at once tend to humble them, and to do Honour to thoſe who had taken Arms againſt them. As to the Schiſmaticks in *France,* the Pope declares his firm Reſolution to make no Step towards abſolving them from the Interdict, without the expreſs conſent of his Confederates.

11. It appears from the whole Tenour of this Letter, how zealous that Archbiſhop, as well as the King his Maſter, was, in oppoſing the Schiſm, and in aſſiſting the Pope againſt all his Enemies, particularly againſt *Lewis* the Twelfth. But there is one Paſſage which ſhews, that *Polydor Virgil,* who is ſaid to be Body and Soul to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter,* and then reſided at our Court, was not ſo careful, as might have been expected from his Character and Abilities, to inform himſelf concerning the real Deſigns and Tranſactions of it. For in a Letter to Cardinal *Adrian,* whoſe Agent he was, he is ſaid to inform him, that the King would in no caſe perſonally proceed againſt the *French*. We may judge by this one Inſtance, that intire Credit is not always to be given to this Author, in reporting Matters of Fact or Conſultation, where they are not otherways ſufficiently atteſted. We have in this Letter a remarkable Inſtance to ſhew, that his Holineſs did not diſdain to make uſe of one of the common Artifices, employed by Princes to ſolve Appearances, and amuſe their Friends. Upon this View, his Holineſs ſignifies by a Brief to the King, that he deſigns to ſend a Legate to him to treat of univerſal Peace. But this Archbiſhop freely declares at the ſame time, that the Sovereign Pontiff has really no ſuch Intention, that *He only does it for a Shew, and that he may be ſeen to keep his Oath.* In conformity to the Pope's ſecret Will, and the Maxims whereby he governs himſelf in this Affair, the Archbiſhop repreſents to the King, that he thinks it neither for his Honour or Advantage, to admit ſuch a Legate, eſpecially *for that Intent*.

12. In the Cloſe of this Letter, mention is made of the great Zeal of the Biſhop of *Worceſter* in the King's Service at *Rome,*

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[e] Coll. N° 7.

and of the powerful Intereſt which that Prelate had with the Pope: And who, as appears by a Letter from him to the [f] Almoner on the Tenth of *May* preceeding this from the Archbiſhop, ſhews how deſirous he was to give him proper Teſtimonies of his Eſteem, and how ſenſible of the Confidence to which he was then admitted with the King. And tho' the Pope made ſome Scruple of granting a Diſpenſation in his Favour, which was thought both unreaſonable, and without Precedent, that he might hold Benefices tho' conſiſting of more than three Parochial Churches to the Value of Two thouſand Pounds annually, at leaſt of Two thouſand Marks: Yet his Holineſs, as he declares, not only on account of the Almoner's perſonal Vertues, but of his great Weight and Favour with the King, if upon enquiry any ſuch Diſpenſation might be found in *England* upon Record, and a true Copy of it ſhould be tranſmitted to *Rome*, will readily expedite one in his favour to the ſame Effect.

13. This was a Year of Succeſs to the common Confederacy, as of Glory in particular to the *Engliſh* Arms. On the Tenth of *June* Archbiſhop [g] *Bambridge* writes a Letter to the King, giving his Majeſty an Account of a ſignal Victory obtained by the Duke of *Millain* and the *Swiſs* in his Aid, over an Army of the *French* conſiſting of about Ten thouſand Men. The Duke of *Millain* being at a City of *Lombardy* called *Neware* at the Head of Five thouſand *Swiſs*, was vigorouſly attacked by the *French*, who with their Artillery, had levelled fifty Yards of the Wall. But the Beſieged did not only bravely repulſe them, but ſallied out with ſuch Force and Reſolution upon them, that they put them to the Rout, and ſoon became Maſters of their Artillery; what encouraged them to ſo brave an Action was, that Seven thouſand *Swiſs* marching to their Aid, were in a Manner at hand, and came up very opportunely with them. Upon the two Armies engaging, a fierce and bloody Battle was fought, wherein the *French* General with two of his Sons were killed, with a Gentleman who headed the *French* Faction in the *Milaneſe*, and whoſe Death, if the Calculation of the Archbiſhop be juſt, imported as much to the *French*, as they would have ſuſtained by the Loſs of a thouſand Launces. A fourth Part of the *French* were ſlain in the Field, and ſeveral of thoſe who made their Eſcape, were killed by the Peaſants. Among the Officers of Diſtinction the Baron *de Barnyſe* alone ſaved himſelf, and made a Retreat with a ſmall Party into a neighbouring Caſtle, where he was ſurrounded in ſuch a Manner and ſo

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[f] [g] Collect. N° 8.

expoſed, that he could no ways either make his Eſcape, or defend himſelf. During the Action, the Viceroy of *Naples* was paſſing the *Po* in order to join the *Swiſs*, of whom about Five thouſand were ſlain, but received Orders from the Duke of *Millan* in his March, that he ſhould take the direct Way toward the *Venetian* Army: Orders were ſent at the ſame time to the Generals who commanded the Imperialiſts, that they ſhould take ſuch care to ſecure the Paſſes and Defiles, that the *Venetians* might find no Way open for Flight. The Pope was encouraged by this News to declare himſelf more vigorouſly againſt the *French*, and cauſed publick Rejoicings to be made for it. The Archbiſhop concludes, it was daily expected by his Holineſs, and the great Men at *Rome*, that his Maſter ſhould utterly exterminate the *French* King.

14. I ſhall here take the Liberty of citing a Letter, tho' written ſome time before this Period, from the [b] Almoner, wherein there are certain Particulars relating to his own and the Hiſtory of that Time, proper to gratify the Curious. It is directed to his Patron, that great Stateſman and excellent Prelate, *Fox* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. The Almoner informs him in the firſt Place, by advice from Sir *Robert Wingfield*, That the Emperor had received News of the great Danger the Pope was apprehended to be in from a Mortification in the Lower Parts of his Body, and that his Imperial Majeſty deſign'd to recommend the Cardinal *Adrian* as his Succeſſor, and had engaged Sir *Robert Wingfield* in his Intereſt: The Almoner, in ſome private Converſation which he had with the King upon this Intelligence, repreſents the ſaid Cardinal as a Perſon, if promoted to the Papacy, capable of doing both much Honour and Service to his Majeſty; and that the Emperor having already declared himſelf in his Favour, his Promotion, with his Majeſty's Help, might eaſily be effected. This *Adrian*, as appears by Letters from the Court of *Rome* at that time, had been employed in ſeveral Negotiations by our King and his Miniſtry; was an active, artful, and enterpriſing Man, and particularly affected to ſhew an extraordinary Zeal againſt the Schiſmaticks, and in promoting the Intereſts of the Common Cauſe, or League, whereof the King was at the Head. Yet Cardinal *Bambridge*, whether from any perſonal Diſlike, or juſt Grounds, in ſome of his Diſpatches ſpeaks of this Cardinal, as a Man very aſſuming, who would be thought to underſtand and to do every thing; but was neither ſincere, nor inſtrumental in the King's Service, as he pretended.

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[b] Coll. Nº 2.

However it ſeems, tho' theſe Overtures came to nothing, he was in ſo great Eſteem both with the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and our Almoner his Chaplain, and with the King himſelf, that his Majeſty ſeemed to approve what the Almoner had preſumed to mention in his Favour, who yet did not think it proper or decent to puſh the Matter farther at that time. It appears from the Sequel of this Letter, that the Lord Chamberlain and the Biſhop of *Durham* were inclined to favour the Cardinal St. *George*: that they oppoſed the Advancement of *Adrian*, and ſpake to his Diſadvantage: but that if the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* would make his Appearance at Court, where he was much deſired and expected, this, with other Matters, concerning which the Reſolutions to be taken were deferred to his coming, might terminate happily.

15. The Almoner proceeds to obſerve, the ill Succeſs which the Maſter of the Rolls, Dr. *John Young*, had found in his Negotiation at the Court of [i] *France*, when he was ſent on a monitory Embaſſage to *Lewis*, requiring him to deſiſt from the War againſt the Pope. He writes, "Never Man had worſe cheer "than he, in *France*, and that he had done nothing touching "the Matter wherewith he was charged." After ſome Obſervation relating to the Treatment of our Army in the *Spaniſh* Expedition, and the Diſpoſition of the King's Money, which he thinks was made after a profuſe Manner, and exported to the King's Diſadvantage, with ſome other Particulars, which it is not neceſſary to repeat; He takes notice to the Biſhop of the cold Reception which the Treaſurer had received, upon his coming lately to Court, at which he was ſo diſguſted, that he had abſented from thence above a Week. The Almoner embraceth ſo favourable an Opportunity of repreſenting to his great Patron, how with little Difficulty the Treaſurer, who was now declining in the King's Favour, might be excluded from his Apartment at Court, of which, in his poor Judgement (he ſeems as if he would expreſs himſelf in a Manner agreeable to the Sentiments of the Biſhop) no little Good ſhould enſue.

16. But I principally cite this Letter to ſhew, that neither the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* nor the Almoner, approved a Breach with *Scotland*: That to prevent it, the Dean of *Windſor* Dr. *Weſt* had been ſent into *Scotland*, to declare the Cauſe why we had taken the Ships belonging to that Nation, and proceeded in the Manner we had done, againſt the Subjects of it; and alſo to

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[i] *Herb.* p. 18, 19.

pay the Legacy due to the Queen of *Scotland*, for which ſuch frequent Demands had been made at our Court. He complains that Mr. *Howard*, a Relation probably or Creature of the Earl of *Surry*, contributed very much to influence the King againſt the *Scots*, and that by his Means not only much of the King's Money was ſpent, but the King himſelf was more diſpoſed to War than Peace. He repreſents to the Biſhop, that his Preſence would be very neceſſary, to undeceive the King and divert him from ſuch Counſels. It is not improbable that the Earl having a Proſpect of commanding in the War, if it ſhould break out againſt *Scotland*, conſulted as much the Glory and Advantage which might accrue to himſelf or Friends from it, as the Lawfulneſs of Undertaking it; or the publick and juſtifiable Reaſons which ſhould induce the King to it. During the Negotiations between the two Powers, before it commenced, the King of *Scots* throughout the whole Progreſs of them, declared himſelf very ſollicitous for procuring a univerſal Peace, and that he was willing, in purſuance of ſo good and deſireable an End, to come into any reaſonable Meaſures. But our Commiſſioners were not empowered to treat upon that Subject, but only to engage him to preſerve the Peace according to the Treaties then ſubſiſting with *England*. Whether Reaſons of common Safety might oblige the King of *Scots* to aſſiſt his Ally *Lewis* the Twelfth of *France* againſt the Arms of *England*, when a Peace for him could not be procured; and when *England* would grow ſtill more formidable to its Neighbours, by the Advantages which it ſhould obtain againſt *Lewis*, whether the *Scots* were indolently to expect the Iſſue of a War, wherein if *England* ſhould ſucceed, they would be leſs able, in caſe of a Rupture between the two Nations, to defend themſelves: Theſe are Queſtions of Nicety upon which my political Readers may determine as they pleaſe. Whatever Judgement we may make concerning the Legality of this War, it appears, that in the Movements which were originally made towards it, two of our ableſt Miniſters thought it more adviſeable, if that could be done upon honourable Terms, to preſerve the Peace.

17. Though the [k] Letter which *Leo* the Tenth ſent about this time to the King with a Sword and a Hat, has no immediate Relation to the Hiſtory of the Almoner; yet as there are ſome Particulars in it, diſcovering the high Claims of that Pope in his civil as well as his eccleſiaſtical Capacity, it may not be improper in a Work, wherein I am to ſhew the Grounds of the Reforma-

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[k] Coll. No 19.

tion, to give an Extract or two from it. His Holineſs after the uſual Form of Benediction, acquaints the King, that in Teſtimony of the great Regard which he entertains for his Majeſty on Account of his many excellent Qualities, eſpecially his great Zeal for Religion and the Church, he has ſent him a conſecrated Hat and Sword. That this Preſent, the Signification whereof he explains, denotes the two Powers Spiritual and Temporal, wherewith the *Roman* Pontiff is of Right inveſted, wiſhing him Succeſs and Proſperity in the Uſe of them, againſt the Enemies of the Church and his own. This Letter is directed to the *Moſt Chriſtian King*, and it is the only authentick Inſtrument I have met with under that Title; which was promiſed and granted by *Julius* the Second, but the Brief of it had not been divulged, or formally executed. And this Brief I take to be the Subject Matter of a Letter from Cardinal *Bambridge* to the King, tho' not expreſsly ſpecified. After a congratulatory Addreſs to his Majeſty upon the Succeſs of his [1] Arms againſt *France*, that Prelate acquaints him that he had deſired Cardinal *Sinogalen* in his Name to deliver the Brief which his Grace knew of, and which had been depoſited with him by Pope *Julius* of bleſſed Memory; but that Cardinal excuſed himſelf from delivering it, without expreſs Warrant from the King in Writing, by reaſon it was of very great and weighty Importance, appertaining to the perpetual Honour of ſo high and mighty a Prince. He adviſes, that the King would take no notice, but that this Brief was in his Hands before the Death of *Julius*, and that he would move his Succeſſor *Leo* the Tenth, to give a ſpecial Confirmation to it, and in more ample Manner under *Lead*. The remaining Part of the Letter contains a Recommendation of that Cardinal to the King's Favour, with a Stricture or two upon Cardinal *Adrian* agreeable to the Character before given of him, from a Teſtimony of this Archbiſhop. It may deſerve to be conſidered, how the King afterwards ſuffered a Title to be loſt or diſcontinued, for which he was ſo ſollicitous, which in the Reaſon of the Thing, he had as good a Claim to, as that of the *Faith's Defender* afterwards conferred on him, and which he purchaſed at the Price of a foreign and expenſive War, if what ſome Authors of Credit relate be true, That the Promiſe of this Title, as hath been obſerved before, was the principal Inducement upon which he engaged in the common Alliance.

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[1] Coll. N° 11.

CHAP. IX.

1. *Concerning the Biſhoprick of* Tournay. 2. *And a Treaty of Marriage between Lady* Mary, *the King's Siſter, and Prince* Charles *of* Spain. 3. *A Letter in Relation to it from* Knight *at* Mechlin. 4. *The Reaſon of citing that Letter.* 5. *The King of* France *ſeeks an Alliance with* England *by Means of Marrying the Princeſs.* 6. *The Almoner's Services to him on that Occaſion.* 7. *A Letter relating to it from King* Henry *to the Almoner.* 8. *What Suggeſtions the* French *made uſe of to perſuade the Marriage.* 9. *The Articles of which were drawn up by the Almoner.* 10. *The Princeſs is conducted into* France, *and the Marriage there ſolemnized.*

1. THOUGH it concerned the Almoner, now Biſhop of *Lincoln*, to cultivate a good Underſtanding in the *Netherlands*, on Account of the Vicinity of his Biſhoprick at *Tournay*, where his Affairs were but in an ill Situation, and his Agent who ſuperintended the Affairs of it, and collected his Revenues, had many Difficulties to ſurmount; yet theſe Conſiderations did not hinder him from taking due Care of his Maſter's Intereſts in thoſe Parts.

2. There had been a Treaty ſome time before concluded by the Emperor and *Henry* the Seventh, concerning a Marriage between the Lady *Mary* his Daughter, and *Charles* Prince of *Spain*, which Treaty ſtill ſubſiſted in Force; yet the Marriage had been deferred on the Part of *England*, not only becauſe the Princeſs was yet thought too Young for the Celebration of it, but for Want of ſufficient Security for her Jointure. But ſhe being now of a riper Age, and the King willing to remove all Obſtacles to the Match, thought fit to demand a Performance of it, and ſent Commiſſioners for that End to the Council of *Flanders*. But finding himſelf ſtill eluded on that Side with formal and dilatory Excuſes, he began to entertain a Suſpicion, that the Emperor had not acted a ſincere Part in his Negotiations relating to that Article.

3. The King was confirmed in this Thought by a Letter from *Knight* at *Mechlin*, to the Almoner; who writes, that “ whereas “ we have had a great Appearance by the Emperor's Letters, that “ he would obſerve his Promiſes, now it appeareth that all was diſ-“ ſembled to keep the King in good Hope, 'till the King of *Ar-*

“ *ragon* and He had made their Part: Notwithſtanding he is de-
“ ſirous that the Marriage ſhould be performed, by Reaſon where-
“ of both He and the King of *Arragon* think they ſhall make
“ amends for all Injuries and Breaches.

“ I think it were not expedient ſo ſhortly to ſatisfy their Minds
“ in that Part, as they ſhall deſire; for it maketh much more for
“ them here, than for the King's Grace: For by the Marriage,
“ according to good Reaſon, they ſhould be aſſured of *England*,
“ and the King's Grace never the more aſſured of them; for the
“ Prince is young, and hath young Council which is *French*.

“ And the Prince is like to be *obſtinate*, if he enter into any
“ Opinion, and conſidered, that all the Reſt about him are
“ *French*, and hath ſpoken ſuſpicious Words as I have written be-
“ fore time unto you.

“ *Item*, That there is no Faſtneſs in the Emperor; and he did
“ perſuade by his Letters unto the Lady the Archdutcheſs, that the
“ Marriage ſhould be deferred, for he was counſelled by the Phy-
“ ſicians, that in caſe there followed Conſummation, that in all
“ likelihood it ſhould be the Deſtruction of the Prince, or he
“ ſhould by that Means loſe the Hopes of Iſſue: And of all like-
“ lihood, the Motion of this did come from hence to the Em-
“ peror, which is ſo light of Credence, that ſmall Perſuaſions ſhall
“ lead him, as they will.

“ *Item*, Motion was made by the King of *Arragon*, that the
“ Prince's eldeſt Daughter might marry into the Houſe of *France*;
“ and thus the Grandfather and Father-in-law, and all thoſe that
“ govern her, all intend their proper Wele, not regarding our
“ Maſter's Honour, or the great Dangers and marvillous Char-
“ ges that they have brought him unto; always foreſeeing, that
“ the Perfection of this Marriage ſhould ſo bind the King, that he
“ might not attempt any thing to them prejudicial.

“ I cannot ſtudy in my Mind, how the King's Grace might
“ make his Part, without ſome Peace or Truce taken with *France*.
“ For ſtanding as now for fear of his Grace, the King of *Arra-*
“ *gon* and the Emperor have what they will aſk. And it is not
“ unknown, that if the *French* King had Peace with our Maſter,
“ he would obſerve toward the Emperor and the King of *Arragon*,
“ no more, than were his Pleaſure.

4. This Letter deſerved to be cited at large for the Spirit and good Senſe of it; beſides that it lets us into ſome Part of Secret Hiſtory, relating to the Conduct of the Emperor, and *Ferdinand*, and the Character of Prince *Charles*, afterwards veſted with the Imperial Dignity. It ſhews alſo upon what weighty Reaſons the Biſhop of *Lincoln* adviſed the King, at this Juncture, to the Treaty and Marriage with *France*.

5. *Lewis* the Twelfth having Intelligence, that ſome Jealouſy and Miſunderſtanding had happened between our King and thoſe two Powers, conſidered how he might improve the Occaſion to his own Advantage. And being now in a Diſpoſition to marry again, though far advanced in Years, he caſt his Eye towards the young and beautiful Princeſs of *England*: And thought, if he might ſucceed in his Addreſſes, he would not only by that Means procure a preſent Peace with *England*, but eſtabliſh it on a ſolid and laſting Foundation. He had a great many Reaſons, from the preſent Condition of his Affairs, to court this Alliance; three of the moſt potent Kings in *Europe* had entered into a ſtrict League Offenſive and Defenſive againſt him; two of his principal Towns towards the *Netherlands* had been taken by our King; the Flower of his Cavalry either deſtroyed, taken Priſoners, or put to a ſhameful Flight; his Couſin and Confederate *James* the Fourth was ſlain in the Field of Battle; and the Adminiſtration of the Government in *Scotland* did thereupon, for the preſent, devolve upon Queen *Margaret* his Relict, and Siſter to King *Henry*. The Pope too, who had then a great Influence over the ſeveral Powers and Courts of *Europe*, maintained open War with him, and attacked him both by his temporal and ſpiritual Sword; and he found himſelf more diſtreſſed by his Holineſs, under the Notion of a Schiſmatick, than of a civil Adverſary. Notwithſtanding the ill Situation he was in on all theſe Accounts, he had but a ſhort Space, during the Winter Seaſon, to provide for the Operations of War, which were to begin the Spring following.

6. Theſe were very powerful Motives to oblige *Lewis* the Twelfth to think of making his Peace: And to that End, conſidering the Power of *England*, and the perſonal Weight which *Henry* the Eighth had with the other confederate Princes, he found it neceſſary to make Overtures of Peace and Friendſhip to him, and to cement them the more, deſired his Siſter, the greateſt Beauty of that Age, in Marriage. The Almoner apprehending theſe Overtures to be for his Maſter's Service, readily came into them, and gave the *French* Miniſters all the Aſſiſtance he could towards

effecting them, both by his Intereſt with the King, and by the Influence which, if we may judge by the Sequel, he appears to have had with the Princeſs. Though he could not but be ſenſible, that by making this Step, he ſhould incur the Diſpleaſure of *Maximilian* and the *Flemings*, and might thereby ſuffer on Account of his own private Affairs, in their Neighbourhood.

7. It appears from a Letter of the King to the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, that the Duke of *Longueville*, then Priſoner in *England*, contributed very much to facilitate, and perfect this Treaty, having Commiſſion from *Lewis* to ſue for Peace, and being himſelf more deſirous of it that he might ſooner obtain his Liberty. The King's Words to that Prelate are as I find his Letter tranſcribed, "[m] I ſaid to him, ſeeing that the King your Maſter hath ſought ſo gently to us both for Amity and Marriage, I aſſure you, our Honour ſaved, we could be well content to hearken thereto; and he may have both under this Manner, *viz.* That the Peace be made during our Lives and one Year after; for if it be made for Years it cannot endure any longer than the Payment, which expired, ſhould be Cauſe of new Breach and Demands. Wherefore to eſchue all Danger, and to recompenſe me for withholding mine Inheritance, which if I would be ſlack in, my Subjects ſhould murmur at, this Amity may be made during our Lives and one Year after, your Maſter paying yearly to me 100,000 Crowns: Which Amity once granted, the Alliance ſhould not be refuſed.

"If your Maſter conſider what Heritance he holdeth from me, and what Good my Amity may do to help forth his Matter in *Italy*, I think he will not greatly ſtick at this."

8. The *French* to induce the King to hearken more readily to their Overtures, made uſe of theſe two Suggeſtions, That *Charles* Prince of *Caſtile* contracted to the King's Siſter, was yet at that time actually in Treaty concerning a Marriage with *Anne* Daughter of *Ludiſlaus* King of *Hungary*; and that if the Emperor really ſhould be in earneſt to have the former Contract executed, yet ſtill the Prince, who would not be fourteen Yars old 'till *February* following, was not of a competent Age to marry. Tho' this latter Argument might perhaps have been not improperly omitted, as miniſtring Occaſion of an Inquiry not much to the *French* King's Advantage, whether it was not more adviſeable to marry

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[m] Maſt. & Coll. Nº 12.

a young Lady in the Bloom of Youth and Beauty, to a Prince of that Age, than to an old and infirm King, upon the Verge of the Grave.

9. However the Treaty was at laſt agreed upon, and the Biſhop of *Lincoln* commanded to draw up the Articles of the Marriage: One Condition whereof was, that the Princeſs ſhould have for her Dowry 300,000 Crowns, but two whereof were only to be paid, it being provided ſo by a ſecret Article, and the other Hundred thouſand only added for [n] Stipulation.

10. After the Treaty of Marriage was concluded according to the uſual Forms, the Princeſs was conducted on her Way towards *France* ſo far as the Sea-ſide by the King and Queen, and then committed to the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Care, who attended her into *France*, where ſhe was received with her Retinue (which made a very ſplendid Appearance) after a Manner becoming her high Birth, and the Solemnity of the Occaſion. The *French* King met her at *Abbeville*, and entertain'd her with much Pomp and Gallantry, and there celebrated the Marriage on the ninth Day of *October*, being the Day ſacred to St. *Dennis*. Her Entrance afterwards into *Paris* was moſt Magnificent, and accompanied with the greateſt Demonſtrations of publick Joy.

Yet there is Reaſon after all to doubt, whether this Marriage was previouſly, and in all reſpects, agreeable to the Inclinations of the Princeſs. The Inequality of her [nn] Age and that of *Lewis* the Twelfth, renders it not improbable, that her Eſpouſals to that Monarch were rather owing to her Brother's Influence and Advice, than to her own free and proper Choice; even on Suppoſition, which we are not neceſſarily obliged to make, that ſhe had not already received any Impreſſions in favour of the Duke of *Suffolk*. Biſhop *Godwin* in his Annals of *Henry* the Eighth, taking upon him to aſſign the Motives of her Marriage, reſolves them into the Authority of a Brother; but above all, what he obſerves might be ſuppoſed to have the greateſt Power over her Sex, the Proſpect of that Glory, which attends the [o] Name and Dignity of a Queen.

The Almoner on his Part poſſibly had Motives for promoting the Marriage, that reſpected the Ends of his own Ambition: Yet with which, Reaſons of publick Good, after an expenſive War with *France*, might at the ſame time very well conſiſt. The Friendſhip of ſo great a Prince as *Lewis* the Twelfth, though at preſent under ſome Difficulties, was not to be diſregarded: He was ſtill capable by one Means or other of aſſiſting the Almoner in puſhing his Fortune, and the Neceſſities to which he found himſelf reduced, would naturally incline him, as in Fact they did, to make ample Promiſes to a Perſon of the Almoner's Weight in the *Engliſh* Court. They who will conſult the Treaties relating to this Marriage, may eaſily diſcover how ſollicitous the *French* King and his Miniſters were to have them perfected, and upon what Grounds. Neither was the Court of *England* reluctant to the Overtures of a Peace, which might be made upon honourable and moderate Terms. Notwithſtanding the Advantages which had been obtained over the *French*, and the Proſpect of obtaining ſtill greater, in caſe we had purſued them; yet we choſe to grant Peace upon the Conditions propoſed, rather than to inſiſt upon ſuch hard and ignoble Terms, to which the laſt Diſtreſs could only oblige a Sovereign Prince to ſubmit. If it be ungenerous to take all the Advantages againſt a private Adverſary, which Fortune may have put into our Hands, it is equally irreconcileable with the Maxims of true Generoſity, to extort ſuch Conceſſions from a neighbouring Potentate, with which he cannot comply, either in Honour to himſelf, or perhaps in Juſtice to his Subjects.

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[n] Maſt. Coll. 141.

[nn] Erat Rex ille Ætate jam ingraveſcente, Sponſa tenera virgincula, 16 forte aut 18 annos nata, Forma egregia, *Godw. H.* 8. *p.* 11.

[o] Honorum Splendor, Reginæ nomen. *Godwin ibid.*

THE
LIFE
OF
Cardinal WOLSEY.

BOOK II.

Memoirs concerning Him from the Time of his being made Archbiſhop of *York* to that of his Declining in Favour at Court.

Chap. I.

1. *The Almoner, Biſhop of* Lincoln, *is made Archbiſhop of* York. 2. *The Subject reſumed relating to the Marriage of the young Princeſs.* 3. *She writes a Letter of Complaint, when married, to the Archbiſhop, and one to the King her Brother.* 4. *The Duke of* Suffolk *moves, by Means of the Archbiſhop, that he may go to the Juſts in* France. 5. Lewis *the King of* France *dies: An Obſervation of* Varillas *upon his Death.* 6. *An incidental Character of that Monarch.* 7. *King* Henry *ſends a Letter of Condolance to the Queen-Dowager of* France *by the Duke of* Suffolk, *who writes to the Archbiſhop concerning a Converſation which he had with the* French *King.* 8. *The extraordinary Complaiſance of that Prince to the Duke of* Suffolk. 9. *The Import of a Letter which the Duke wrote to the King of* England. 10. *And of another to his Majeſty from the Queen his Siſter.* 11. *An* Engliſh *Fryer is ſent to Her to diſſuade Her from marrying the Duke.* 12. *A Letter from* Pace *to the Archbiſhop concerning the Death of his Predeceſſor* Bambridge. 13. *The Queen reſolves to marry the Duke of* Suffolk. 14. *Overtures of the* French *to the King, concerning the Reſtitution of* Tournay. 15. *Which are communicated by Letter to the Archbiſhop.*

16. *Why this Project was well received by Him, yet certain Difficulties retarded the Execution of it.*

1514. 1. THE Almoner had not been long promoted to the Biſhoprick of [a] *Lincoln*, before the Archiepiſcopal Chair of *York* became vacant by the Death of *Chriſtopher Bambridge* the King's Ambaſſador at *Rome*. Concerning the violent Manner of which, I ſhall take Occaſion to ſay ſomething in the Sequel. I am only to obſerve at preſent, that it opened a Way for the Almoner to ſucceed him in that high Dignity; who under the Title of Biſhop-Elect of *York*, had the Adminiſtration of the [b] Temporalities belonging to that See granted by the King on the Fifth of *Auguſt* 1514, and on the Sixth of *November* following he was actually tranſlated to it from *Lincoln*.

2. But as he had been ſo immediately concerned in the Negotiations relating to the Marriage of the Princeſs; who ſtill continued, tho' Queen of *France*, to honour him with particular Marks of her Favour and Confidence; it may not be here improper to give ſome further Account of that important Affair, ſo far eſpecially as he was more directly intereſted in the Conſequences of it.

3. After that beautiful Princeſs had been received, and her Marriage to *Lewis* the Twelfth of *France* ſolemnized in the moſt ſplendid and joyful Manner, and the King had made Preſents to her of Jewels to an ineſtimable Value, ſhe ſtill complains in a Letter to the Almoner, now Archbiſhop, in reſpect to the following Article, that ſhe had not been well uſed. "That the very Day "after her Marriage, all her Servants, Men and Women, had "been diſcharged." She adds, "Yea, my Mother *Guildeford*, "by whom the King and you Willed me in any wiſe to be ad"viſed." She deſires the Archbiſhop to propoſe ſome Means that this Lady may return to her again, and declares ſhe had as leave loſe all the Advantages, which might accrue to her in *France*, as the Counſel of that Lady, when ſhe ſhould want it, which, ſhe adds, is not like long to be expected; from whence we may probably conclude, ſhe began already to be apprehenſive of ſome ſenſible Decays in the King, and that the Thread of his Life was

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[a] *He was Nominated to the Biſhoprick of* Lincoln, March 4, 1514. *Conſecrated* 26. Godw. de Ep. Linc. *And he received a proviſionary Bull for his Promotion to that Biſhoprick from* Pope Leo *the Tenth, in the firſt Year of his Pontificate*, Rym. T. 14, 390. Anno 5 *H*. 8. *The Temporalities to which were granted by the King*, March 14, Pat. 5 *H*. 8. *p*. 1. *m*. 16.

[b] Anno 6 *H*. 8. Pat. 6 *H*. 8. *p*. 2. *m*. 25.

running off apace; ſhe aſſures the Archbiſhop, that the Noblemen and Gentlemen that attend her, could ſhew him more in this Matter, than it became her to write. She complains that the Duke of *Norfolk* had not dealt well with her, becauſe he diſcovered too great Facility in complying with the *French* Court, and in granting every Thing they demanded. In concluſion, to ſhew the great Regard which the Queen had for the Archbiſhop, ſhe wiſhes, that inſtead of the Duke of *Norfolk*, he had been charged to attend her into *France*. She writes to the King upon the ſame Subject of her ill Treatment, in having her Servants removed; and though King *Lewis*, upon her Inſtances, was requeſted that the Lady *Guildeford* might again be received into her Service; yet he refuſed to grant this Requeſt, upon a Pretence that “ Neither He nor his Wife needed any, that ſhould guide them, as “ her Ladyſhip took upon her to rule the Queen.”

4. There was at this time a Miſunderſtanding between the two Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, which ſome have ſuſpected was ſecretly fomented by the Archbiſhop, that he might at the ſame time more effectually ſerve his own Intereſts and thoſe of the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, which he would be much ſooner capable of doing, could he by any Means contribute to leſſen the Eſteem which the King ſtill entertained for the Duke of *Norfolk*. To this End the Aſſiſtance of ſo great and potent a Favourite, as the Duke of *Suffolk*, was naturally ſought after; and the Archbiſhop on his Part wanted neither Power nor Inclination to make proper and ſuitable Returns of Friendſhip to him. He had now a fair Opportunity of obliging that Duke in an Affair, which he had much at Heart: For being every Way qualified for Exerciſes of Activity, and ambitious of ſignalizing himſelf, as he had often done, in performing them, he had a great Deſire to go to the *Juſts* in *France*; but being oppoſed by the Duke of *Norfolk*, had not yet been able to obtain the King's Leave to be Preſent at them; and therefore writes a Letter from *Dover* to the Archbiſhop, deſiring that he would move the King in his Favour on this Occaſion. And his Requeſt, whether at the Archbiſhop's Suit, or upon any other Conſideration, was ſoon after granted, and he appeared at thoſe Eſſays of Art and Strength to an Advantage, whereby he not only acquired much Honour to himſelf, but a good Reputation in general to the *Engliſh* Proweſs. The Marqueſs of *Dorſet* was choſen with him to aid the Dolphin, afterwards King of *France*, and they both of them performed Wonders. In a Letter from the Marqueſs of *Dorſet*, that Lord writes, “ The *French* highly commendeth my “ Lord of *Suffolk*, and ſaith there is no Prince Chriſtian, hath

" two ſuch Servants as we two, both for Peace and War, in Field " and in Council." In a Letter to the Archbiſhop of *York*, giving an Account of the *Juſts*, he ſays, " My Lord of *Suffolk* and " I, ran three Days and loſt nothing: On *Saturday* the 18th " Day the Journey and Courſe in the Field began: My Lord of " *Suffolk* and I ran the firſt Day our ſelves, then put our Aids to " it, becauſe there was no Nobleman to run with us: On the " 21ſt the Fighting on Foot began, when they put an *Almain* " that never came into the Field before, againſt my Lord of *Suffolk*, to have put us to Shame, but could not." It is added, in the [c] Extracts from which I now copy, " The *French* King " ſaid (to the Queen) that the Lords of *Dorſet* and *Suffolk* ſhamed " all *France*, and carried away the Prize."

5. Some have thought theſe Exerciſes contributed not a little to prepare the Way for a more favourable Reception of thoſe Addreſſes which the Duke of *Suffolk*, upon the Death of *Lewis* the Twelfth, afterwards made to the Queen his Relict, and againſt which ſhe was far from appearing to be greatly prepoſſeſſed. That King did not long ſurvive the Accompliſhment of his Wiſhes in the Peace, and his Marriage, which ſome were of Opinion tended much to encreaſe the Infirmities of Age, and to accelerate his Death. *Varillas* obſerves, it was commonly ſaid before the Match, that his Reign would be of no great Continuance after it. Some thought that having no Children but Daughters, he was poſſeſſed with too violent a Deſire of having Male-Iſſue to ſucceed to the Crown: But all his Efforts upon that View proved ineffectual. That his Temper was amorous, and might incline him to regulate his Behaviour towards the Queen more by the Allurements of her Youth and Beauty, than by the Conſideration of his own Age, may be reaſonably preſumed from his Conduct in the former Part of his Life. For having married *Jane* Daughter to *Lewis* the Eleventh, and being in Love with the Ducheſs of *Brittany*, he could not be eaſy 'till he had procured a Divorce from the Queen, with a Deſign of marrying that Ducheſs, the Widow of *Charles* VIII, his Predeceſſor. His Pretence for the Divorce was, that he had married out of Conſtraint, and for Fear, and that he had never known the Lady, who proteſted upon Oath to the contrary, and declared with all the Modeſty becoming her Sex, that the Marriage had been conſummated: And many were inclined, from their Cohabitation and the Temper of the King, to credit what ſhe ſo ſolemnly depoſed. However the Pope believed, and received the

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[c] Maſt. 272.

King's Proteſt, and gave a Diſpenſation for the Divorce, which was admitted by the *Sorbon*, and the Parliament of *Paris*. 1514.

6. This King, in the Courſe of his Reign, had a Mixture of good and ill Fortune; and conſidered in his perſonal Character, though he had ſome Failures, was One of the greateſt Men of the Age wherein he lived. His Courage and Spirit animated him to great Undertakings, in the Proſecution of which he was vigilant and active; he had a martial Genius, an undaunted Heart, and a politick Head. He had not only the Pope, the Emperor, *England*, and the *Swiſs*, at once againſt him, but the Charge of ſupporting an unhappy dethroned King, who brought him no other Aſſiſtance, but the Juſtice of his Cauſe: Under all theſe Difficulties he found Means to diſſolve the formidable League againſt him, and to re-eſtabliſh his Affairs before his Death, which happened ſoon after, upon a good Foot. The hardeſt Condition impoſed upon him, and to which he ſubmitted, was, That he ſhould renounce and condemn the Council of *Piſa*, which he did by a formal Inſtrument, tho' the Fathers of it had convened, and acted under his Protection. Yet it may ſtill be queſtioned, whether this Submiſſion was occaſioned by any Exigency to which he found his Affairs reduced, or any intimidating Apprehenſions, which he might be under on that Account; and if it were not rather the Effect of ſome Regret which he now felt in his Mind, becauſe he had contributed to foment an unhappy and dangerous Schiſm in the Church, and cauſed much Blood to be ſhed in his Wars againſt the Pope.

7. He died on the 1ſt of *January* 1514-15, before he had been married full three Months. Upon his Death King *Henry* ſent a Letter of Condolance to the Queen, deſiring to know her Inclination as to her Return into *England*, and that ſhe would not enter into any new Contract of Marriage without his Conſent. The Archbiſhop of *York* writes to her upon the ſame Subject, adviſing her, "That ſince her Husband is dead, ſhe will conform her ſelf "to the King her Brother's Will, who will never forſake her, and "that ſhe would not condeſcend to any Marriage in *France*." Among thoſe, who were deputed by the King to carry his Letters of Condolance to the Queen of *France* his Siſter, was the Duke of *Suffolk*, who had not been long at the *French* Court, before he found Encouragement agreeable to his Inclination, to make his Addreſſes to the Queen-Dowager; that Duke made no Secret of his Paſſion to the Archbiſhop. He writes to his Grace on the 3d of *February*, "The Day that the *French* King gave us Audience,

"his

"his Grace called me into his Bedchamber, and ſaid, my Lord of "*Suffolk* it is here bruited, that you are come over to marry the "Queen of *France* your Maſter's Siſter. I excuſed my ſelf and "denied it: He ſaid, then I will be plain with you, and ſhewed "me the Queen her ſelf had broken the Matter to him, and deſired his Aſſiſtance therein, which he had promiſed her by the "Truth of a King, and renewed the ſame Promiſe to me. I was "convinced, and I could not but thank his Grace. Yet told "him, I was like to be undone, if this Matter ſhould come to "the Knowledge of my Maſter: And then he ſaid, Let me alone, "for I and the Queen ſhall ſo inſtance your Maſter, that he ſhall "be content.

"Of this, *continues the Duke*, I do advertiſe you my Lord "of *York*, becauſe I intend to hide nothing from you; and I deſire your ſpeedy Advice, and if you ſhall think good to advertiſe the King of this Letter. My Lord, I thank God, that who "I feared moſt, is contented to be the Author of this Act himſelf, and to inſtance the King my Maſter for me; whereby "his Grace ſhall be marvellouſly diſcharged, as well againſt his "Council, as the other Nobles of his Realm."

This Complaiſance of *Francis* the *French* King was the more ſurpriſing to thoſe who reflected, that when the publick *Juſts* were celebrated, on Occaſion of his Predeceſſor's Marriage, he had looked upon the Duke of *Suffolk* for his Atchievements in them with ſo envious an Eye, that he had formed a Deſign not only to foil him, but which might have proved of very dangerous Conſequence to him in other Reſpects: For he had cauſed a *German* of prodigious Strength and Stature to be privately introduced into the Field, in order to the Conflict with him; and for ſome time, the Event of it was more doubtful. But the Duke by the Blows, wherewith he repaid this unknown Champion, made him ſenſible at laſt, that he was his Superior, of which the Marqueſs of *Dorſet* gives an Account in the forecited Letter from him to the Archbiſhop, but conciſe, and in very modeſt Terms.

9. The Duke of *Suffolk* wrote to the King himſelf on the 18th of *February* upon this Subject, who in regard to his Royal Dignity had ſeemed to oppoſe the Deſign, but ſecretly was determined to favour it, and now conſents, "That the *French* King ſhould "be intreated to write for the ſaid Duke and Queen, which Requeſt of his King *Henry* would grant, thereby to engage the "ſaid *French*, and diſcharge himſelf towards his Council."

10. In a Letter from the Queen to her Brother of *England*, ſhe reminds him of his Promiſe, when ſhe took Leave of him, and tells him, "Your Grace knoweth well, that what I did this "time, was for your Pleaſure; and now I truſt that you will "ſuffer me to do what I liſt. For if you would have me mar-"ried in any Place, ſaving where my Mind is, I will be there "where your Grace nor any other ſhall have Joy of me. For I "promiſe your Grace, that you ſhall hear that I will be in ſome "religious Houſe." She writes, That the King of *France* intendeth to ſend to him Overtures of a Marriage between her and the Duke of *Savoy* his Uncle, which ſhe hopes his Grace will not approve; and ſhe tells him where ſhe is determined to marry, if ever ſhe marry again; but obſerves at the ſame time, that the Perſon to whom ſhe has engaged her Affections, has Enemies about the King her Brother. And it ſeems indeed, from the whole Conduct of the King in this Affair, that it was more to preſerve Appearances of State, and to ſatisfy his Counſel, that he did not at firſt countenance the Marriage, than out of any Oppoſition to it, as the Duke, tho' a Perſon of the greateſt Merit, and of the firſt Quality below a Crowned Head, was yet but a Subject.

11. On the 8th of *February* there is a Letter from this Duke to the Archbiſhop, giving an Account of a certain *Engliſh* Fryar who had been at the *French* Court, and deſired Audience of the Queen-Dowager; and under an Obteſtation of Secrecy ſaid, it was reported in *England*, that ſhe was to be married to the Duke of *Suffolk*; but he adviſed her of all Men, to beware of that Duke, for he knew well, that the Archbiſhop of *York* and He had meddled with the Devil, and ſo kept the King ſubject to all that pleaſed them. This Fryar was either an Enthuſiaſt, and ſo went upon ſome viſionary Deſign he had formed to himſelf, or which is more probable, was ſent on this fooliſh Errand by ſome Enemies of the Duke and the Archbiſhop at the *Engliſh* Court, who under a Pretence of Zeal and Sanctity, or of occult Knowledge, and perhaps of an extraordinary Commiſſion, might divert the Queen from the Thoughts of marrying the Duke. But ſhe was too far prepoſſeſſed in his Favour, and too well fixed in her Reſolution, to be influenced by any ſuch Arts of Illuſion, which yet have ſometimes produced ſtrange Effects: She took little Notice of what he ſaid, and diſmiſſed him with Neglect. From the Concluſion of this Letter of the Duke to the Archbiſhop, we may judge, how much their Intereſts were complicated, and what it concerned them to do towards obviating the Deſigns of their common Enemies. "It were neceſſary, ſays the Duke, that you endeavour to knit

" a ſure Amity between theſe two Princes, which done we ſhall
" not fail, God willing, to continue in the Favour of our Ma-
" ſter, in deſpight of all that would the contrary."

12. On the Thirteenth of *September* this Year, I find a Letter from Mr. *Pace* at *Rome* to the Archbiſhop, wherein the Death of his Predeceſſor *Bambridge*, is charged upon the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, as an Accomplice in it, by the Confeſſion of the Perſon who had poiſoned that Archbiſhop, and, ſtung with the Remorſe of his Crime, had killed himſelf. *Pace* ſays it was done by that Biſhop's Inſtigation, and had been proved to be ſo by ſeveral Perſons of Learning and Character then at *Rome*; he ſpeaks of it as a Fact that admitted no Diſpute, and after a Charge exhibited againſt that Biſhop on ſome other Accounts, wherein himſelf and the Archbiſhop of *York* were perſonally concerned, he refers the Deciſion of the Matters complained of to his Grace's Equity, and deſires he may be conſidered as One, not who affected to revenge ſo horrid a Crime, but who ſought to diſcover the Truth; and who ſhould look upon himſelf as a Partaker in the Sin, if he ſhould diſſemble or conceal what he knew of it upon ſo good Grounds. On the twenty fifth of the ſame Month he writes at large, and to the like Effect to the King, and acquaints him with the Proceſs that had been made according to Law againſt the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and one of his Chamberlains, for the Murder of the ſaid Archbiſhop; and that it was concluded, the Confeſſion of the Prieſt who actually perpetrated the Murder, ought to be admitted as good Evidence againſt him; nay, that it was the Opinion of ſome, the Biſhop ought to be impriſoned and compelled by Torture to confeſs the Truth. Tho' conſidering him as veſted with a Publick Character from the King, he would not conſent to that, notwithſtanding in the Rigour of the Law, all Protections were in ſuch Caſe excluded. In both theſe Letters, tho' *Pace* repreſents himſelf as perſonally aggrieved and ungratefully uſed by the Biſhop on ſeveral Accounts, yet he would be thought to deſign nothing but the Diſcharge of a good Conſcience, in bringing the Biſhop, if really guilty, to condign Puniſhment, and in obliging him, if innocent, to purge himſelf from the Imputation of ſo atrocious a Crime. But whatever Grounds there were to ſuſpect that Prelate, the Proceſs againſt him came at length to nothing.

13. In *France* the Affair relating to the Marriage ſucceeded according to the Situation wherein we left it. Tho' Reaſons from the Dignity of her State, as well perhaps as of Decency after the late Death of her Husband, might lay ſome Reſtraints upon her, ſo

that ſhe could not appear at leaſt to proceed without ſome Scruple; yet ſhe reſolved at laſt to be ſecretly married, and in the Letters of Excuſe which ſhe wrote to the King on that Occaſion, ſhe took the Fault wholly upon her ſelf; and to juſtify the Duke of *Suffolk* declared, that ſhe had limited him to the Space of four Days, wherein, ſhe proteſted, unleſs he ſhould obtain her Conſent, he muſt Deſpair of ſucceeding in his Pretenſions. The Duke was not at a Loſs to explain her Meaning, and prepared without Delay to make his Advantage of it.

The King of *France* was more willing to promote this Marriage of the Queen-Dowager to a Subject of *England,* to prevent any Alliance that might prove incommodious, or prejudicial to him in caſe ſhe ſhould marry to any foreign Potentate. And the Archbiſhop probably was not altogether without ſome private View; as by contributing to promote it, and in being the Means of reconciling the King to his Siſter and the Duke, he engaged them both more effectually to eſpouſe his Intereſts; and by the Acceſſion of ſo great a Weight to his own, would now be an Overballance to all thoſe who ſtood, or might, at any Time, ſtand in his Way.

14. But before the Queen and Duke left the *French* Court, ſome Overtures were made by *Francis* towards the Reſtitution of *Tournay,* which our Ambaſſadors there, in a Letter to the Archbiſhop of *York,* the Biſhop of *Wincheſter,* and the Duke of *Norfolk,* Lords of the Council, adviſe; as being a Place, when the Peace ſhould be once concluded, of no great Uſe to the King, and not to be kept but at a very great Expence. They are of Opinion the Surrender of it to the *French,* would prevent future Occaſions of Jealouſy, and Rupture between the two Crowns: The *French* King had this Affair ſo much at Heart, that he offered to make the Duke of *Suffolk* Mediator in it, and to be determined by what he ſhould direct, declaring himſelf ready to make Compenſation by a good Summ of Money for the Expence which the King had been at in taking that Place, or to agree to any other Conditions that might be thought fit, tho' it were to protract the Term of thoſe annual Payments he was already obliged to make, for ſeveral Years to come.

15. But it is obſervable, they ſent a Letter at the ſame Time, and to the ſame Effect, apart to the Archbiſhop: By which we may judge how much he had now the Aſcendant, and was the Man in effect who did every Thing. They tell him, that the End

they had in their common Letter, was to incline the Council to be more benevolent in aſſiſting his Lordſhip in that Motion; and give him Aſſurances from *Francis*, the *French* King, that his Majeſty was very much diſpoſed to favour and ſerve him.

16. This Motion was the more acceptable to his Grace, by Reaſon of the Difficulties he ſtill met with in his Biſhoprick of *Tournay*, from the Claim, which was kept up by his Competitor the *French* Biſhop-elect; who by ſome Means had obtained a Bull in his Favour from the Pope, by virtue of which he was reſtored to his Biſhoprick, with a Licenſe to call in the [d] ſecular Arm to his Aſſiſtance, both in the City and without: So that as far as this Bull was of any Force or Authority, the *French* and the *Flemings* were equally obliged to promote the Reſtoration of that Biſhop. The Archbiſhop was ſo apprehenſive of the Obſtacles which this Competition threw in his Way, that he had moved *Francis* to confer on him ſome other Biſhoprick; And the Neglect of that Prince to ſerve him in this Particular, was ſuppoſed the Cauſe, why the Treaty about the Reſtitution of *Tournay* was broken off at preſent, and the Archbiſhop became from that Time *Francis* his ſecret Enemy. Tho' while the Duke of *Suffolk* was tranſacting this Affair at the *French* Court, nothing was done without the Archbiſhop, and *Francis* expreſſed the greateſt Friendſhip and Regard for him: The Reaſons indeed upon which that Duke adviſed an offenſive and defenſive Alliance with *France*, do not appear to have wanted a juſt Weight: He propoſes, That the Pope ſhould be comprehended in this Alliance, and that it would be of great Advantage both in reſpect to the *Scots* and the King of *Arragon*, of whom King *Henry* might recover the Charges, which he had expended for his Service, and ſuch Moneys, as he had a Demand for, in Right of the Queen his Wife. He obſerves the *French* King did not love *Ferdinand*; and was reſolved to reſtore the King of *Navarre* to his Dominions, tho' at the Hazard of loſing his own. But there aroſe ſome Difficulties concerning the Conditions of the Surrender. The King did not think it ſo much for his Honour to expoſe *Tournay* to Sale for a Sum of Money, but would have an equivalent in Lands, and ſpecified the County of *Guyneſs* or *Ardres*: To this, the *French* being unwilling the *Engliſh* Pale ſhould be enlarged, would not conſent. The Duke of *Suffolk* moves, that the Deciſion of this Matter may be referred to Him, and the Archbiſhop, as the Miniſter of the *Engliſh* Court, in whom only the *French* have Confidence.

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[d] Uſq; ad Invocationem Brachii Secularis.

17. The Duke of *Suffolk* writes about the ſame time to the Archbiſhop, a Letter, wherein he acknowledgeth him, next to God and the King, to be the Cauſe of all the Honour that had been done to him. If we may judge by the Sequel of this Letter, the Queen favoured him ſo far, that he was not under the Difficulty of making the firſt Advances, or of ſuffering any great Repulſe, when encouraged to make them. As it appears to have been written in Confidence, tho' there is nothing in it injurious to the Honour of that Queen, I ſhall not recite it at large. In the Concluſion he is apprehenſive, when the King comes to be acquainted with the Marriage, he will be diſpleaſed, and deſires the Archbiſhop would mediate in his Favour.

Both he and the Queen write to implore the King's Pardon, which was granted, and very much was owing on the Occaſion to the good Offices of the Archbiſhop. The Queen ſays in her Letter, tho' ſhe had no Regard to the Miſſion of Fryar *Langley*, when he oppoſed her Deſires, that he put her into Deſpair of marrying the Duke, if ſhe came into *England* before her Marriage, and pleads that in Excuſe to the King for marrying againſt his Commands in *France*. So great an Influence have our Inclinations, eſpecially where they are more violent, to influence our Belief, and to regulate our Judgements both concerning Perſons and Things, as they tend either to gratify, or to diſpleaſe us.

CHAP. II.

1. *Advice from our Ambaſſador at* Paris *to the Archbiſhop.* 2. *A Treaty with* France, *wherein the* Scots *are comprehended.* 3. *The Queen of* France *returns to* England, *and Umbrage is taken by the Archbiſhop, now Cardinal-Elect, at the Deſigns of the* French *in* Italy. 4. *Grounds of Complaint againſt the* French *King.* 5. *A Remark on Lord* Herbert; *with certain Inſtructions to Sir* Richard Wingfield. 6. *The Council of* England *divided on the Queſtion relating to a Rupture with* France. 7. *Conditions with the Duke of* Milan, *and a Cenſure upon* Polydore Virgil. 8. *Concerning the Biſhoprick of* Tournay. 9. *And the Miſconduct of Cardinal* Adrian *Biſhop of* Bath *at* Rome. 10. *Pope* Leo *writes favourably of him to the King.* 11. *Wherein* Adrian's *great Offence conſiſted.*

1. BEfore the Return of our Ambaſſadors, with the Queen from *France*, they adviſed the Archbiſhop by Letters, that they had notified to the King, *Francis* was diſpoſed to make Peace with him, during both their Lives, upon the Foot of the *Apr.* 3.

Treaty laſt concluded, and would conſent the *Scots* ſhould be comprehended in it, provided the *French* King would give him private Aſſurances by Letter, that he would not ſend the Duke of *Albany* into *Scotland*: To which latter Article the *French* King anſwered, That he had already engaged, by Promiſe to the *Scots*, that he would ſend the Duke. And upon the Repreſentation made by our Embaſſadors, That he was a ſuſpected Perſon, pretending Title to the Crown of *Scotland*, and invited over by thoſe, who were known Enemies to the young King; he ſaid, He would oblige himſelf upon Pain of Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, or by Oath, or other Security, to anſwer for the Duke's Conduct, ſo that he ſhould attempt nothing to the Prejudice or Diſturbance of the ſaid King, of his Mother, or Brother; but only contribute by his amicable Endeavours to compoſe the Animoſities among that People, and cauſe them to ſue to the King of *England* for Peace; and that if in the Space of two or three Months, what he propoſed, was not effected, the Duke ſhould be recalled.

Apr. 1515. 2. Accordingly, two Days after a Treaty of Peace between *France* and *England* was concluded, and the *Scots* comprehended in it. Yet the King either ſuſpecting the Fidelity of *Francis*, or doubting whether the Duke would conform to his Inſtructions, if the *French* King was really ſincere in what he promiſed, ordered a Fleet to be fitted out, with an Intention, it was thought, to intercept the Duke.

3. On the 16th of *April*, the Queen, the Duke of *Suffolk*, and Sir *Richard Wingfield*, departed from *Paris* in order to return for *England*, leaving Doctor *Weſt*, the other Ambaſſador, behind; to whom on the eleventh Day of *May*, *Francis* ratified the Peace upon Oath, and delivered the Treaty of it in a great Preſence, with an Obligation for Payment of the Sum ſtipulated in it; and in exchange, received from Dr. *Weſt*, the Treaty on the Part of his Maſter, which yet had no permanent Effect: It being the Opinion of our Court, and eſpecially of the *Archbiſhop*, upon the Expedition of *Francis* into *Italy*, that *England* ought to oppoſe the Progreſs of his Arms in thoſe Parts. The Archbiſhop was ſo apprehenſive of the Danger which might ariſe to his Maſter from the growing Power of *France*, that he writes to *Maximilian*, there was great Probability, the King would not ſuffer him to enlarge his Dominions by the Acquiſition of *Milan*, and ſecretly encourageth him to ſollicit Aid of our King, in the Name of *Sforza* Duke of *Milan*; to which End he ſent a *Milaneſe*, *Anchiſtes Viſconte*, to our Court. *Herb.*

4. Neither did we want juſt Matter of Complaint againſt the *French* King at Home. Several of the King's Subjects had ſuffered by Depredations at Sea, under Colour of the old Letter of Mark, from the *Scots*, without any Redreſs, upon their demanding it; ſeveral Moveables of Plate and Jewels due to the Queen were detained, upon one evaſive Pretence or other. The Duke of *Albany*, contrary to the Aſſurances given by the *French* King in his Behalf, had taken upon him the Government in *Scotland*, and been declared Vice-Roy 'till the young King ſhould come to Maturity; it was farther repreſented, that this was a notorious Violation of the Queen's Right, who had been conſtituted Regent by the Will of her Husband, and confirmed in her Authority by the Pope: That this Invaſion by the Duke, was no leſs dangerous to the King's Nephews, than derogatory to the Queen's Honour and juſt Title to the Government: That he excited the *Scots* to Acts of Hoſtility againſt *England*, tho' comprehended in the Peace at the Inſtance of the *French* King: And laſtly, That he obliged the Nobility of *Scotland* to take the Oaths of Allegiance to [j] himſelf. As to the perſonal Conduct of the *French* King, he openly protected and favoured *Richard de la Pool*, a Fugitive and a Traitor; and if he had not really given any Occaſion of Breach on theſe ſeveral Accounts, yet prudential Reaſons would not ſuffer *England* to ſee him extend his Conqueſts, without oppoſing him, either openly or at leaſt by ſecretly aſſiſting the States upon whom he made War. Theſe Reaſons were debated in an extraordinary Council which was called on this Occaſion, and at which the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and the Duke of *Norfolk*, who had for ſome time withdrawn themſelves, were required to aſſiſt. The Archbiſhop of *York* charged the Breach of Peace upon *Francis* on ſeveral of theſe Articles, and was ſeconded by the Biſhop of *Dureſme*. Thoſe of the Council who were againſt a Rupture with *France*, alledged, as Lord *Herbert* repreſents, “ That to break a “ Treaty or League ſolemnly ſworn, did ſeem a ſtrange Counſel “ in Any, but eſpecially in a *Divine*: That for their Parts they “ conceived the Violating of Publick Faith, was to call God and “ Man in Judgement againſt them. They would not deny yet, “ but juſt Cauſe of diſſolving Leagues might be given. But then “ that the wronged Party ought both to proteſt the Fault and de- “ nounce War; without which, the Law of Nations and even “ Mankind itſelf could not ſubſiſt.”

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[j] Maſt. *Scots* Aff. *p.* 72.

5. Theſe Reaſons have Weight in them, and are propoſed in a good Light. But it may be queſtioned, whether this noble Hiſtorian, with all Deference to his Authority, does not here as on ſome other Occaſions, aſſign Reaſons from the Probability of Things, rather than according to real Fact. It is here ſuppoſed, or elſe the main Argument employed by his Lordſhip is of no Force, that no Proteſt or Remonſtrance had been made againſt the Proceedings of the *French*, nor any Intermination of War, in caſe no Redreſs ſhould be obtained: And yet Sir *Richard Wingfield* had been ſent ſome time before, with proper Inſtructions, to make Complaint to the *French* King, for the ill Treatment our King had received from him, and to declare, his Majeſty would no longer ſuffer ſuch ill Treatment. His Inſtructions are, as I find them in the Collections of a Writer, well known to Lord *Herbert*, as follows. “That ſeeing now Peace is made (he ſuppoſes them given about the Beginning of *May*) all Occaſion of Breach may be taken away, and equal Juſtice adminiſt'red to the Subjects of both Parties; therefore as divers Complaints have been made to his Grace, the King of *England*, as Spoils done by Sea to his Subjects, under Colour of the *Scots* old Letters of Mark, *&c.* and that no Juſtice upon Requiry is done them: It is neceſſary the *French* King take Order for Remedy thereof; or elſe the King's Grace ſhall be forced to grant Letters of Mark — He is likewiſe to demand the Moveables, *viz.* “Plate and Jewels due to the *French* Queen *Mary*, which upon debating of Law on both Sides, ſeem to be due, and which are with-holden from her, under Colour of the Cuſtom of *France*, for Payment of Debts.”

Maſt. Coll.

He is to ſhew the *French* King, “how the Duke of *Albany*, whom he lately ſent into *Scotland*, hath taken upon him to be Governour there, contrary to the Promiſe of the *French* King, which is dangerous to the King's Nephews and Siſter, who was deputed Governeſs by the Laſt Will of her late Husband, her Authority being alſo confirmed by the Pope that now is; which the King's Grace will in no wiſe ſuffer, and therefore would that the *French* King revoke him; eſpecially ſeeing that he inviteth the *Scots* (who by the Means only of the *French* King have been comprehended in the late Peace) to Hoſtility againſt *England*, and taketh the Oath of Allegiance of the Nobles there to himſelf.”

6. If upon theſe Repreſentations the King could not receive Satisfaction, he ſeemed to have no other Method of obtaining it,

but by the laſt Appeal of Sovereign Princes. However, the King obſerving his Council divided upon the Matter, propoſed a middle Way to bring them to a Temper; which was by entring into ſuch Meaſures, as might enable him to curb the Deſigns of the *French*, without a formal Declaration of War: Tho' the Archbiſhop ſtill perſiſted in his Opinion, that *Lewis* was rather to be attacked by open Force, than by ſecret and clandeſtine Means. However, it was for the Preſent agreed, that ſome private Overtures ſhould be made both to the Emperor and *Franciſco Sforza*, Brother to *Maximilian* late Duke of *Milan*, concerning the King's Intention to unite with them in proper Meaſures, towards recovering *Milan*, and putting a Stop to the Current of the *French* Victories in *Italy*.

7. Among other Conditions it was ſtipulated with the Duke of *Milan*, that in caſe his Territories ſhould be recovered from the *French*, a yearly Tribute ſhould be paid to our King, in Conſideration of the Supplies he was to furniſh, and equivalent to the Charge of them, and that the Archbiſhop for his Part ſhould have a Penſion out of the Revenues of it, to the Value of Ten thouſand Ducats yearly: *Polydore* ſays Eighteen thouſand, upon as good Authority, and with the ſame Ingenuity, that he has advanced ſeveral other Things, whereby he might tranſmit the Cardinal's Name under a more diſadvantagious Character, and gratify his Reſentment againſt him. In the [g] Original Contract, by which *Michael de Abbatis* obligeth himſelf to pay a certain Sum of Money to the Cardinal, in the Name of the Duke of *Milan* his Maſter, upon his being reſtored to that Duchy, the Sum is ſpecified to be Ten thouſand Ducats: And this Contract being preſerved and repoſited among other Monuments of publick Tranſactions, it is highly probable he had the King's Authority for inſiſting upon this Condition for himſelf. He could not expect the Payment of ſuch a Sum could have been made, or long continued, without the King's Privity: And he was too cautious to incur the odious Imputation, for ſo it would then have been thought, of Betraying his Maſter's Honour, or the Intereſt of his Country, for the Sake of a Bribe. It is another Queſtion, how far a Man of ſtrict and nice Vertue, where he really acts with Regard to the Good of his Prince or his Country, yet ought to avoid the very Appearances of Self-Intereſt in his Conduct. That the Duke of *Venice* too, was very ſenſible of the Obligations which he had to the Archbiſhop, himſelf acknowledgeth in a Letter to him, wherein

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[g] Coll. Nº 1. Book II.

he congratulates him upon the high Honours and Dignity, to which his perſonal Merit, and great Abilities had raiſed him.

8. The Affairs of the Biſhoprick of *Tournay* were ſtill in much Diſorder. Dr. *Samſon* writes from thence to the Archbiſhop on the 26th of *May*, that the only Way to obtain the ſame quietly, and for his Honour, would be to procure a Reſignation by the *French* King's Help; a Penſion being granted to the Biſhop-elect, 'till he might be otherways provided for in *France*, and a Promiſe made by the *French* King for ſome of the firſt Promotions that might fall in *France*. This *Samſon* calls the ſafeſt and moſt *godly* Way, in conſideration that the Biſhop-elect being deprived of his Benefice, had nothing elſe to live upon.

9. Notwithſtanding all the Honours which were done to the Archbiſhop at *Rome*, he had ſtill ſome ſecret Enemies there, who favoured his Competitor: Among whom, *Adrian* Biſhop of *Bath*, though employed there as one of the King's Orators, was ſuſpected to be One; at leaſt he was charged with great Remiſſneſs, and Neglect of his Duty, for having ſuffered a Bull of which I am preſently to give an Account, to be obtained in Favour of the *French* Biſhop. But the Archbiſhop had other Grounds to queſtion the Fidelity or however the Friendſhip of that Cardinal. He did not appear to ſerve him faithfully or with Zeal, when he privately made Intereſt to ſucceed *Bambridge* as Cardinal; for which Reaſon it is ſaid, this Prelate oppoſed him in his Collectorſhip, and procured another to be ſubſtituted in his Room; putting *Polydore Virgil*, his Sub-Collector into Priſon, from whence he was not diſcharged 'till after a Confinement for ſome Months, and then at the ſpecial Inſtance of the Pope. There is a Letter from the Biſhop of *Worceſter* to the [b] Archbiſhop of the 27th of *March*, this Year, which gives a great Light into the preſent Affair. He acquaints his Grace, who had recommended one *Hammond*, a Servant of his own, to be Sub-Collector in the Place of *Polydore*, now removed, that the Pope was deſirous to gratify the ſaid *Hammond*, on account of his own Merit, but eſpecially at the Inſtance of the King, and that his Holineſs had conſented Bulls ſhould be prepared in his Behalf; not doubting but Cardinal *Adrian* would deſiſt from all further Pretenſions in the Matter: But that notwithſtanding the King's Letters, which he had received to that End; he ſtill declined to conform to the Import of them. Pretending he had Intelligence from ſeveral great Men, and repeated Advice from

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[b] Coll. N° 2. Book II.

Polydore, that it was by no Means the King's Will or Intention that he ſhould lay down his Office; that upon this Repreſentation of *Adrian*, his Holineſs had hitherto retarded the Execution of what he deſigned in behalf of *Hammond*; but had now determined on certain Conditions to ſubſtitute him in the Place of *Polydore*, and had done it ſooner, if he had not found himſelf obliged to do ſomething towards ſatisfying the Clamour of the ſaid Cardinal and his Friends.

10. From a [i] Letter of the Pope himſelf to the King upon this Subject, we diſcover how unwilling his Holineſs, being prepoſſeſſed in Favour of Cardinal *Adrian*, was to believe the King ſincere and determined in his Recommendation of *Hammond*, one of his Secretaries for the *Latin* Tongue. He writes indeed to the King, that at his Deſire, notwithſtanding the great Vertue, Merit, and Dignity of *Adrian*, the perſonal Friendſhip he had for him, and his great Zeal and Sedulity in his Majeſty's Service, he had yet removed him from his Office, and diſpoſed of it to the King's Secretary. But he ſays ſo many Things to the Advantage of *Adrian*, and ſo artfully repreſents his Caſe, as if in Juſtice and Honour he might hope for Redreſs; ſo that at the ſame time he appears to grant the King's Requeſt, he plainly enough inſinuates, the King ought not to have made it, and that he thinks it very reaſonable his Majeſty ſhould revoke it. He queſtions, upon the whole Matter, whether the Letters from the King, recommending *Hammond*, were not ſome way indirectly obtained; and therefore deſires to know, if his Majeſty had ſignified his true and real Intention in them; according to which he is determined to regulate himſelf.

11. But the greateſt Offence which *Adrian* Biſhop of *Bath* gave both to the King and his great Miniſter, was on Occaſion of his permitting a Bull to be procured and expedited at *Rome* to reſtore the *French* Biſhop of *Tournay*, without making any Oppoſition, or giving any previous Notice to the *Engliſh* Court, of ſo exorbitant a Grant, as the King calls it in his [k] Letter of Admonition to the ſaid Biſhop; and from which we may obſerve, notwithſtanding the Complaiſance the King had always ſhewed to the See and Biſhop of *Rome*, yet when he apprehended that his temporal Rights were ſtruck at, he knew how to expreſs himſelf in Terms, that would ſufficiently diſcover his Reſentments. This Letter indeed, is wholly written in the Name of the King, but

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[i] Coll. N° 3. Book II.

[k] Coll. N° 4. Book II.

we might eaſily diſcern from the Manner and Stile of it, that it was drawn up by the Cardinal, did not the Subject-Matter which immediately concerns him, render it highly probable, that he had the main Hand in it. And indeed, among all the Letters of Inſtructions I have met with, either in his own, or the King's Name, during his Miniſtry, not one of them ſeems to have been dictated with a better Spirit, or to have proceeded from one Charge to another by a more juſt and regular gradation.

CHAP. III.

1. *An Article in a Bull, obtained by Cardinal* Adrian*'s Remiſſneſs, complained of as highly injurious to the King's Honour and Prerogative.* 2. *The Cardinal oppoſes the Progreſs of the* French *in* Italy. 3. *A Character of* Francis *the Firſt.* 4. *Mr.* Baile *animadverted upon.* 5. *When the Cardinal received a formal Confirmation of that Dignity.* 6. *A Conteſt which he had with the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *about Superiority, and on what Account.*

1. THE ARTICLE in the POPE's BULL, before refer'd to, of which the King complains as moſt injurious to his Prerogative-Royal, and moſt derogatory to his Honour, is that, which empowers the *French* Biſhop to require the Aſſiſtance of the Secular-Arm in order to reinſtate him: The King's Subjects themſelves are not excluded from that Clauſe of the Bull, but bound, under Pain of Excommunication and other Cenſures, to aſſiſt towards his Reſtoration: Which imported, in effect, a Diſcharge to them from their Oaths of Allegiance to the King, and authoriſed the Princes his Allies, ſo far as in that reſpect the Pope could influence or authoriſe them, to break the Conditions of their Alliance with him. The King aſſures his Holineſs, that his Troops would not by any Means think themſelves obliged to execute ſo unjuſt a Sentence; and eſpecially as the King had not been in a proper Manner called upon to aſſert and juſtify his Right. In ſhort, he declares theſe Proceedings of the Pope, to be "contrary to the Laws of God and Man, "of Juſtice and Reaſon; he ſays it was the greateſt Diſhonour "that ever came to the Pope, to act ſo indiſcreetly." He does not omit to put his Holineſs in mind of the great Services which he had done for the Papal Intereſt, in extinguiſhing the Schiſm, at the Expence of much Blood and Treaſure; in entertaining the *Swiſs*; in making Leagues, and entring into Engagements with

ſeveral Princes, more for Conſervation of the Pope's Power and Dignity, than from any Exigency in relation to the State of his own Affairs. Having tacitly charged the Pope with Ingratitude upon theſe Heads, he obſerves, that the Bull was contrary to the Adminiſtration granted to the Cardinal, becauſe the *French* Biſhop had never made Homage for his Temporalities, but had refuſed to make it. In concluſion, the Biſhop of *Bath* is charged not only with Negligence, but Infidelity, and ſeverely threatned if he does not take care to procure a Revocation of that Bull, to be ſuperſeded by one, who will have more Regard to the Truſt repoſed in him. This Command is reinforced, at his Peril, and as he will avoid the King's Diſpleaſure.

2. Though this Letter is without Date, it ſeems from the Circumſtances of Affairs to which it refers, to have been written in 1515, ſometime after this great Prelate was made Cardinal, to which Dignity, *Francis* the *French* King contributed to raiſe him, and was the Firſt who gave him notice of the Honour done to him, who yet at the ſame time was ſecretly forming Deſigns to break the *French* Power in *Italy*. I will not preſume to ſay whether he took the ſame Methods that other great Miniſters have done, of playing a double Game, or what Uſe he might make of the Advice in a Letter to him from [l] *Samſon*, when the Pope, Emperor, King of *Arragon*, and other Powers, entered into a Confederacy againſt *France*, upon his deſign'd Expedition into *Italy*, which Letter *Samſon* concludes to his Patron with theſe Words, "Now will be the Time for to ſollicit the *French* King, and to "make a ſure Friend of him." 1515.

3. Though *Francis* was animated with a Spirit of Ambition, he had great Humanity, and many generous Qualifications. He was a Man of Letters, and a Lover of learned Men. He was happy in the Lineaments and exquiſite Proportion of his Body, as well as in the Endowments of his Mind. His Advantage in both Reſpects, at the Age of Two-and-twenty, when he came to the Crown, recommended him very much to the Affections and Eſteem of his People. Never any Prince upon his firſt aſcending the Throne gave greater Expectations. But the Sequel of his Reign did not, in all Reſpects, appear to anſwer them. This may be aſcribed to the common Caſualties which frequently happen to prevent the Succeſs of Things according to the Probability of their firſt Appearances; but it muſt be further allowed, That the extra-

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[l] Strype.

ordinary Qualities of *Francis* the Firſt were allay'd with ſome Defects. The *French* Writers repreſent him as a [m] Prince formed for the Conqueſt of the Ladies: And, as One who was not altogether inſenſible of this Advantage. They have audaciouſly reported ſome Things upon this Head, not much to the Honour of that beautiful Queen the Relict of *Lewis* the Twelfth; tho' without any Grounds, but what may be reſolved into the Imagination of the Hiſtorian, from the Impreſſions of her Beauty, and the Temper of a young Prince, inclined to Gallantry, with whom ſhe was ſometimes obliged to converſe. But what *Brantome* relates, and wherein he is not ſupported by any Authority, ought in Honour to that Lady to be animadverted upon with ſome Severity. He writes, as if ſhe had intended to impoſe an Heir upon the Crown of *France*, and that for ſome time after the Death of *Lewis* her Husband, ſhe affected to be thought with Child, and to ſhew the common Appearances of One in that Condition. Upon which Mr. *Baile* triumphs with the following Reflection. " This, ſays he, " irrefragably confutes thoſe, who ſay in Behalf of King " *James*, that it cannot come into any Body's Thought, who is " in the Midſt of a numerous Court, always ſurrounded with Ser" vants, to Suppoſe an Heir. Here is *Brantome*, who underſtood " the World as well as another, and knew the Court extremely " well; here he is, I ſay, relating ſuch another Project, actually " carried on in the Court of *France*. It is an Argument, there " are ſome Men of Senſe who fancy, that it may be done.

4. This irrefragable Confutation, as Monſieur *Baile* calls it, depends only upon a ſingle Opinion of *Brantome*, upon which he would ground a Fact that never ſubſiſted. It is not doubted, but there have been People in the World, as well as *Brantome*, who might ſuppoſe ſuch a Deſign practicable; but had it been really then attempted, as it was not, in the Court of *France*, there may yet be Reaſons from Circumſtances of Time, Place, and Perſons preſent, why it ſhould not, or could not be practiſed, under the Reign of another Prince, and in another Court.

5. The Cardinal had been ſome time honoured with that Title before the Pope ſent him, in Form, a [n] Confirmation of it, which he did not do 'till *December* following; he had already received his Hat, ſent him by a Meſſenger; but upon notice that he was a Perſon of no Character or Diſtinction, and who made but a deſpicable Appearance,

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[m] Baile.

[n] Coll. N° 5. Book II.

the Cardinal: Thinking it a Diminution of the Honour done to him, that ſo rich a Preſent ſhould be ſo meanly introduced, he ordered the Meſſenger to be ſtopped, that he might be better arrayed and attended; who was therefore met upon *Black Heath* by a great Number of Prelates and Gentlemen, eſpecially thoſe of *Kent*, who conducted him in great Pomp and Triumph to *London*, and through *Cheapſide* to *Weſtminſter*; where the Acceptance and Confirmation of this Dignity to him was formally celebrated by all the Biſhops and Abbots about *London*, in their rich Mitres, Copes, and other Ornaments, after a moſt ſolemn and magnificent Manner. On the 22d of this Month the Seals were taken from Archbiſhop *Warham* and deliver'd to the Cardinal, for which Office he took the Oath at *Eltham* on the 24th. 1515.

6. His Elevation to theſe high Dignities, occaſioned the Refuſal of a certain Homage to *Warham*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, due to him as Primate of all *England*, and who demanded as an Acknowledgment of his Superiority, which had been formerly paid by the Archbiſhop of *York*, that the Croſs of that See ſhould not be advanced in the ſame Province, or in the ſame Place with the Croſs of *Canterbury*: Yet the preſent Archbiſhop of *York*, in Breach of this ancient Cuſtom and Acknowledgment, had ordered his Croſs to be advanced and carried before him, not only in the Precincts of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, but in his Preſence. Upon which, that Primate expoſtulating with him, by Way of Admonition, concerning the Indignity which he apprehended done to to him, he projected how he might for the future, have a Right to do it, without incurring any Imputation of acting contrary to Rule: And though his being a Cardinal, did not exempt him from that Submiſſion, on which the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* of Right, inſiſted; yet he was ſenſible, if he could be once inveſted with the Legatine Character, it would put the Matter out of all Diſpute, and even render him that Primate's Superior, which therefore he ſollicited, and ſhortly after obtained. I do not think my ſelf concerned to apologize for an Action in the Cardinal, which I cannot impute to Ignorance, and which appears to be on no other Account defenſible. They, who are not diſpoſed to favour him, may, if they pleaſe, attribute it to the Force of Ambition, by which Men of very great Abilities, are yet ſometimes carried away againſt the known Order and Reaſon of Things.

CHAP. II.

1. *The Grandeur of the Cardiual, with ſome Account of the Legatine Powers.* 2. *Concerning his Retinue, and the Order of his Family.* 3. *How far an Hiſtorian may apprehend himſelf concerned to obviate unjuſt Calumnies.* 4. *A Parallel propoſed between the two Cardinals* Ximenes *and* Wolſey. 5. *A Remark concerning the Influence of the Sun, by the Author of Cardinal* Ximenes *his Adminiſtration.* 6. *The Advantage of that Cardinal, in reſpect to his Birth.* 7. *Their different Tempers, as to a publick and retired Life.* 8. *Cardinal* Wolſey *more inclined to the Former.* 9. *Greatneſs of Mind aſcribed to both.* 10. *The Pious and Munificent Acts of* Ximenes. 11. *One memorable Inſtance of them in Particular.* 12. *Cardinal* Wolſey *not inferior to him in thoſe Reſpects.* 13. *Their political Qualities.* 14. *Both of them charged with Ambition and Avarice.* 15. *Both of them ſtrict in their judicial Proceedings.* 16. *An Inſtance of Cardinal* Wolſey's *Zeal for the King.* 17. *Some Part of their Conduct in Relation to their own Families.* 18. *Another Parallel tranſiently attempted between* Longſhanks *Biſhop of* Ely *and the* Cardinal. 19. *That Prelate's Ambition of extending his Power and Greatneſs.* 20. *The Defence he made, not ſufficient to ſilence popular Clamour.* 21. *Something in general propoſed, as to the Author's Method in the Sequel.*

1. WE are now to conſider Cardinal *Wolſey*, as riſing to the Height of his Glory, and almoſt in his Meridian. He was Archbiſhop of *York*, Cardinal of St. *Cicily*, and Chancellor of *England*: Theſe were ſeparately three Characters of great Dignity: But beſides that they now united in him, nothing was done without him at Court; and he had eſtabliſhed his Power thete in ſuch a Manner, and to ſuch a Degree, as no Miniſter or Favourite had done before him. He wanted nothing to compleat his Grandeur, but a Commiſſion from the Pope ('till he might aſpire to the Triple Crown himſelf) to be Legate *a Latere*, and 1516. this was expedited to him in the Year 1516: And tho' I have not been able to obtain a Copy of it, yet as the general Powers contained in it are well known, ſo many of them are diſtinctly ſpecified in certain ſubſequent Bulls which will be refer'd to. By Virtue of his Legatine-Commiſſion, he might ſummon the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and all other Biſhops within the King's Dominions, to aſſemble at his Convocation; he might ſuperintend and correct what he thought irregular within all their Juriſdictions, appoint all Officers in the Spiritual Courts, and Preſent to all Ec-

cleſiaſtical Benefices; conſtitute Maſters of Faculties, and Maſters of Ceremonies to advance his Dignity; he might exerciſe a viſitatorial Power over Monaſteries and Colleges, and all the Clergy of *England*, Exempt and not Exempt. That he exerciſed moſt of theſe Powers is evident from the Articles of his Impeachment; and the principal Charge which his Accuſers endeavoured to make good againſt him, was not that he had acted contrary to the Tenour of his Commiſſion, but that he had procured ſuch Powers, as were inconſiſtent with his Duty to the King, and tended to the Subverſion of the Laws. But I only propoſe to obſerve here, the great State and Dignity wherein he now lived. Beſides the Profits of the great Poſts beforementioned, he had to ſupport his Grandeur the rich Abby of St. *Alban*'s in Commendam (tho' he had not the Temporalities 'till *December* 7, 1521.) He had alſo in Farm the Biſhopricks of *Bath*, *Worceſter*, and *Hereford*, the Incumbents of them being Strangers, who had been ſent here upon Legations, and under ſome Pretence of Service to our Court; King [o] *Henry* the Seventh, a frugal Prince, choſe rather to reward them upon their Return, with Preferments that coſt him nothing, than to impair his Treaſure by making pecuniary Preſents to them; and they living now abroad, to avoid the Charge of Agents, and Trouble of making Returns by them, with other Inconveniences, were willing to let the Cardinal have the Revenues of their reſpective Biſhopricks, upon eaſy Conditions, with Diſpoſition of the ſeveral Eccleſiaſtical Preferments annexed to them.

2. They who would inform themſelves particularly concerning the Order and Number of the Cardinal's Domeſticks, may conſult *Cavendiſh*. I ſhall ſatisfy my ſelf with obſerving, in general, that he kept Eight hundred Servants, among whom there were nine or ten Lords, fifteen Knights, and forty 'Squires: Yet the Nobility in his Family, rather reſided there, as in a Place of [p] Education, than under the Notion or Character of Servants; tho' upon any publick Occaſion, they were ready to honour the Cardinal as Maſter of ſo great a Family, or rather of ſo ſplendid a Court, with their Attendance. It was computed indeed, that his Revenues, with the numerous Preſents and Penſions that he received from abroad, annually exceeded the Revenues of the Crown. Tho' as to the Returns made to him from foreign Courts, it has been mention'd to his Honour by thoſe, who cannot be ſuſpected of Partiality to him, that he never engaged the King in any Alliance but what was for his Honour and Advantage. He was leſs cul-

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[o] Burnet's *Hiſt.*

[p] Collect. N° 6. Book II.

pable however in making his private Views ſubſervient to the Publick Good. What has been thought liable to Cenſure in his Conduct, was, that he did not make uſe of the great Power which he had over the King, to engage his Majeſty's Attention to the Affairs and Studies proper to him, but rather adviſed him to follow his Pleaſures: That by Inſinuations of this Kind, he got the intire Adminiſtration of Affairs into his own Hands, without Regard to the King's Dignity, not conſulting what was proper for his Information: Something has been ſaid as to this Charge already. But the Truth is, tho' Lord *Herbert*, Biſhop *Burnet*, and ſome other modern Hiſtorians have concurred in exhibiting it, yet the Fact itſelf may very juſtly be queſtioned, if we may believe an Enemy, (who was ſo far from being favourable to the Cardinal's Character, that he takes all Opportunities of ſhewing his Prejudice againſt him) he did not abuſe the King's Favour in the Manner, thoſe Hiſtorians have repreſented. "[q] After, ſays he, a Share of the Publick Buſineſs was devolved by the King upon *Wolſey*, his Majeſty, tho' " in that reſpect more diſengaged and at liberty, yet being well " diſpoſed and inſtructed, and formed for Empire, did not wholly " neglect his Duty; but that he might employ his Time both " commendably and to advantage, applied himſelf to the Study " of good Literature: He ſometimes entertained himſelf, at his " leiſure Hours, with Muſick: But he read with Care and Attention " the Works of *Aquinas*, and this he did by the Advice " of *Wolſey*, who was a profeſs'd Follower of that Schoolman." This Advice to a young Prince concerning a Method of Study, which requires the greateſt Abſtraction and Force of Mind, and is attended with Pleaſures of a very different Kind from the common and ſoft Entertainments of a Court, does not ſeem perfectly to agree with the Tradition of the Cardinal's Advice to the King, that he ſhould give himſelf up to the Neglect of his Studies, and the Purſuit of ſenſible Delights.

3. It is not the Buſineſs of an Hiſtorian to go out of his Way, in Queſt of every Invective or Calumny againſt the Perſon, whoſe Life he writes, but to relate Matters, as he finds them, in a ſimple and direct Manner; yet where Perſons of the greateſt Reputation have concurred in reporting Things without Authority, to the Diſhonour of any great Man, there, I conceive, no Hiſtorian can juſtly be charged with a Digreſſion, for an Endeavour to vindicate him. The common Reaſons of Ingenuity, in ſuch a Caſe, hold ſtill ſtronger, where the Author finds the proper Sub-

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[q] Polyd. Virg. *p.* 19.

ject of his Hiſtory traduced and abuſed againſt all the Rules of Hiſtorical Juſtice. I ſhall be more readily excuſed for making this Reflection, when I recite the Charge; a Charge without Proof, or Shew of Proof, which has been brought againſt the Cardinal, and on Occaſion too of the Influence which his Advice had over the King, *That as a Churchman, he was the Diſgrace of his Profeſſion, being lewd and vicious, exorbitantly Proud and Oſtentatious, and indeed the main Debaucher of his Sovereign Maſter.* This Invective, in the latter Part of it, is more unjuſt, as it does not appear that the King, tho' he might indulge himſelf in certain criminal Liberties, yet gave himſelf up to a very irregular and vicious Courſe of Life: His Affair with the Lady, by whom he had a natural Son the Duke of *Richmond*, is not to be examined by the ſtrict Rules, either of Morality or revealed Religion: Beſides that Intrigue, I do not know, that during the Cardinal's Adminiſtration, the King was charged, in reſpect to his Morals, with any notorious Vices: The great Diſorders he fell into, were from the Time that he began to have leſs Regard for the Cardinal, and to govern himſelf by other Maxims, under a more powerful Aſcendent. He before delighted on proper Occaſions in pompous Shews, in Maſques and Banquets, and other Amuſements common to all Courts. But we ſhould be injurious to the Character of ſucceeding Princes, in ſuppoſing, that he was therefore corrupted by them, or involved in thoſe Conſequences, to which they may ſometimes accidentally miniſter an Occaſion. In his younger Years, which is not a common Character of Perſons vitiouſly diſpoſed, he was, by Intervals, ſtudious and contemplative, a Lover of Learning and of learned and good Men, whether Laymen or Eccleſiaſticks: He always profeſſed great Zeal for Religion, and as to all the exterior Forms and Rites of it, few Princes have conducted themſelves with a more viſible or ſtrict Regard. Upon what then, can this heavy Charge of his corrupting the King be grounded, who, for the Time this Miniſter had any Influence over him, appears to have been as regular in his moral Conduct, as moſt of the Princes who lived before him, or who have been ſince inveſted with the Royal Dignity?

4. But to give us a juſter Idea of the Cardinal's Character, it may be a more agreeable Attempt to draw a Parallel between him and ſome other great Man, if we can find one of a near Reſemblance to him, than to remove any malevolent Aſperſions, which have been caſt upon him: And the Hiſtory of the ſame Age furniſheth us with One, of ſo great Similitude in many Reſpects, that I cannot here eaſily decline the Occaſion of introducing it. The

Reader may poſſibly apprehend already, that I mean *Ximenes* Archbiſhop of *Toledo*, Cardinal, and prime Miniſter of *Spain*. But beſides theſe three general Characters, which may lay a Foundation for the intended Parallel, there are ſeveral Things relating to the Riſe, the Temper and Conduct of theſe two great Men, wherein they agree, tho' in certain Reſpects and on Account of the very ſame Conſiderations, a ſenſible Difference may be obſerved between them.

5. I ſhall not here examine the Grounds of what is remarked by the Author of Cardinal *Ximenes* his Adminiſtration, "That "thoſe Regions, which are ſituated under the more favourable "Aſpect of the Sun, give Birth to Men of more eminent Qua-"lities, eſpecially the more advantagious Situation of *Spain*, which "lies full and open in the Eye of that great Luminary." This Remark carries in it an Inſinuation commodious enough to poſſeſs the Reader both in Favour of that Writer's Heroe, and of his own Performance. I ſhall be content, that the more Northern Climates, ſhould produce Men of as great Abilities, tho' not generally of ſo great Vivacity, as thoſe to whom the Sun imparts a greater Degree of Light or Heat; whether ſuch Abilities are to be aſcribed to his Influence, or to any other ſecondary Cauſe: tho' it is very probable, there may be ſomething in the mechanical Order and Conſtruction of the external World, which may tend to render the Operations of the Microcoſm or Body of Man more or leſs perfect, according to which he ſhall have greater Strength or Weakneſs of Mind, a more lively or ſlow Imagination. But that there are other Cauſes of the great Variety which we obſerve between the Capacities of Men, beſides the different Degrees of Strength or Heat of natural Temper occaſioned by Irradiations of the Sun, is evident from that extraordinary natural Capacity and Force of Mind, which we ſometimes obſerve in Perſons of very weak and tender Conſtitutions, and even of an irregular Form, in more cold Climates. God governs the World by certain general Laws of Providence, which in a Senſe may be termed Mechanical, as acting according to a certain Order, and in virtue of ſtated Powers, ſome of which are known to us; but yet he interpoſes in the Courſe of his Government, and eſpecially in regard to the Body and Mind of Man, and the Methods of Communication between them, by a great many inviſible Ways, which we know nothing of, and which perhaps will never be known, in this imperfect State.

6. *Ximenes*, in reſpect to his Birth, had the Advantage of the Cardinal of *England*; being deſcended from an ancient and noble Family, but without a Fortune equal to the Dignity of it; for his Parents were reduced to ſuch low Circumſtances, that they were ſcarce able to bear the Expence of his Education; ſo that in the firſt Eſſays towards making their Way into the World theſe two Cardinals were much under the ſame Diſadvantages; and after they appeared more openly upon the Stage of it, met with a like ignominious Treatment, tho' different as to the Duration, and other Circumſtances of it. *Ximenes*, upon ſome Diſguſt, that his Dioceſan had taken againſt him, and under a Pretence of irregular Behaviour, was caſt into Priſon. This Dioceſan, who ought to have encouraged him on Account of his Learning and other excellent Qualifications, was an Archbiſhop; but as his Advancement to that Dignity was not owing to perſonal Merit, ſo, in the Diſcharge of it, he ſhewed very little Regard to the Merit or Vertues of other Men. *Wolſey* was put under another Sort of Confinement, from which he was ſooner diſcharged; but the Infamy of it was perhaps of longer Continuance. Theſe early Rebuffs produced, in the Sequel, a Train of Events very favourable to them both. So difficult it is to make a Judgement concerning what may happen to us in Time future, from any preſent Appearances; and ſo often do thoſe very Things by the wiſe and good Diſpoſitions of Providence, terminate in our Happineſs, which we apprehended moſt deſtructive to it; as on the other Hand the moſt bright, open and promiſing Views are frequently intercepted by one riſing Cloud or other, and inſtead of the Sunſhine of Proſperity, we find our ſelves ſurrounded in the Midſt of a Tempeſt.

7. The Merit of theſe two great Men could not be obſcured, even under Circumſtances of Diſgrace. They ſtill found generous Patrons, who did not think, as Perſons of little and narrow Minds, in high Stations, ſometimes do, That the Misfortunes of Men afford a reaſonable Pretence, why they ſhould not be encouraged or preferred: But yet their Manner, as to the Conduct of Life, was ſomewhat different. *Ximenes*, after ſome Converſation in the World, which gave him a Taſte and Diſlike of it, choſe to retire to a Cloiſter, and to initiate himſelf among the Order of St. *Francis*, that he might, without Diſtraction, ſerve God in Contemplation and Prayer. But, in that Retreat, the Fame of his Sanctity, and of other Qualities proper to his Character, ſpread ſo wide, that a great Number of People, out of a religious Veneration for his Perſon, went to viſit him, and ſome of the firſt Rank and Diſtinction; which gave Occaſion to his future Riſe: Tho'

Tho' had he been perfectly at Liberty to follow his own Inclination, there is great Probability the Life of a Recluſe would have been more agreeable to it; a Life at leaſt free from publick Employments, and the Functions whereof might be diſcharged without much Pomp and Ceremony. For when an Offer was made to him of the Archbiſhoprick of *Toledo*, the richeſt Benefice in the Church, next to the Papal, he declined it as much as he could, and to avoid his Inveſtiture, retired a great Way on Foot to a Convent of his own Order. Yet at laſt, in Obedience to the Pope's Command he accepted it, but would never conſent how much ſoever he ſleighted the Title, that his Revenue ſhould be ſacrilegiouſly charged with any Penſion, prejudicial to the Dignity and Liberty of the firſt Paſtor of *Spain*. But tho' he was ſenſible of the high and important Charge, which he ſuſtained with a Mind equal to it, he ſtill preſerved the Innocency and Plainneſs of a religious Life. The external Pomp wherein he was obliged to live, did not alter the humble Temper and Diſpoſition of his Mind: He would ſometimes privately withdraw to mend, with his own Hands, the Frock of his Order. And tho' he had his Bed of State, as became his Quality, yet he choſe to ſleep on a Frier's Pallet; and to avoid Diſcovery, went to Bed and came out of his Apartment the next Morning, without Attendants. His Simplicity at laſt gave ſuch Occaſion of Raillery to the Court, and Offence to ſome good Men, that it was complained of to the Pope; by whoſe Advice, he lived in greater Splendour, and at a Rate better ſuited to the Dignity of his Station and Order.

8. The Temper of Cardinal *Wolſey*, as to his exterior Conduct, appears to have been very different; it inclined Him more to the Freedoms of Civil Life and Converſation. There was nothing throughout his whole Conduct, which ſhould much incline us to think, That he affected Solitude or a rigorous Practice of Religion; much leſs that he would have declined the Offer of the firſt and richeſt Dignities in the Church, meerly from a Principle of Self-denial, or to avoid Popularity. He was formed by Inclination, as well as Capacity, for publick Buſineſs, and loved to be ſeen in it. Far from being reſtrained by any affected Shew of Modeſty, from living up to the Grandeur of his State, he has rather been thought blameable for affecting to appear with too great Pomp and Magnificence. And tho' I do not know that there was any thing ſimply unlawful in his Behaviour, on any Occaſion, yet at ſeveral publick Entertainments, where the King was preſent, it was ſuch, as could not be perfectly reconciled with the Rules of chriſtian Expedience. There was a Levity in it, which if not

chargeable directly as ſinful, yet, conſidering his ſacred and high Character, can by no Means be excuſed from Indiſcretion. It ought however to be acknowledged, that as to the exterior and devotional Part of Religion, he always ſhewed great Regard: And tho' he might ſometimes take Liberties himſelf, which were not to be examined by the ſtricteſt Rules of Decency or Order, yet he was very zealous in reforming all ſcandalous Abuſes at that time among the monaſtick Orders, and the regular Clergy of all Diſtinctions. One Thing ought to be mentioned for his Honour, being obſerved by a [ſ] Perſon, whoſe Veracity as to this Particular, may be depended on, and who reports from his own Obſervation, That notwithſtanding the Multiplicity of Affairs wherewith the Cardinal was taken up, and all the Pageantry with which he was ſurrounded in his ſeveral Offices, he never omitted at the uſual Hours, regularly, and after a pious Manner, to perform his private and publick Devotions. And the Influence of his Example in diſcharging ſo eſſential and important a Part of his Duty, will perhaps, with Perſons of much Ingenuity, be placed to ſome Advantage on his Side, in Oppoſition to too great a Gaiety of Temper and Behaviour, which he confeſſedly ſometimes diſcovered in Converſation, eſpecially on Occaſions of more publick Concourſe and Feſtivity at Court.

9. But as to thoſe Qualities, which are ſuppoſed properly to conſtitute Greatneſs of Mind, and from which we form our Idea's of Men in reference to that Diſtinction, there ſeems to have been a near Affinity between theſe two Cardinals.

10. The great Revenues of *Ximenes*, were employed in Works of Piety and Charity, and in anſwering the End for which the Donation of them was originally made to the Church. The Poor, whom he called his Lords and Proprietors, received one Moiety; the other was appropriated, neceſſary Deductions being made for the Expence of his Family, towards founding Monaſteries and Colleges, and Endowing them after a proper and liberal Manner: But he had one excellent Deſign in particular, which he lived to execute at a vaſt Charge, and whereof the Chriſtian Church at this Day every where reaps the Benefit. In order to as juſt and correct an Edition as might be made, of the holy Scriptures, in *Latin*, *Greek*, *Hebrew*, and *Chaldee*, he bought up all the Manuſcript Bibles he could any where hear of, and at any rate: A Copy of which, when finiſhed, being preſented to him, with Eyes and Hands

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[ſ] *Cavendiſh.*

lift up to Heaven, *My God,* ſays he, *I return thee immortal Thanks for granting my Deſires of good Succeſs to this Work.* Then turning to his Domeſticks, he adds, *It is true, my Friends, God hath been pleaſed to crown my Labours with Succeſs in many important Affairs, for the Good of the State; but there is not any thing wherein you ought to rejoice with me more, than in the happy Accompliſhment of this Impreſſion and Explication of the Bible in the four Languages.* If the Reader find himſelf affected after the ſame Manner with this pious Thankſgiving of Cardinal *Ximenes* to God, on ſo important an Occaſion, as I was upon reading it, he will not be offended that I give it a Place, where there appeared to be no abſolute Neceſſity of inſerting it.

11. In his pious Foundations there was one Thing that deſerves to be more particularly recorded, as having ſomething ſingular in the Deſign and Inſtitution of it. He built a Nunnery for the Education of Maids, born of poor Parents, who, after their receiving the Benefit of it, if they deſired to return into the World, and ſhould be diſpoſed of in Marriage, had honourable Portions aſſigned to them for that End. Among the numerous beneficent Acts by which the Piety of this Nation is diſtinguiſhed, it is not eaſily accounted for, that there ſhould be no Societies of that Kind erected for the Benefit of the other Sex, which allowing to them the ſame Advantages of Education as Men, would certainly be equal to them, if not in the Strength of their Minds, yet in the Beauty and Delicacy of their Thoughts, and in ſeveral of the more liberal and polite Parts of Learning, would make a readier Progreſs, and probably arrive at length to a greater Perfection, than is common to Men. But if we conſider a Society erected to this End, not in regard to learned Improvements, but as a Means of making a handſome Proviſion for young Women without Fortune, eſpecially ſuch as are deſcended from good Families, or whoſe Quality renders it leſs becoming for them to undertake any ſervile Employment, or who are perhaps of too tender a Compoſition to endure Hardſhip or ſervile Work; what greater Inſtance of Humanity can any Perſon give, or how be more capable of promoting the Good of civil Society, than by projecting a Method, that thoſe who have been ſo unhappy, as not be born to the common Advantages of it, may yet be rendered both uſeful and ornamental to it? Whether theſe Reaſons in particular, determined the great *Ximenes* to erect a Society for the Benefit of young Maids, who had leſs Share of the Favours of Fortune, I do not preſume to ſay; but ſhall think my ſelf happy, if by any Occaſion of my mentioning ſo great and ſhining an Example, any Perſon or Perſons

ſons of competent Abilities, ſhould be excited by the Excellency and Influence of it, *to go and do likewiſe.*

12. The Cardinal of *England* did not leſs diſcover the Greatneſs of his Mind, in applying his large Revenues for the Advancement of Piety and Learning. It is true, inſtead of erecting, he deſtroyed ſeveral religious Houſes, the Reaſons of which Procedure will be accounted for afterwards; but this was ſo far from being inconſiſtent with the great and magnificent Things he had in View, that it prepared the Way towards the Accompliſhment of them. And as to the Republick of Letters, it may be affirmed, without derogating from the Glory of *Ximenes*, that Cardinal *Wolſey* was no leſs a Friend to it: That his Foundations were larger, and his Endowments, had they been preſerved upon his Plan, more noble and opulent: To which we may ſubjoin, he had formed a Deſign, as to the Charge and Difficulty of executing it, not inferior to that of *Ximenes*, in his Edition of the Holy Scriptures, which was, to cauſe all the Manuſcripts in the *Vatican* to be tranſcribed, for the Service of his Country.

13. While the Thoughts of theſe great Men were taken up in promoting the Intereſts of Learning and Religion, they did not neglect the Service of their reſpective Maſters, or the Affairs of State; they were indefatigable both in Super-intending the Civil Oeconomy, and in taking care, that there ſhould be no Want at any Time of military Preparations. It was a ſtanding Maxim with them both, That no Prince could be conſiderable, except he was either in Action, or at leaſt always viſibly prepared for Action.

14. *Ximenes* his Humility did not exempt him from the Charge of Ambition, nor his magnificent Works from that of Avarice. The Wars which he adviſed his Maſter to proſecute, and in ſome of which he perſonally commanded, gave Occaſion of Cenſure to his Enemies, who reproached him, as acting unſuitably to his Character, which ſhould have inclined him more to pacifick Meaſures, than to War. Nothing, they cry'd, could be more abominable, than to ſee a Prieſt, an Archbiſhop, and a Cardinal, embrue his Hands in human Blood. The Cardinal of *England* was cenſured on all theſe Accounts, except that of having a Command, properly Military, in the Army. And tho' theſe Calumnies were improved by the great Men in both Courts, to whom the Power of which the Cardinals were poſſeſſed, had rendered them invidious; yet the two Kings, their Maſters, were ſo ſenſible of their Integrity and Zeal for the publick Service, that all the Deſigns

which had been projected to bring them into Diſgrace, proved impracticable; 'till *Wolſey* indeed at laſt was removed; but not ſo much by the Weight of all his Enemies in conjunction, which he had long withſtood and was ſtill able to overbear, as by the Artifices and Inſinuation of a ſingle Woman.

15. *Ximenes* puniſhed with rigour, wherever he could diſcover them, the Authors of Violence and Injuſtice; and ſuch eſpecially, who in Breach of the Truſt repoſed in them, had embezled the Publick Moneys. And tho' like Inſtances of Juſtice, may provoke particular Perſons, who feel in one Degree or other the Effects of it; yet in general, they procure Eſteem, and recommend Magiſtrates to the Favour of God and Men: For every Man neceſſarily loves Order and Juſtice, where no accidental Conſideration or Intereſt corrupts his Judgement.

16. Cardinal *Wolſey* appears to have had, upon the Compariſon, an equal Regard to his Maſter's Honour, and to the Good of the State. He is allowed on all Hands, in his judicial Inquiries and Proceedings, to have acted with a becoming Severity; and not to have ſacrificed the Rights of the Crown or the Publick, to any private Influence. He gave a remarkable Inſtance of a generous Inflexibility in the Caſe of his great Friend, the Duke of *Suffolk*, who having borrowed Two thouſand Pounds of the King to ſupport his Expences in the *French* Court, when he made his Addreſſes to the Queen-Dowager, moved the King for a Remiſſion of that Sum, but was oppoſed in his Motion, by the Cardinal; and upon that was ſo diſguſted, that he retired from Court, and from that time the ſtrict Amity which had been for ſome Years between theſe two great Men ſenſibly declined.

17. *Ximenes*, with all the Evidence he gave of a publick Spirit, was not inſenſible, that his Family had ſome Claim to a Share in his great Fortune. Towards anſwering the Debt, for which Nature here called upon him, he married one of his Brothers, and a Niece, to noble Families, and to great Advantage. In this Reſpect the Cardinal of *England* may be thought to have had ſome Advantage; for we do not read of any private Contracts or Alliances which he made in favour of his neareſt Relations, much leſs of any ſacrilegious Alienations of the Revenues of the Church, towards aggrandizing his private Family. There was *Winter* indeed on whom he accumulated ſeveral Preferments, and who was violently ſuſpected to be his natural Son; however, having given him a learned and liberal Education, he did not much for him

but what might be accounted for upon a common Principle of Affection, and the Laws of *Nepotiſm,* which ſtill do almoſt every where obtain: Tho' no Reaſon indeed appears, why Eccleſiaſticks in the firſt and moſt beneficial Poſts of the Church or State, ſhould, on that Account, be diſengaged from the ordinary Ties of Conſanguinity, or other Relation, but rather be obliged to take care of their neareſt Dependents in every Reſpect, provided they are equally qualified for the Charge or Truſt to which they are appointed, with others, who, upon a general Conſideration, may have a reaſonable Claim to them.

18. One of the greateſt Subjects that we read of in *England,* and who, in ſome Parts of his Character, bore a near Reſemblance to Cardinal *Wolſey,* was *William Longſhanks* Biſhop of *Ely,* in the Reign of *Richard* the Firſt: That Prelate was not only Chancellor, but Legate *a Latere:* And in the King's Abſence, when he went to make War in *Paleſtine,* was made one of the Juſticiaries of *England,* but found Means in a ſhort time to ſupplant his Rival and Brother the Biſhop of *Durham,* and to engroſs the whole Power of the Adminiſtration to himſelf; and in that reſpect, it may be ſaid, he was ſuperior in Dignity and Authority to *Wolſey.* For the [t] Juſticiary had not only Precedence of all the Nobility, but Juriſdiction over all the four great Courts in the Kingdom; that of the *King's Bench,* the *Common Pleas,* the *Exchequer,* and the *Court of Wards.*

19. This Prelate, in the Diſcharge of his ſeveral Powers, loved to act to the Extent of them, but was more eſpecially rigorous in his ſeveral Demands and Tranſactions relating to the Crown. But at the ſame time, to create what Dependencies he could, he procured to himſelf the Diſpoſal of all the civil Governments, and of all the Eccleſiaſtical Preferments in the Crown, and frequently made both the Biſhopricks and Abbies, throughout the Kingdom, ſenſible of his rigorous [u] Proceedings. In his Viſitations he travelled with a Retinue ſo numerous, and was treated with ſo great Profuſion, that he made the Places, through which he paſſed, deſolate. And if he happened to take up, but for one Night, in a Monaſtery, the Expence of his Entertainment was more, than the Fraternity could well recover in two or three Years. It has been generally ſaid indeed, that he was no Friend to the monaſtick Orders, and this has been aſſigned as one Reaſon, why the Monks

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[t] Dignitate omnes Regni proceres, Poteſtate omnes ſuperabat Magiſtratus. — Quod quatuor ſummorum Judicum muneribus ſolus aliquando fungeretur. *Spelm. Gloſſ.*

[u] Coll. Eccleſ. Hiſt.

of that Time have tranſmitted his Name to Poſterity, under a Character not very advantagious to him. But, without Regard to the fabulous Stories of thoſe who are prejudiced againſt him, his arbitrary Proceedings and extravagant Manner expoſed him to the Attacks of publick Hatred, and his Enemies preferred ſeveral Articles of Accuſation againſt him, of a Nature moſt apt to provoke the publick Revenge againſt corrupt Miniſters: They charged him with aſſuming to himſelf the ſupream Power both Temporal and Spiritual: They repreſented, That he arbitrarily diſpoſed of all Promotions; That his Table was furniſhed to a high Degree of luxurious prodigality; That he preferred his obſcure Relations to Alliances of the firſt Quality; That he favoured Foreigners; That his Retinue, when he travelled, was compoſed of them, as if he deſpiſed the *Engliſh*, and took that Method of putting an Affront upon them; That he employed in his Service a vile Sett of Flatterers, Buffoons, and Poets; and, That, in fine, he had, with his Creatures and Inſtruments, exhauſted the Treaſure of the Kingdom. Theſe Articles, true or falſe, were ſo well adapted to irritate a People naturally jealous of all Attempts towards introducing Oppreſſion, and had ſuch an Effect upon them, that the Juſticiary thought convenient to provide for his own Safety; and to that End ſought to retire out of the Kingdom in Diſguiſe, but was ſurpriſed by the Sea-ſide, in a Woman's Habit, and being diſcovered and expoſed to the Deriſion of the People, was treated with the greateſt Indignity and Contempt imaginable. Such publick Revenges of an injured People upon Men, whoſe Inſolence, while they were in Power, knew no Bounds, have ſometimes happened. Tho' it has been made a Queſtion, whether the publick Hatred, in particular, which this Prelate incurred, was not rather the Effect of Envy and popular Miſconſtruction, than of a Conduct, which could not on any Account be juſtified. An [x] Author of good Reputation, deſcribes Biſhop *Longshanks* as a Perſon of wiſe Behaviour, Generoſity, and good Nature, and One who was recommended to the King merely in Conſideration of his Probity and perſonal Merit; and he did not want a ſpecious Vindication of himſelf, as to the main Articles exhibited againſt him. He inſiſted, That it was neceſſary for him towards preventing Diſorder, and dangerous Attempts againſt the Crown, to proceed with the Severity he had exerciſed: And that the Treaſury had been exhauſted in the King's Service, but more eſpecially on Account of his foreign and chargeable Expedition.

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[x] Petrus Blaſſenſis.

20. Tho' there might be much Force in this Anſwer to acquit him before equal and competent Judges, yet they were of little Weight againſt the Clamours of the Populace, to which therefore this Prelate was ſenſible, he could not truſt with Safety. It is hard indeed for the beſt and wiſeſt Miniſters to obſerve ſuch exact Meaſures between Property and Prerogative, as at the ſame Time to be capable of ſerving the Prince with Zeal and Fidelity, and of rend'ring themſelves acceptable to the People. And if this be really the Caſe, who would quit the Bleſſings of an innocent and peaceable Retirement, to embark in an Ocean of Trouble, and Inquietude? where many are wrecked, all are in a fluctuating, and uneaſy State; and none, not the moſt able, or artful Pilots, can aſſure to themſelves a future and undiſturbed Calm.

It is viſible, That in ſome Parts of this Prelate's Character, a Compariſon might be formed with that of the Cardinal. Tho' the Prejudices, which were raiſed againſt him, much upon the like Grounds, had a different Effect in Relation to the two Princes whom they ſerved. The Juſticiary, though obliged to quit this Title, with that of Chancellor and Legate, yet lived and died in the King's Favour, after he had been employed by him, as a ſpecial Mark of it, upon an Embaſſy to the Pope; though the King found himſelf obliged, in ſome reſpects, to give Way to the popular Current againſt him, and thereupon obliged him to relinquiſh ſome of his principal Titles and Offices. But however different the Event was of their Proceedings, they agreed in promoting the Intereſts of the Crown with great Zeal and Fidelity; tho' both of them ſtrained their Authority, in certain Caſes, too far, and ſeem to have been poſſeſſed with a like immoderate Affectation of Grandeur.

21. Some things may be obſerved from theſe two Inſtances, for which I therefore produced them, towards a better Illuſtration of Cardinal *Wolſey*'s Character: I ſhall now deſcend to conſider ſome of the more remarkable Events in particular, which happened under his Adminiſtration, after he became Legate. And here, as the principal, in a manner, the ſole Direction of Affairs in the Court of *England* was committed to him, at a Time, when the Influence of it, in all the *European* Courts, was as great, as at any time before that Period, or ſince, to write his Hiſtory at large, would be in effect to write a general Hiſtory of *Europe*, in the Beginning of the ſixteenth Century. But to avoid that diffuſe Way of Writing, into which the Extent of my Subject would naturally carry me, I ſhall chiefly confine my ſelf to ſuch Affairs

fairs and Negotiations, which he perſonally directed, or wherein he appears to have acted more immediately.

Chap. IV.

1. *An Account of two Letters from* Pace. 2. *And of one from* Wingfield. 3. *A Reflection upon the Propoſals of* Maximilian *towards a Reſignation of the Empire to the King.* 4. *Conjectures why the King did not come readily into them.* 5. *What was charged upon the Cardinal by his Enemies abroad.* 6. *Conditions propoſed by* Pace, *upon which* Francis Sforza *was to be reſtored.* 7. *Suſpicions concerning the Emperor's real Intention, with reſpect to his Reſigning.* 8. *The Cardinal of* Sedun *ſent from the Emperor into* England. 9. *A ſevere Remark of* Pace *on the Emperor's Retreat.* 10. *The Author's Apology for repeating it.* 11. *Miſapplication of the Moneys remitted from our Court to the Emperor.* 12. *Character of King* Ferdinand: *With Reflections Moral and Political on Occaſion of it.* 13. *Thoſe Reflections continued.* 14. *The Cardinal received Advice concerning a ſecret Negotiation between the* Imperial *and* French *Court.* 15. *The Import of a Letter from* Tonſtall *to the Cardinal.*

1516. 1. England, tho' aſſiſting, at this Time, to the Deſigns of *Maximilian* againſt the *French* in *Italy*, did not proceed to any open Rupture with *France*; notwithſtanding the Movements, which *Henry* the Eighth made to ſupport the Imperial Troops on that Side, had given great Umbrage to the *French* Court, and viſibly tended to inflame the Animoſities, which had been there conceived againſt him. It appears indeed, from a Letter of *Pace*, then reſiding at *Trent*, to the Cardinal, that a Deſign had been formed between the two united Powers, to diſpoſſeſs the *French* of the *Milaneze*, and to annex that Dutchy, upon the Reduction of it, to the Crown of [y] *England*. But *Pace*, in his Letter, has the Aſſurance to expreſs his Diſlike of this Project, for the following Reaſons; That the Charge of keeping it, would more than overbalance the Advantages, which were expected to ariſe from the Acquiſition; That the People were ſo attached and devoted to the Houſe of *Sforza*, they would never be ſatisfied or eaſy, under the Government of any Prince, who was not of that Family; and therefore he adviſes it, as more conducing to his Majeſty's Intereſts, that he ſhould reſtore the right Heir to that Duchy, rather than endeavour to make himſelf, in Propriety, Maſter of it. But this Reaſon, tho' viſibly founded in the Maxims of Juſtice and Honour, may poſſibly be reſolved into a more latent Cauſe. *Pace* expreſſeth, from his own Experience, ſo great Diffidence of the Emperor, and obſerves, ſo little Regard was to be had to his Word, that this may be looked upon as a very corroborating, if not the principal Argument, why the Overtures which had been made in relation to *Milan*, were not much to be depended upon. The Letters indeed from *Wingfield*, who was at that time with the Emperor, repreſent his Deſigns in a better Light. But whether he or *Pace*, between whom there was not the moſt perfect Underſtanding, might be more capable of penetrating the true Deſigns of the Imperial Court, or more ſedulous to that End, I ſhall not preſume to enquire. If we may judge by the Event, and from the Suſpicions which our King himſelf entertained, in reſpect to other Propoſals made to him by the Emperor, it may be thought probable, that this Agent was not leſs careful than *Wingfield*, to obſerve by what Springs the Imperial Court was principally moved, and to diſtinguiſh between the declared, and the ſecret Intention of it. On one particular Occaſion, *Pace*, as he complains in a Letter to the King, had not been well uſed by the Emperor: For he was in a Manner conſtrained by Threats to ſign a Condition with the Emperor, whereby the King was obliged to contribute a certain Sum of Money, that the Enterprize againſt the *French* in *Italy* might not be prevented or miſcarry, as the [z] Emperor himſelf acknowledgeth in a Letter to the King, who expreſſing his Diſlike of this Obligation, *Pace* might thereby probably have taken ſome Diſtaſte againſt the Emperor, as the Occaſion of his incurring the King's Diſpleaſure. Yet the King was at laſt not only induced to pay the Moiety of the 60,000 Florins, which had been contracted for in his Name, but the whole Sum, at the Inſtance of the Emperor; who repreſented the Inability he was under of performing the Condition on his own Part, and deſired the King would be ſo good a Brother to him, as to pay the reſt: Enforcing his Requeſt with an Intermination, That if the King did not comply with it, he ſhould be obliged to take other Meaſures, and make ſuch Conceſſions to the *Catholick King*, as *England* ſhould not approve.

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[y] Maſt. Coll. *p.* 28. *May* 23.

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[z] Ideo compulimus Oratores Serenitatis veſtræ ad obligandum ſe una nobiſcum pro LXm Flor. ideo rogamus enixe, ut ſerenitas veſtra velit hance Rem probare, & de iiſdem pecuniis ſatisfacere in termino promiſſo. *Ex. Lit. Pac. Maſſ. Coll.*

2. But the greateſt Light into the Projects, at that time, of the Imperial Court, is from a Letter of [a] *Wingfield* to the King, wherein that Miniſter acquaints him with ſeveral important Matters, which the Emperor, at a private Conference, had propoſed to him. That Letter containing many Things remarkable, and a Repetition of the Emperor's own Expreſſions to *Wingfield*, as he reports them, I ſhall not, in tranſcribing them, take upon me to vary the leaſt from my Copy, except in what relates to Orthography. Theſe are the Emperor's Words.

“ Firſt I deſire you to make my moſt hearty and affectionate Recommendations to my moſt dear and affectionate Brother, the King your Maſter, which by Word doth call me Father, and I do call him Son, which I do take right gladly upon me. And as touching the holy Enterpriſe which hath been made upon the common Enemy, though as yet it hath not attained the deſired End, I truſt, that by my ſaid Brother's farther Aſſiſtance and Comfort, it ſhall come right well to both our Ends, and the Weale not only of Us, but alſo of all Chriſtendom. And in the mean time I do confeſs, that his Aſſiſtance, which is paſt and preſent, hath not only ſaved Cities of mine, but alſo Realms of my [b] Nephew out of the Enemy's Hands.

“ And in Conſideration of the ſaid Cities and Realms being ſaved by my ſaid Brother's Aſſiſtance, and that alſo I know well that in Time paſt he hath had a ſpecial Deſire, that a Peace might be taken between Me and the *Venetian*; I now, for my Part, do offer unto him, That, what Peace ſoever he ſhall think honourable for me, and meet for them, I will make it. And becauſe neither the *Swiſs*, nor the *Pope*, nor the *Venetians*, will conſent that I, or the *French* King, ſhould enjoy the Duchy of *Milan*, I Will, if my Brother conſent thereunto, that forthwith upon Knowledge of his Mind, I will advertiſe the ſaid *Pope*, *Swiſs*, and *Venetians*, that for the Weal and Pacifying of all Chriſtendom, I am determined to give the ſaid [c] Duchy of *Milan* unto him, with which I am ſure they would be all well content. — And this is the Firſt of the Three ſpecial Things upon which I deſired, as I ſaid, a ſpeedy Anſwer. Howbeit I Will that my Brother do know with the Same, that my Mea-

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[a] May 17, 1516. *Sir* Richard Wingfield, *Privy-Councellor in the Beginning of this Reign, Chancellor of the* Exchequer, *and in the* 14*th of* Hen. VIII *created Knight of the* Garter.

[b] Charles *of* Auſtria, *now King of* Spain, *his (Grandſon) Son's Son.*

[c] *This muſt be underſtood, with reſpect to his transferring all Claim he could pretend to, or the Propriety of it, when it ſhould be reduced, for it was now in the Hands of the* French.

“ning always is, That he do accept the *Adoption*, which I have made of him, and the Receiving of the Empire which I have promiſed and will reſign unto him.

“The *Second* is, That I deſire my Brother, that he will procure and help, that the King my Nephew may be reduced to join firmly with us againſt the common Enemy.

“As to the *Third*, I do deſire in moſt affectionate-wiſe, that my ſaid Brother break in War with *France*, in as good Haſte as he may; for by that one Act, the Enterpriſe of the Duchy of *Milan* ſhall be conveyed ſurely to the deſired Purpoſe. And alſo I do deſire he gladly follow and execute my Counſel in the Number and Perfection of his Army; that is to ſay, That when the War is once proclaimed, and a ſufficient Army ſet upon the Sea, that the King my Brother do paſs the Sea in Perſon, and be provided of Two thouſand Horſe, and Four thouſand Archers, and do paſs with the ſaid Company to *Typres* in *Flanders*, to *Tournay*, to *Mons* in *Hainault*, to *Manche*, to *Baſcoigne* in the Land of *Luxenburgh*, and ſo to the City of *Treves*, where I will not fail to meet with him, and alſo all the Electors and Princes of the Empire; where ſhall not only be accompliſhed my Reſignation of the Empire, and the Inveſtiture of the Duchy of *Milan* granted; but alſo there ſhall be an Army already prepared with Artillery, and all other Neceſſaries to enter into *France*; with which Army I would my Brother ſhould leave the Duke of *Suffolk*, or ſome other Prince, to be the Captain, having 1000 Horſe and 3000 Archers; with which Army I will go my ſelf as a Superintendent, and my Brother in the mean while to paſs with 1000 Horſe and 1000 Archers through my own Country, ’till he ſhall come to a City in the Mountains called *Coyr*, of which is a Biſhop that is both my Subject and Familiar, through whoſe Biſhoprick my Brother ſhall paſs, ’till he come to the Lake of *Combe*, where I ſhall cauſe Boats to be purveyed in a ſufficient Number, for his Paſſage, and *Combe* is but Twenty-five Miles from *Milan*; where, when he hath tarried a Seaſon, I will in his Company paſs to *Rome*, where he ſhall be crowned Emperor: which done, I doubt not but he ſhall and may chuſe, whether he will take the moſt honourable Peace with *France* that ever had any of his Anceſtors, or proceed in War, ’till he hath recovered the Crown as his proper Inheritance; which to attain, I eſteem he ſhall have the Conſent of the Pope, and all Chriſtian Princes, and the Aid of all *Italy*, which muſt find Health by that Means, or elſe not

" only *Italy*, but rather all Chriſtendom ſhall remain in War and " Deſolation."

3. Here are not only Overtures made of Force ſufficient to have awakened the Seeds of Ambition in a Temper leſs flexible to the Motions of it, than that of *Henry* the Eighth, but here is the very Method of Executing them ſpecified; and ſuch a Plan drawn, and ſo particularly delineated towards his Elevation to the Imperial Dignity, that he had nothing to do, in Appearance, upon that View, but to declare his Acceptance of it.

4. But whether the King was diffident of the Emperor's Sincerity, or apprehended any extraordinary, or perhaps inſuperable Difficulties, in the Scheme propoſed by him: Whether he thought that the Weight of the Empire would rather draw his native Patrimony after it, and inſtead of augmenting the ancient Grandeur of the *Engliſh* Monarchy, would only tend to reduce it into the Form of a Province to the Empire; or whatever other Reaſons might influence him; he did not embrace this great Offer of the Emperor, when firſt it was made to him, with that Forwardneſs and Alacrity that might have been expected, nor conſent to accept it, at laſt, without much Precaution.

5. While theſe Things were tranſacting, the Cardinal's Enemies did not omit to charge him (ſo *Pace* writes from *Trent*) as the Author of the Expence to which the Nation was put, towards ſupporting the War in *Italy*. They even pretended, that he adviſed it to ſerve his own private Ends; ſo difficult is it for the moſt able and prudent Miniſters to avoid the Obloquy ariſing from a Suſpicion of their having ſome latent and indirect View in their Schemes: Yet every Man in this Caſe is to regulate himſelf by the ſtated Maxims of Truth, Juſtice, and Honour, and where he can ſatisfy his own Mind, that he has acted in ſtrict Conformity to thoſe Maxims, ought to ſhew a generous Contempt of the unjuſt Cenſures, which others may paſs upon him.

6. *Pace* in his Letter, where he uſes this faithful Liberty to the Cardinal, is of Opinion, it ought to be repreſented to the King, that ſuch Perſons know not what they ſay, nor what Good dependeth on this Expedition, particularly in Relation to the Recovery of *Milan* from the *French*, through the King's Aſſiſtance; in conſideration of which, *Francis Sforza* the deprived Duke, when reſtored, ſhould annually ſupply the King with a thouſand Men at Arms, if ſo required, and reſtore what Moneys he was indebted

to the King, offering his Brother as a Hoſtage to his Majeſty for Security of Payment. Theſe Propoſals which were made by *Pace* in the Name of the Duke, were afterwards confirmed by a Letter, from himſelf, to the King.

7. But whether the Emperor really and effectually intended a Reſignation of the Empire to *Henry* the Eighth, it is certain his Remiſſneſs, to ſpeak ſoftly as the Nature of the Thing will admit, in proſecuting the War, on the Side of *Italy*, gave the King no great Cauſe of repoſing an abſolute Confidence in him. In a Diſpatch of the Cardinal to *Pace*, of the 27th of *May*, he complains, that, as he underſtood, the Inaction and Retreat of the Emperor in thoſe Parts had fruſtrated the whole intended Deſign. For tho' his Imperial Majeſty, at the Head of a powerful Army, raiſed with the greateſt Expedition, and with which the *Swiſs*, in purſuance of *Pace* his Negotiation with them, were joined, had marched into *Italy*, and was now without any Oppoſition advanced near the very Gates of [d] *Milan*, to the Terror and Conſternation of the *French*, in whoſe Hands it then was, and who obſerving the great Number, Strength, and Order of the Imperialiſts now ready to attack them, diſcovered great Deſpondency of Mind, and began to think not ſo much of making a brave and vigorous Defence, as of providing by Flight, as well as they could, for their own Safety: On a Sudden, without any viſible Cauſe, or Danger, *Maximilian* decamps and retires to *Trent*, from which Place he had ſet out with his Army, ſuſpecting, as he alledged, the [e] Fidelity of the *Swiſs*, who, he apprehended, would not fight againſt their own Countrymen in the *French* Service. This abrupt Departure of the Imperialiſts ſo animated the Enemy, that ſoon after they marched to join and aſſiſt the *Venetians* in the Siege of *Breſcia*, which the *Spaniards*, by whom it was garriſoned, in a few Days ſurrendered upon Articles. Encouraged with this Succeſs, the two Armies united in a Deſign of laying Siege to *Verona*, but here they found a ſenſible Change of Fortune, and were repulſed with much Slaughter and Loſs. After this Advantage obtained over his Enemies, *Maximilian* reſolved to renew the War with greater Vigour, and to that End ſends *Matthew* Cardinal of *Sedun* to King *Henry* to implore his Aid, and at the ſame time to excuſe his Retreat on Account of the Suſpicion which he had entertained of the *Swiſs*. It was in particular a ſenſible Mortification to Cardinal *Wolſey*, that the Emperor retired with a Precipitation which appeared more like a Flight after the Loſs of a Battle, than a voluntary Retreat, becauſe this

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[d] *Herb.* p. 61.

[e] Polyd. Virg.

War had been principally undertaken and proſecuted by this Cardinal's Advice. However, when the Cardinal of *Sedun* came to Court he had a favourable Audience, and making a good Diſpatch of the Buſineſs upon which he was ſent, haſten'd his Return to *Maximilian*, but not without ſome ſpecial Inſtances of the King's Generoſity to himſelf.

9. The Sentiments of *Pace*, in the *German* Court, concerning this inglorious Campaign of the Emperor, were the ſame with thoſe of our Miniſters at home. He writes, That the Emperor's Negligence loſt the Victory; That his Soldiers ran away without Cauſe; That he promiſes indeed to ſet forward again into *Italy*, but adds, *I believe his Words no farther, than Deeds confirm them.*

10. This is a high Charge, and I ſhould not have preſumed to repeat it, as reflecting upon the Honour of ſo great a Prince, were there not ſome collateral Grounds to ſupport it. The King of *England* himſelf, who was the beſt Judge in the Caſe, violently ſuſpected the Emperor did not deal ſincerely with [f] him. Sir *Thomas Bolein* in a Letter to the Cardinal writes, That the King of *France* told him, King *Henry*, by his own Mouth, had ſometime advertiſed the *French* Ambaſſador *de la Paſty*, *That he was laboured unto by the Cardinal of* Sedun, *when he was in* England, *to have been Emperor, and how his Highneſs perceived it was but to draw Money out of the Realm.* [g] *Pace* in another Letter writes, That the King's Money which ſhould have furniſhed the great Enterprize in *Italy*, had been ill ſpent, and as good as caſt away by the Emperor; and therefore moves, that the King ſhould grant a Commiſſion, and he will be ſure to ſee it executed, that no more of his Money ſhould come into the Emperor's Hands. He remonſtrates, That by reaſon of his Non-compliance with the Emperor, who would have had an arbitrary Diſpoſition of the King's Money, he had been commanded to depart from the Emperor's Court, and was not only hardly uſed, but even apprehended himſelf to be in Danger of his Life. This however is undeniable Fact, That tho' the King, as he acknowledgeth in his Inſtructions to [h] Sir *Robert Wingfield*, had thankfully declared his Acceptance of the Emperor's Adoption[i], and of the other Articles depending on it; yet while this great Affair was negotiating, and before it could be perfected, his Imperial Majeſty was privately treating with the *French* King about Peace, which he ſhortly after concluded with him: Tho'

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[f] Maſt. *p.* 77.

[g] Maſt. *p.* 29.

[h] *Brother to Sir* Richard Wingfield, *Deputy of* Calais, *Privy Counſellor, Ambaſſador to the Council of* Lateran, *and to the Emperor.* Anſtis Garter.

[i] Maſt. *p.* 29.

one Condition of the Treaty between the Emperor and King *Henry* upon the Reſignation was, That he ſhould aſſiſt King *Henry* to recover *France*, as well as to put him in Poſſeſſion of the Duchy and Government of *Milan*. Of ſo little Significancy are Overtures and Conventions among Princes, 'till they have paſſed the uſual Forms, and received their plenary Ratifications: And even then, they are not always thought inviolable, where ſome extraordinary Accident or Emergency of State, that could not be foreſeen, requires, they ſhould no longer ſubſiſt in their original Force, or according to the proper Tenour of them.

11. The great Supplies of Money, for the Subſiſtence of his Troops, which the Emperor had drawn from *England*, not having been in all reſpects applied to the deſigned Ends, our Court grew more cautious in truſting the Remittances of it (as may be concluded from *Pace*'s Letters) in the Hand of his Imperial Majeſty. In Reſentment of which Uſage, or perhaps really for Want of Money, under which he laboured, in a manner continually, he was more diſpoſed to enter into pacifick Meaſures, and it was not long before he put a Stop to the Operations of War. He firſt made a Truce with his Adverſaries the *Venetians*, and reſtored to them *Verona*, in conſideration of Two hundred thouſand Ducats; and afterwards made Peace both with them and the *French* King. It is thought the Death of *Ferdinand*, his near and conſtant Ally, and with whoſe Intereſts his own appeared to be inſeparably complicated, did contribute very much to produce theſe Treaties.

12. That Prince was diſtinguiſhed by the Title of *Catholick*, which became Hereditary to the King's of *Spain* from his Time. He was vigilant in obſerving Advantages, and in making the beſt Uſe of them, and did not ſtand too rigorouſly upon nice [k] Diſtinctions in Morality, where a Point could be ſtrained to ſerve a preſent Exigency: And his great Experience in Political Affairs, joined to a good Underſtanding, rendered him very capable of judgeing wherein his Intereſt conſiſted, and of applying what he apprehended might be for his Intereſt to the right Purpoſe. His Alliances, though ſtrengthened by the Ties of Blood, were not on that Account, inviolably obſerved, in reſpect to all the Conditions of them. The *Engliſh* Troops, which, in the Infancy of the King's Reign, had aſſiſted him in his Wars againſt [l] *France*, were

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[k] Guicciardin *obſerves he wanted nothing to compleat his Character, but a certain Failure in his Words: Other Authors ſpeak yet leſs advantagiouſly of him. He had great Qualities, but Ambition cauſed him to ſacrifice all Sorts of Duty, even thoſe of Religion to politick Views.* Mor. Rich. *laſt Edit.*

[l] Godw. Annal. *p.* 5. 1512.

neither employed in the Operations, which had been projected, nor otherwiſe well accommodated: He ſatisfied himſelf with making them ſubſervient to his own Deſigns, without Regard to the Meaſures of the King, or thoſe Marks of Tenderneſs and Affection, which might have been expected from a Father-in-law. He had the [m] Character, among other Princes, of acting according to thoſe Maxims of Policy, which even before *Machiavel's* Time had too generally obtained, but are not to be reduced to the common Rules, whereby moral Writers ſhould judge, concerning the Rectitude, or Obliquity of human Actions. Whether, after all, ſuch a Conduct deſerves the Name of Policy, is another Queſtion? for all practical Sciences ſhould be founded in certain ſtated Rules, upon which they, who would excel in them, ought to ſuperſtruct and proceed; otherways ſuch Rules can never be learned, or effectually put in Practice. Now the Rules of Truth, Juſtice, and Honour, are well known and aſcertained. When we treat with any Perſon, or oblige our ſelves upon the Foot of them, he can eaſily tell where to find us, and what he may expect from us: But if we once depart from theſe Rules, we act by no Rule, but what is every Moment ſubject to Change, and muſt therefore neceſſarily betray us, except by mere Accident, into a Conduct perpetually irreconcileable to itſelf! A Conduct, which therefore deſtroys the very Foundation of civil Society, by removing all the rational Grounds of Truſt and Confidence among Men. But the End of Policy is to unite, not to divide Mankind, and to promote, in every reſpect, their common Tranquillity and Happineſs. How then do ſuch Maxims deſerve the Name of political Wiſdom, the Wiſdom that has for its Object the Good and Well-being of ſocial Life, which evidently tend not to the Benefit, but the Deſtruction of Society?

13. It may be pretended, one principal End of human Policy, is the Preſervation and Safety of Civil Government. In or-

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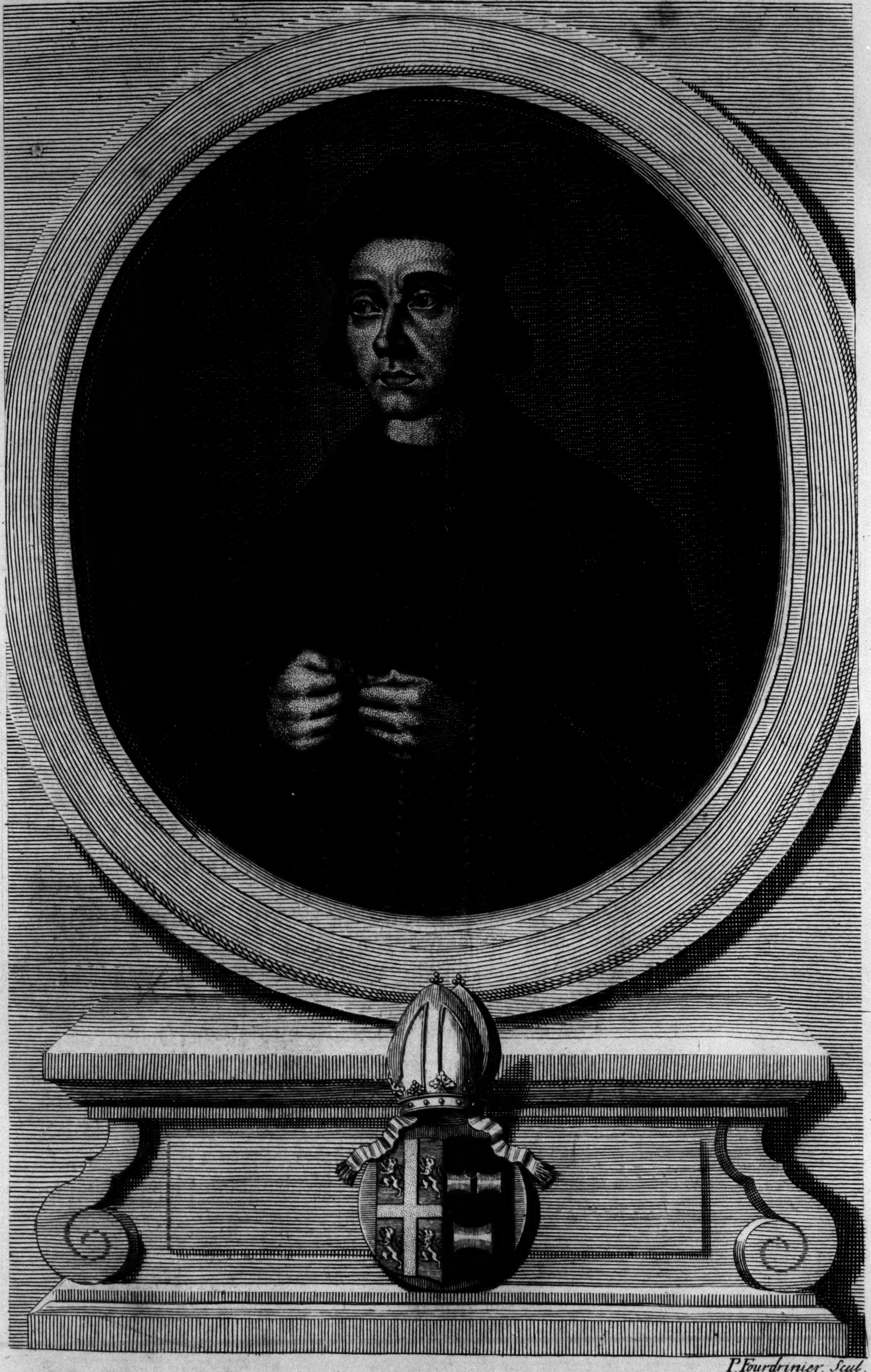
[m] *I have taken the Liberty, after Lord* Herbert, *of moralizing on Occaſion of this Character. They, who may poſſibly ſuſpect, that ſuch rigid Sentiments, as they will be thought by ſome Perſons, which follow, are only proper to Eccleſiaſticks unacquainted with Myſteries of State, or, in general to Chriſtians, may conſult* Tully's Offices *in the firſt Book, where he has, upon ſolid Reaſons, eſtabliſhed the Neceſſity, notwithſtanding any pretended Exigency of Affairs to the contrary, of preſerving publick Faith and Honeſty; and where he afterwards confirms thoſe Reaſons by ſeveral moſt authentick and excellent Examples. And tho' Chriſtianity has indeed propoſed the Duties of Morality in a better Light, and enforced them by a more expreſs Authority, and conſequently rendered the Breach of them, in every reſpect, more criminal; Yet the Rules of our Conduct, whether in reſpect to private or ſocial Life, eſpecially thoſe concerning the Adminiſtration of publick Juſtice, are ſufficiently clear (whenever they are duly applied) to leave the Tranſgreſſors of them without Excuſe. Thoſe however, if there are any ſuch in an Age of ſo much Light and Knowledge, who queſtion the Authority of Divine Revelation, may here obſerve the ſtrict Notion which the* Roman *Orator had, and whereby, to the great Reproach of many Chriſtian Potentates, the brave ancient* Romans *governed themſelves, upon a pure Principle of natural Religion.*

der to which, it ſometimes becomes neceſſary, that ordinary Rules ſhould be diſpenſed with, by thoſe who govern, tho' in Breach of Contract with other co-ordinate Powers: And therefore, in Caſes of very imminent Danger, or ſome extraordinary Proſpect of Advantage, Princes have not commonly made it an invincible Scruple of Conſcience, to break through certain Engagements, whereby they apprehended themſelves too much reſtrained or embaraſſed. Were this Point to be determined by Precedents, I do not know, whether I might not be obliged to give it up. But, in the Reaſon of the Thing, it ſeems more adviſeable, as well as more honeſt, to hazard any ſiniſter Accident, or truſt to the over-ruling Diſpoſitions of Providence, than to have recourſe to any ſinful Method in order to avert it. Since it is more eligible we ſhould expect a Bleſſing from God in his own Time and in his own Way, than attempt to raviſh it by a precipitate and unjuſt Force. Theſe Rules ought certainly to oblige Men, when applied to private Life; but they conclude much ſtronger, in reſpect to the Maxims and Conduct of Civil Governours. As they are under Direction of a more ſpecial Providence; as they are ſuppoſed to repreſent the moſt high God, not only in the Exerciſe of Power, but in the Juſtice and Rectitude of their Government; and as their Example is of the greateſt and moſt general Influence towards promoting moral Good or Evil: ſo that private Perſons, where they obſerve Breach of Faith, or any other Corruption, to be publickly exemplified, will think themſelves in a Manner authoriſed to follow ſuch Example. It were to be wiſhed upon all theſe Reaſons, and others which might be mentioned, reſpecting as well the Tranquillity as Honour of Princes, that Stateſmen would form a Reſolution of conducting all their Deſigns and Meaſures by the ſtrict Rules of Morality and Religion. It is impious, it is derogatory in the higheſt Degree to the Honour and Wiſdom of the ſupreme Governour of the World, to ſuppoſe, that *he has any need of the ſinful man*; or that he has ſo contrived the Frame of human Government, that it cannot ſubſiſt in Peace and Safety, without the Breach of his Laws; or except thoſe, who adminiſter under him, are to be put upon a Neceſſity of having recourſe to Fraud, Violence, and Injuſtice. There is not a Man, who will not abhor a Thought ſo injurious to the ſupreme and righteous God; and yet, every Man, who pretends a Neceſſity, from any Reaſons whatever of State, to violate the publick Faith, or the Rules of moral Vertue in any Kind, does interpretatively and by neceſſary conſtruction, entertain ſuch a Thought. There is Scope enough for Princes and Miniſters of State to ſhew their Wiſdom and Abilities, while they keep ſteddy to the Rules of Vertue, Juſtice and Truth; beſides, that this is the plaineſt Way to prevent their being involved, and the Safeſt to acquire and preſerve Eſteem, without which the greateſt Abilities are of little Significancy, It is a Security from thoſe Revenges of Providence, which generally, one time or other, overtake wicked Princes and Miniſters, in the Breach of publick Faith or Juſtice in any Kind.

14. The Negotiations towards a Peace between the Emperor and *France*, were not carried on ſo ſecretly, but the Cardinal had notice of them, tho' he could not give Credit to a Report which was ſpread abroad, that the Peace was actually concluded. He acquaints *Tunſtall*, then in the *Low Countries*, by Letter, that when this Intelligence was brought to the King, it was not ſuppoſed to be true; but to have been raiſed by the Partizans of *France*, to render the Emperor ſuſpected at the *Engliſh* Court, and to cauſe the King, by that means, to withdraw his Friendſhip and Supplies from him. Yet the Cardinal adviſes *Tunſtall* to enquire whether ſuch Peace was really made, or not; for he was apprehenſive, it was no new Thing for a Prince to act a dubious Part; tho' he is confident, if either Honour or Truth were in the Emperor, he would never make a Peace without the King's expreſs conſent: And to ſhew what ſtrong and additional Ties of Gratitude, the Emperor was at preſent under to the King, he ſignifies, that at his Inſtance, and to ſupply a preſſing Occaſion, the King had lately remitted to his Imperial Majeſty, a conſiderable Sum of Money.

15. *Tunſtall* was then in the *Low-Countries* in Quality of the King's Ambaſſador to the Emperor, and ſo ſedulous in his Charge, as well as capable of executing it, that nothing wherein his Majeſty was concerned, eſcaped him. He perfectly underſtood the State of the Imperial Court, penetrated into all the Deſigns of it, and fail'd not, as occaſion offered, to impart his Advice, accordingly, either to the King, or his chief Miniſter. In a Letter to the Cardinal, he expreſſeth his Diſlike of a League propoſed between King *Henry*, and the King *Catholick*, upon a Reaſon, which deſerved very well to be conſidered. He would not have the King involve himſelf in foreign Affairs, to maintain the Intereſts of other Princes. He inforces this general Reaſon, by repreſenting the ill State of the Allies, with whom he was to contract: He ſaith, *The Emperor is poor, and not able to defend himſelf, and therefore his Aſſiſtance could not be of any great Significancy. The King* Catholick, he obſerves, *is out of his Realms, and as poor as his Grandfather, and that, if any Invaſion ſhould happen, all the Burthen muſt lie upon the King of* England.



P. Fourdrinier. Sculp.

Cuthbertus Tonſtall Epiſcopus Dunelmenſis.

CHAP. V.

1. *The Origin of the Reformation.* 2. *Concerning the Doctrine of Indulgences.* 3. *Pope* Urban *the Second diſtributed them towards Recovery of the* Holy-Land. 4. *What induced* Leo *the Tenth to grant them.* 5. *Some Remarks on Superſtition and Enthuſiaſm.* 6. Luther *not ſingular in attacking the* Romiſh Church *at that Time.* 7. *A Limitation which the Author preſcribes to himſelf.*

1. IN this Year thoſe memorable Events happened which gave Birth to the Reformation in *Germany*, that afterwards ſpread into ſeveral other Parts of the Weſtern Church. And tho' the Cardinal, throughout the whole Courſe of his Life, firmly adhered to the Doctrine and Communion of the Church of *Rome*; yet, as the Corruptions of the Clergy, have been generally aſſigned as one principal Cauſe of the Reformation; and it cannot be diſſembled, that the Cardinal was very ſedulous in his Endeavours to detect the Diſorders among the *Engliſh* Clergy, and to puniſh them with a becoming Severity; he may, in this reſpect, be conſidered as one of the occaſional Cauſes at leaſt of the ſurpriſing Progreſs, which in a ſhort time after the Reformation made in *Great Britain*. The Irregularities wherewith the Cardinal was charged, as to his own perſonal Conduct, had they been really criminal and offenſive, as ſome Authors have repreſented them, ought not to be objected to what I now obſerve. The Beauty of Order, and the Neceſſity of publick Diſcipline, appear ſometimes to thoſe, who yet do not regulate their private Life accordingly, in a Light, and with a Force, that cannot be reſiſted. Some have thought that the Cardinal, as a Prince of the Church, and endowed by Virtue of his Legatine Character with ſuch ample Powers, did not apprehend himſelf concluded within the ordinary Rules of the Church; but as to the common Meaſures of canonical Duty or Obedience, might act with a diſcretionary Liberty. I ſhall not diſpute, how far in this Way of Arguing, he might poſſibly be excuſed, in diſpenſing with certain eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions; but no Powers, no Authority upon Earth, none in Heaven, can cancel the eternal Rules of moral Truth and Juſtice, or diſcharge Men from their natural Force, and Obligation. 1517.

2. A Doctrine indeed, by Occaſion of which, the firſt Blow was given to the Papal Authority, and a Way opened to the Reformation, had been taught, and for ſome time generally believed, that the Pope, out of the inexhauſtible Treaſure of the Church,

founded in the Merits of CHRIST, of the *Holy Virgin*, and the Saints, had a Power of diſtributing Indulgences, on certain Conditions preſcribed by him, to the greateſt and moſt profligate Sinners for a plenary Remiſſion of Sin, and the Puniſhment both Temporal and Eternal otherways conſequential to it.

This Doctrine being found ſubſervient to the temporal Intereſts of the Church, and a proper Means to bring Money into the Apoſtolick Chamber, *Leo* the Tenth, as ſome of his Predeceſſors had done under the like Exigencies before him, finding his Exchequer low, and a Neceſſity of new Supplies, publiſhed, at this time, a Bull of Indulgences, with very ample Privileges to thoſe, who would purchaſe them, at a moderate [n] Price. This Pope being a Man of excellent Parts, well verſed in human Learning, and of a very humane and generous Diſpoſition towards learned Men, had by his great Liberalities much exhauſted the papal Treaſure. His Character had been compleat, ſays a [o] Writer celebrated among other excellent hiſtorical Talents for his Impartiality, had he, with his other bright and noble Qualities, applied himſelf more to Theological Studies, or the Practice of Piety. Finding himſelf thus reduced for Want of what was neceſſary to ſupport his magnificent Way of Living, tho' in other reſpects eaſy and undiſturbed, having put an End to the late Schiſm, and there being now no open Defection from the Weſtern Church, which might give him any diſquieting Apprehenſions, he had Recourſe to this Method, at a Juncture ſo favourable to it, towards augmenting his Treaſure.

3. This Practice had been uſed from the Time of his Predeceſſor [p] *Urban* the Second, who in the Beginning of the eleventh Century, granted plenary Remiſſion of all Sins to thoſe, who ſhould take Arms for the Recovery of the Holy Land, and the Sepulchre of our Lord, from the Infidels. His Example was followed by ſeveral of his Succeſſors, ſome of them, as Improvements are eaſily made of beneficial and new Projects, extended the Benefit of their Indulgences to ſuch Perſons, who were either

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[n] Guicciardine *informs us, That the Powers in particular for releaſing Souls out of Purgatory, were openly played for in Taverns.* Guic. B. 13. *See* F. Paul, B. 1. Paulus Jovius, *after all the fine Things ſpoken by him to the Advantage of this Pope, and the ſpecious Apologies he had made in his Vindication from certain Aſperſions caſt upon him, yet in reſpect to this Article of Indulgencies, is obliged to juſtify the common Charge againſt him.* In his vero quæ Rem divinam reſpicerent, nequaquam ſecunda Fama prægravari eſt viſus. Nam Indulgentias, Pontificum ad parandam pecuniam Inſtrumenta, adeo plene atq; affluenter Provinciis dedit, ut Fidem Sacraſanctæ poteſtatis elevare videretur, *P. Jov. l.* 3.

[o] Guicciardine, B. 13. *See the former Part of the foregoing Note.*

[p] Anno 1095. *See* Morer. *Laſt Ed.*

unwilling to go to the Wars themſelves, or unable to bear Arms, provided they deputed others to ſerve for them at their proper Expence. By Degrees theſe ſpiritual Favours were diſtributed to thoſe, who ſhould take the Field againſt the Enemies of Holy Church, tho' profeſſing Chriſtianity. Great Sums were raiſed for the Apoſtolick Chamber by this Means, but not always applied to the Ends, for which they were deſigned.

4. Pope *Leo* being determined, but more eſpecially by the Advice of the Cardinal *Saint Quater*, to follow ſuch convenient Precedents, opened a general Mart for Indulgences to thoſe, who ſhould comply with the Conditions, upon which they were propoſed. The Benefit of them was even extended to the Dead, in caſe they ſhould be purchaſed by their ſurviving Friends in their Name, or for their proper Uſe. A Privilege was farther granted in them, for People to eat Eggs or white Meats in Time of *Lent*, or other Faſts, and of chooſing their own Confeſſors. And although in executing theſe Diſpenſations, as the Papiſts themſelves will readily own, a Commerce was carried on, which cannot be defended or excuſed, wherein many irregular Innovations were made, and from whence great Occaſion of Scandal aroſe; Yet, it muſt be acknowledged, many Bulls of former Popes proceeded upon Motives, that did not appear to be more pious or juſt, and were negotiated after a Manner, very obnoxious in Point of Scandal and Extortion. But it frequently happens, as Father *Paul* hath juſtly obſerved, that good and fit Occaſions of doing great Things are loſt, either for Want of a perfect Knowledge of them, or becauſe Men do not know how to apply them; but chiefly, becauſe the Period may not yet commence, wherein the ſupreme Governour of the World thinks fit to interpoſe or appoint a Train of Cauſes, proper to correct or reform publick Diſorders. That Period happened in the Pontificate of *Leo* the Tenth, when, on Account of preaching up Indulgences, there was a Concurrence of Circumſtances more favourable to the Deſigns of Reformation, than had been known or improved on the like Occaſion, under any of his Predeceſſors.

5. There is no neceſſity, where publick and extraordinary Events may be accounted for from natural Cauſes, that we ſhould have recourſe to any occult Qualities or Powers of the Heavenly Bodies, under a certain Configuration, into which ſome would reſolve that great Revolution, the Original whereof commenced about this Time: And yet there appears ſome Reaſon, from the Influence which the State of the Body has upon the Operations of

the Mind, to conclude, that Diſtempers communicated by a contagious Air to the Body, may ſo far indirectly at leaſt affect the Mind, as to diſpoſe it to receive thoſe Impreſſions, whereof it would be, at another time, leſs ſuſceptible. This ſeems to be the moſt probable Way of accounting for the ſurpriſing ſuddain Progreſs, which certain Enthuſiaſts have been ſometimes obſerved to make in ſpreading ſtrange and ſometimes very chimerical Doctrines. This Contagion of the Mind, from a malignant tho' more latent Diſorder of the Body, occaſioned perhaps by ſome Diſpoſition of the Air proper to produce it, was viſible in the firſt Riſe and Growth of Quakeriſm, and afterwards in the capricious Doctrines and Behaviour of the *Camiſars*. But there is no Occaſion for our having Recourſe to ſuch a Principle for the numerous and ſuddain Converſions, which were made by the Preaching of *Luther*, or in Conſequence of it. For, tho' this Reformer did not want a warm, bold, and lively Imagination, yet he ſupported his Doctrines in a humane Way of Reaſoning and Argumentation, and, in many Reſpects, ſpoke forth the *Words of Soberneſs and Truth*. Beſides, even in the enthuſiaſtick Way of propagating new Doctrines, there is no need of our having recourſe to the Influence of any remote celeſtial Cauſes; ſeeing, a State of the Air, ariſing from the Concurrence or Action of more immediate Cauſes, may effectually ſerve to that End. Yet *Lipſius* was not ſingular in reſolving the Spirit of Diſputation, which ſo remarkably diſcovered itſelf in all Ages and Sexes, at the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century, into the Power of ſome malignant Conſtellation. This Effect might have been accounted for without conſulting the Stars, from ſublunary Principles. The Reputation wherein (by general Conſent) Learning then was, inſpired all Sorts of People with a laudable Ambition of having ſome Share in it: When ſo obvious and ſtrong a Motive as the Deſire of Fame, which might too be attended with other Advantages, inclined Men to Study and Diſpute, why ſhould we have Recourſe to unknown and precarious Cauſes in the Heavens to diſcover the Reaſons of ſuch an Inclination? If, after all, any Cauſes beyond the ſolar Syſtem are capable, except by their Light, of Acting on tereſtrial Bodies. Yet *Paulus Jovius*, upon as good Grounds without doubt as *Lipſius*, obſerved the Effects of ſome noxious and celeſtial Aſpect, not only from what happened in *Germany* by Means of *Luther*, but from the general Change which happened at the ſame time, in the religious Rites and Doctrines, as well of the Oriental, as Weſtern *Indians*.

6. Though *Luther* attacked the Church of *Rome* in a more grave, and argumentative Way, yet there wanted not ſeveral Writers in

the Boſom and Communion of that Church, who obſerved, and with great Freedom and Severity, animadverted upon ſeveral Diſorders, that were openly committed in it. *Eraſmus* in particular, was ſo copious and ſatyrical upon this Head, that ſome have thought his Writings did not a little contribute to facilitate the Progreſs of *Luther's* Doctrines, if they did not principally prepare the Way for the Reception of them.

7. But it would carry me too far beyond my Bounds, ſhould I here inquire after all the Reaſons, upon which a Reformation was now deſired, and thought by very good Men, neceſſary. I ſhall therefore confine my ſelf to the Efforts which were made towards it, by Means of the Article beforementioned relating to Indulgences; that being the firſt Cauſe of the Oppoſition, which *Luther* made to the papal Power and Authority.

CHAP. VI.

1. *To what the Prejudice againſt Indulgences was more particularly owing.* 2. *A Character of* Archembolus *from* F. Paul. 3. *Who is oppoſed by* Pallavicin. 4. *The Advantage which this Cardinal preſumed he had againſt* F. Paul. 5. *Two Conceſſions made by the Cardinal.* 6. *How he would account for the Firſt of them.* 7. *And the Second.* 8. *A farther Apology by* Pallavicin *for Pope* Leo. 9. *Where the main Force of his Argument lies.* 10. *Several Abuſes, beſides that complained of before, relating to Indulgences.* 11. *The Artifice of* Archembolus *towards improving his Collections.*

1. BEfore the Bull of Indulgences was publiſhed, there was a Circumſtance reſpecting the Diſpoſition of the Money to ariſe from them, which very much contributed to raiſe the Prejudices of People againſt that Bull. The Pope had already anticipated large Sums which ſhould be advanced by that Means, by appropriating them to ſeveral of his Friends, yet reſerving ſome Part for his own Exchequer. But what gave the greateſt and moſt general Occaſion of Scandal, in this Partition of them, was, that he had aſſigned to his Siſter *Magdalene* the Profits which ſhould accrue from the Indulgences in *Saxony*, and that Branch of *Germany* which extends itſelf towards the Ocean. This Lady was married to *Francis*, natural Son of *Innocent* the Eighth, deſcended from the Houſe of *Cibo*; by means of which Alliance *Leo* himſelf now ſat in St. *Peter's* 1717.

Chair; having in conſequence of it, and as a previous Qualification for the Pontificate, been advanced to the Dignity of a Cardinal, when he was only fourteen Years of Age; whereby the Foundation of that Grandour was firſt laid, to which the Houſe of *Medici* afterwards arrived: And therefore Authors who are inclined to judge favourably concerning the Conduct of *Leo*, conſider this Action not ſo much as an Inſtance of pious and fraternal Affection, as of a becoming Gratitude to a Family which had laid the moſt honorary and powerful Engagements upon him; particularly, beſides the great Article I have mentioned, by ſupporting him at a vaſt Expence, when he was obliged to retire from *Rome* to *Genoa*, it not being ſafe for him to reſide near the Perſon, or within the Territories of *Alexander* the Sixth; that Pope being in a ſtrict Amity with the *Florentines*, who were profeſſed Enemies to the Family of *Medici*, and had compelled them to remove out of their Capital, it was apprehended his Favour and Protection could not be intirely depended upon, against the Inſtances they ſhould make in Prejudice to ſo conſiderable a Branch of it.

2. The Care of theſe Collections for the Pope's Siſter, was, according to Father *Paul*, committed to *Archembolus*, a Prelate indeed, but who had all the Qualities of a compleat *Genoa* Merchant. He retailed his Powers, for the Diſtribution of Indulgences, to thoſe who would advance the beſt Price; but after ſo ſordid and vile a Manner, that Perſons who had a decent Regard to their own Reputation would not contract with him, tho' he found ſome of the ſacerdotal Order corrupt enough to proſtitute their Character, by accepting his baſe Conditions.

3. This is a very ſevere Charge againſt that Biſhop; and the Authority of Father *Paul* is ſo well eſtabliſhed, on Account of his Candour and Impartiality, and other great Qualities of a Hiſtorian, that it would be an audacious Attempt to conteſt the Truth of it. However, I think my ſelf obliged, in Point of common Juſtice and Humanity, to oppoſe againſt this great Name, what Cardinal *Pallavicin* has advanced, upon ſpecious Grounds, to overthrow the Credit of it in this Place. He obſerves, from the Authority of *Sadolet*, the Pope's Secretary, that the Deputation of *Archembolus*, to collect Indulgences, was in the Year 1514; that it was not a general Bull, but limited to a certain Part of *Germany*; that he was not then a Biſhop, neither originally a *Genoeſe*; nor by Profeſſion a Merchant, but a native and Gentleman of *Milan*; that he did not act by virtue of his Commiſſion, as appears from the Tenure of it, in that Part of the Country, where Father *Paul* ſup-

poſes, but in another Diſtrict. Yet, ſhould that excellent Hiſtorian after all be miſtaken, as to certain Circumſtances of Time, or Place, relating to *Archembolus* or his Commiſſion, it will not therefore neceſſarily follow, that Prelate did not execute it in the Manner according to which he was before charged.

4. One of the great Advantages wherein *Pallavicin* affects to triumph againſt this learned Writer, in reference to the Article of Indulgences, is taken from his diſſembling the Motive upon which *Pallavicin* contends they were granted; and that was towards the Building of St. *Peter*'s Church in *Rome*, concerning which Father *Paul* is perfectly ſilent, and contents himſelf with imputing in general, the Want of Money, to which the Pope was reduced, to an Exceſs in his Liberalities. The Cardinal aſſigns another Cauſe for this Diſtreſs: Pope *Julius*, *Leo*'s immediate Predeceſſor, had exhauſted his Treaſure in the Wars wherein he had engaged, and which could not be carried on without a very great Expence. The Efforts which he made towards recovering the Cities which had been taken from him in *Italy*, required large Supplies, and he was at no little Charge in fortifying his Maritime Towns againſt the Deſigns of the *Turks*. Under theſe Circumſtances he thought it a proper Method, in order to execute his Deſigns of building Saint *Peter*'s Church, to raiſe Contributions for that Work by Means of Indulgences. *Leo* therefore had the Example of his Predeceſſor to juſtify him as to this Article, and which the Emperor himſelf approved, ſo far as can be concluded in this Author's Way of Reaſoning, from a negative Argument: For when, on Occaſion of a Book which was written to expoſe the Court of *Rome*, and preſented to his Imperial Majeſty, he complained of certain Irregularities with which they had been charged; he yet makes no mention in his Remonſtrance, concerning the Article of Indulgences, which yet had been particularly ſpecified in that Book.

5. *Pallavicin* is ſenſible however of two Objections relating to Indulgences, which he ingenuouſly propoſes and endeavours to anſwer as well as he can. He obſerves, that by the Method which was uſed in diſtributing them, Scandal was taken on two Accounts; firſt, as it rendered the Treaſure of the Church venal, and as it depretiated the higheſt and moſt invaluable Privileges, by expoſing them to be ſold for Trifles.

6. To the former Objection he anſwers, That no great and good Deſign, like that of Building the Church of St. *Peter*, could

be executed without Money. And as ſo pious an End could not be attained without the Application of proper Means, it certainly authoriſed thoſe Means. In his Way of improving this Argument, the primary Grant of the Bull was not for the Sake of the Money, but for the Work, which could not be carried on or perfected without Money, a Work highly laudable, and tending to the Glory of God; who, willing to accept our Contributions to ſo excellent an End, and being pleaſed with ſuch Sacrifices, mercifully grants Remiſſion of Sins, upon the Performance of them: For which Doctrine he cites the Prophet's Authority, *break off thy Sins by Righteouſneſs, and thy Tranſgreſſions, by ſhewing Mercy to the Poor.* He adds, (but I recite his Reaſons without thinking my ſelf obliged to aſſert or defend them,) That to ſell any ſpiritual Privilege for private Profit, is indeed ſacrilegious; but not when any Thing is ſold with an Intention of appropriating the Profits ariſing from it to the publick Honour of God, or the Benefit of Religion.

7. To what is objected in the ſecond Place, he replies, That the Value of every Thing is to be eſtimated, not from the Operation or Effect of it in particular Inſtances, but from the proper Tendency and Reſult of it, in reſpect to ſome general Good. He argues, That as humane Laws render certain Offences capital, which ſimply conſidered, are not of very pernicious Conſequence to the Peace or Tranquillity of the State, but yet, if generally ſuffered to eſcape with Impunity, would ſoon introduce great Diſorder and Confuſion; ſo on the other Hand, many Things ſeparately, and in themſelves of no great Value, yet taken collectively, and as reſpecting the common Benefit of Society, are highly enhanced in their Value. This he illuſtrates by the Rewards appointed by the *Greeks* to thoſe that conquered in the *Olympick* or other Games; which tho' of no intrinſick Conſideration, yet as tending to create in Men a generous Ambition of Excelling in ſuch military Exerciſes, as might render them ſerviceable to the State, and preſerve a martial Spirit in the Members of it, were, as *Cicero* acknowledgeth, not inferior to the Honours wherewith a *Roman* Triumph was celebrated. What he would conclude is, That tho' the low Price, at which the Indulgences were expoſed, was very inconſiderable in itſelf, yet in relation to the aggregate Sums which would ariſe from them, and the publick and good Deſign to which they were principally appropriated, they appeared to be of a much more valuable Conſideration.

8. This Writer owns, That Father *Paul*'s Account concerning the Appropriation of the Money ariſing, in the Parts before ſpecified,

cified, to the Pope's Siſter, had an ill and diſhoneſt Appearance: Not that it really imported, if true, ſo enormous a Crime, as it might ſeem to do at firſt, or upon a general View, and as that Hiſtorian repreſents it; who is reproached with following the moſt virulent and ſatyrical Writers on the other Side. *Pallavicin* advances ſeveral probable Arguments againſt the Fact it ſelf, from the great Mind and generous Qualities of *Leo*; who would not have ſuffered an Embezzlement of the Moneys deſigned for ſo good and noble a Work, which, as appears from two of his Letters to *Raphael Urban*, he had very much at Heart; from his Magnificence, celebrated by the common Conſent of Hiſtorians, and the Monuments of which ſtill remained; and, to omit ſome other Conſiderations, that he deſcends to mention, from the vaſt Expence of the Building, from which his Holineſs could not well be ſuppoſed to ſpare any thing; eſpecially, if what he obſerves in another Place be juſt, That all the Contributions to be raiſed by the Indulgences, were but as an Atom, in compariſon of that great and ſtupendous Fabrick. He adds that, if in Fact this Aſſignment to the Pope's Siſter had been made, it is reaſonable to preſume, his Holineſs might do it with an Intention of ſupplying the Deficiency on that Account, by Way of Equivalent to the Church, from ſome other Branch of his Revenues. He does not omit in concluſion, to inſinuate the great Motives of Gratitude and Attachment which the Pope was under to the Houſe of *Cibo*.

9. But all theſe probable Conjectures, are mentioned by Way of Accumulation; and admitting them to be of no Significancy, *Pallavicin* has ſtill one Argument in reſerve, wherein he placeth in a Manner his whole Strength, and which if he has truly cited his Authority, appears indeed to be of great Weight. He ſays, the Grant upon which this Calumny againſt *Leo* the Tenth was occaſioned, could not upon ſearch be found in any of the Regiſters, wherein both according to Cuſtom, and the Precautions taken by the Officers of the Apoſtolick Chamber, it ought to have been repoſited and preſerved. But I ſhall not interpoſe in the Diſpute between theſe two great Men: What Father *Paul* had advanced, is ſupported by the Credit and Teſtimony of *Paulus Jovius*, a very competent Evidence in the Caſe. On the other Hand, an open Appeal by a learned Man and a Cardinal to publick Records, which might be eaſily conſulted, without he had ſome good Foundation for ſuch an Appeal, cannot readily be accounted for upon any Maxims of Prudence, or a Principle of common Honeſty. It is not very probable, that a Writer who did not want Art, or a reaſonable Regard to his Reputation, would, upon the Entrance

of his Work, diſcredit every Fact, that he ſhould afterwards cite or refer to, by a pompous Appeal, the Falſity whereof might be at any time detected.

10. But whether this ought to have been aſſigned as one of the Cauſes which provoked *Luther* to write againſt Indulgences, it is certain, there were ſeveral Abuſes committed in the Diſtribution and Sale of them, which might have irritated a Temper leſs ſenſible to the Impreſſions of religious Zeal, than that of *Luther*, to ſome Degree of Warmth, and pious Indignation; eſpecially, if there be Truth in what is related concerning the ill Life, and ſcandalous Practices of thoſe, who made a Traffick of Indulgences; and in Gaming-Houſes, in Taverns, and other Places not fit to be named, cauſed People, beſides the Price of them, to ſpend what they could otherways ſpare from their neceſſary Expences, in treating for the Purchaſe. *Pallavicin* doth himſelf acknowledge, it occaſioned great Scandal to the Chriſtian World, that the Revenues ariſing from Indulgences, were transferred to thoſe, who would advance moſt Money for the Privilege of collecting them. As Temporal Princes, upon ſome valuable Conſideration, let out their Domains or emergent Subſidies to Farm. But this was an accidental Scandal and Inconvenience, rather according to *Pallavicin* to be lamented, than admitting a Remedy, without loſing the main End for which Indulgences were granted. For as the Returns which are made to Princes by a great Number of ſubordinate Officers employed in collecting their Taxes, are greatly impaired, by the Deductions to be made proviſionally from them, and ſometimes by ſecret and undue Practices; ſo the Profits ariſing from Indulgences would have been very inconſiderable, if his Holineſs had collected them by a numerous Train of his own Deputies, and at his own Charge, into whoſe Conduct he could not, conſiſtently with his Character, look ſo narrowly, as it might be preſumed the Farmers of this Revenue would think themſelves concerned to do after thoſe, who were deputed by them.

11. We have an Inſtance in *Archembolus* of the Caution which was uſed by the general Farmers, in appointing ſuch Perſons under them, from whoſe Deputation they might propoſe the largeſt Returns. Indulgences having been formerly publiſhed by the Order of *Friers Heremits*, this Biſhop ſuſpecting that they underſtood by Experience the ſecret Methods of advancing their own Intereſts, in that Way of Commerce, was determined to employ the Dominican Friers, who amplified the Value and Merit of Indulgences at a ſtrange Rate, and ſaid many Things of them altogether

new and ſurpriſing: Whereas, he argued, what could be expected from the *Friers Heremites*, but according to their old and trite Doctrine concerning them, and the cuſtomary Collections which they had heretofore made. *Luther* being one of that Order, not without ſome Reſentment perhaps of the Indignity which he might apprehend done to it, was provoked to inveigh againſt ſeveral Abuſes and Innovations which had been introduced relating to this Subject. In the firſt Efforts of his Zeal, he ſatisfied himſelf with ſpeaking againſt the Retailers and Preachers of Indulgences; but growing warm in the Heat of Diſpute, he proceeded to examine the Nature and Reaſons of them more narrowly, and to diſcover, if he could, the Foundations, upon which they were ſupported. To this End, he publiſhed Ninety-five Concluſions, which he propoſed to be openly diſputed at *Wirtemberg*; but no Body thought fit to enter the Liſts with him by way of oral Conference, or to appear againſt him in that Place: Tho' one *Thecle* a Dominican Friar publiſhed a File of other Concluſions, in oppoſition to his at *Franckford*. In the Progreſs of the Conteſt, ſeveral Queſtions incidentally aroſe, relating to other Doctrines of the Church of *Rome*, particularly concerning the Extent of the Pope's Authority. For the Adverſaries of *Luther* not being able to eſtabliſh the Doctrine of Indulgences, as it was then commonly taught and received, by clear and convincing Reaſons, had recourſe to the Pope's Infallibility to juſtify it, and to ſhew the Neceſſity of adhering to it, at leaſt, by an implicit Belief. This obliged *Luther* to make Reſearches concerning that high Privilege, upon which many other Doctrines in that Church equally depend. And tho' for a Time he expreſſed himſelf with great Modeſty, and Regard to the Pope, ſometimes appealing to his Judgement, and profeſſing he would ſubmit to his Authority, yet he was brought, by Degrees, utterly to diſclaim it, and at laſt intirely to withdraw his Obedience from him.

CHAP. VII.

1. *Abuſes in preaching and collecting Indulgences.* 2. *The Doctrine of them not diſtinctly examined in the* Tridentine Council. 3. *Reaſons for a ſummary Conſideration of them by the Biſhop of* Modena. 4. *The Decree of the Council concerning them.* 5. *How the Controverſy on this Head might have been in great Meaſure prevented.* 6. *The ſtrict Dependency of the Monks upon the Pope.* 7. *Their Capacity of doing him Service.* 8. Martin Luther *did not think himſelf obliged by his monaſtick Vows.* 9. *Aſtrological Calculations againſt him and in his Favour.* 10. *Concerning his Table-Talk, and Catechiſtical-Cup.* 11. *A further Account of this Reformer.* 12. *He conſents that the Landgrave of* Heſſe *ſhould marry two Wives; with the Grounds upon which the Landgrave ſollicited a Diſpenſation to that End.* 13. *A Cenſure upon his Compliance herein.* 14. *Another upon Mr.* Jurieu. 15. *Truth and Errour doth not depend on the perſonal Qualifications of Men.* 16. *The ſurpriſing Effects of* Luther*'s Oppoſition to the Church of* Rome. 17. *There was a Concurrence of Circumſtances at that Time very favourable to him.* 18. *What Advantage* Wickliff *had in common with him.*

1517. 1. THO' the Doctrine of Indulgences, as taught at this Time, firſt opened the Way to the Reformation, by the reſolute Oppoſition which *Luther* made to it; yet we are not, I humbly conceive, ſo much to conſider it, as the true and direct, as an occaſional Cauſe of the general Seceſſion, which was afterwards made from the Church of *Rome*. That there were great Abuſes, in preaching and collecting them, the Members of that Church will not deny; but they argue, That Abuſes do not deſtroy the Nature or Reaſon of Things, or diſcharge Men from the general Obligation, which they are under to the Rules of Peace and Order; That the Church had no where made the Doctrine of Indulgences, as they were then abuſed, an Article of Faith, or eſſential to Communion in Worſhip; That our Saviour, tho' the *Jewiſh* Church in his Time, was chargeable with ſeveral Corruptions in relation both to Doctrine and Practice, yet did not ſeparate, on that Account, from the publick Worſhip, or Communion of it, or teach his Diſciples ſo to do: That a Separation therefore from any Church, lawfully conſtituted, (wherein the Adminiſtrations are regularly performed, and by Perſons regularly qualified) ought not to be made arbitrarily, by private Perſons, even tho' there may be ſome Things publickly profeſſed or practiſed in ſuch Churches, which ought to be reformed; provided thoſe Things are not made neceſſary Articles of Communion; That, as to the Doctrine of Indulgences in particular, whatever Diſputes there had been among the Writers of the *Romiſh* Church, concerning the Vertue or Merit of them; or whatever Diſorders might have happened in diſtributing them, yet there had been no publick Deciſion of the Church upon that Head, to which the Members were obliged to expreſs an implicit Aſſent, or that would juſtify an open Separation from it, on that Account.

2. It muſt be acknowledged indeed, that when this Article came to be conſidered in the Council of *Trent*, the Fathers who compoſed that Council, very prudently declined to enter into the Detail of the Queſtions, which had been diſcuſſed with great Heat by *Luther* and his Opponents; and upon which many learned Men, who ſtill continued in the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, were much divided. Several therefore of the Fathers, who were deſirous to avoid Difficulties, were for paſſing this Matter over in Silence, as requiring too intricate and copious a Diſquiſition; others thought this would expoſe them to the Inſults of the *Lutherans*, who would not fail to reproach them with avoiding to ſpeak of Indulgences, becauſe they knew not what to ſay concerning them. Some therefore propoſed a middle Way, as the beſt Expedient to obviate Inconveniences in both theſe reſpects, which was only to treat ſo far in general, about the Uſe of Indulgences, as might tend to remove the Scandal and Diſorders, with which thro' Length of Time, certain Perſons, concerned in preaching or diſtributing them, were too notoriouſly chargeable.

3. What the [q] Biſhop of *Modena* ſaid, on this Occaſion, may well deſerve to be recited, ſince it at once lets us into ſeveral Particulars relating to the State of the Controverſy at that Time, but by the favourable Reception which it met with, diſcovers to us the general Senſe of the other Fathers. This Prelate repreſented, That if they would examine the Doctrine of Indulgences, in the ſame Latitude as they had done That of Juſtification; that is, take in all the Queſtions relating to it, and account for all Difficulties, this would be a Work which would require much Time. Neither could they proceed diſtinctly, or upon any clear Grounds, in it, 'till they had firſt determined, whether Indulgences were properly Abſolutions, Compenſations, or Suffrages? And, whether they delivered only from the Pains which the Confeſſor had impoſed,

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[q] F. Paul. *Hiſt. of the Coun. of* Trent, *Dupin. Bib. Eccleſ. Cent.* 16.

ſed, or from all other Pains, that are due? As alſo, whether the Treaſure out of which they are diſpenſed, is ſolely founded in the Merits of *Chriſt*, or it be not neceſſary to aſcribe ſome Part of it to the Merits of the Saints? Whether Indulgences can be given, except the Receiver on his Part qualify and prepare himſelf for the Benefit of them? And whether they do not extend to the Relief of the Dead? — But then to define, that the Church has in general a Power of diſpenſing them, and has diſpenſed them at all Times, and that they are of great Uſe and Benefit to thoſe, who in Fact are duly qualified to receive them, is what would not admit of any great or long Diſpute. The Power of granting them may be proved from the Holy Scriptures, their Uſe from Apoſtolical Tradition, and the Authority of Councils, and their Certainty, from the concurrent Teſtimony of the Schoolmen. Upon theſe general Principles a Decree might be paſſed about them, without any Oppoſition; accordingly this Biſhop was deputed, with ſome other Members, to draw up a Decree purſuant to the Method propoſed by him, with an additional Clauſe, concerning the Regulation of Abuſes.

4. The Decree was afterwards read and received by the Council in the following Form. "Foraſmuch as the Power of granting Indulgences has been imparted to the Church by *Jeſus Chriſt*; which, from the firſt Ages of it, has aſſerted and exerciſed that Power, as given to it from God; the Holy Council teacheth and commandeth, that the Uſe of Indulgences, ſo very ſalutary to Chriſtian People, and confirmed by the Authority of Holy Councils, ought to be retained in the Church; condemning ſuch by *Anathema*, who either pretend them to be Uſeleſs, or deny that the Church has a Power to diſpenſe them: wiſhing at the ſame time that due Moderation might be ſhewed in diſtributing them, according to the ancient and received Uſage of the Church, leaſt the Diſcipline of it ſhould be relaxed, by an Exceſs of Lenity.

"But as to the Abuſes, to which Indulgences have been ſubject, and by Occaſion of which the very Name of them has been blaſphemed by Hereticks, the Holy Council deſiring a Reformation of ſuch Abuſes, doth enact in general by this preſent Decree, that all ſinful lucrative Arts in procuring them, which have been the Cauſe of many and great Diſorders among Chriſtian People, ſhall be aboliſhed. As to other Offences, the Origin whereof has been owing to Superſtitition, Ignorance, or Impiety, or to any other Cauſe; ſince a ſpecial Proviſion

" towards the Removal of them, cannot conveniently be made, " on Account of the Variety of Abuſes in different Places, and " Provinces, where they may be committed; all Biſhops are " commanded to take a ſtrict Account of the ſeveral Abuſes within " their ſeveral Precincts; and to make a Report of them in the " firſt Provincial Synod: So that when they have been condemned, " as ſuch, by the Sentence of other Biſhops, they may be " immediately laid before the Sovereign Pontiff, whoſe Authority " and Wiſdom may determine what is moſt expedient for the general " State of the Church, that by this means all the Faithful may " participate of this ſacred Treaſure, after a pious and holy Manner, " without Scandal or Corruption.

5. Had they, who were employed in negotiating the Affair of Indulgences under the Pontificate of *Leo* the Tenth, regulated themſelves according to theſe Meaſures, or had they looked upon them, as only importing a Relaxation of the Penance impoſed by the Prieſt, or by the Eccleſiaſtical Laws, the Controverſy concerning them might have been managed with more Temper, and determined with far leſs Difficulty. But it appears from *Luther's* Letter to the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, that the State of Indulgences at that Time was not to be examined by theſe Rules. He remonſtrates, That they, who carried on the Traffick of Indulgences, pretended to act, as if they kept a publick Office to Inſure the Salvation of thoſe, who ſhould purchaſe them: nay, that ſuch who purchaſed in Favour of the Dead, immediately, upon Payment, redeemed their Souls out of Purgatory: That there was no Sin ſo great or enormous, not that, upon an impoſſible Suppoſition, of violating the Holy Virgin, which might not, by the Vertue of theſe Indulgences, be pardoned. To which he farther adds, what appears no leſs ſhocking, that Contrition was not neceſſary to thoſe who redeemed. *Luther* finds no Difficulty in confuting ſuch impious Maxims, and concludes, That Indulgences confer nothing towards inward Sanctity, but are only a Relaxation of external and canonical Puniſhment.

6. However *Luther* by theſe Repreſentations (which in general, the Members of the Church of *Rome* themſelves being Judges, muſt be allow'd reaſonable) drew upon himſelf the Indignation of the Monks at that Time; who by Reaſon of their many Exemptions, and ſtrict Dependence on the Pope, thought themſelves moſt concerned to maintain his Authority, and were indeed his moſt faithful and obedient Subjects, and the principal Sinews of his Power. So that for the ſame Reaſons upon which *Henry* VIII,

diſclaimed the Papal Authority in his Dominions, it has been argued, he might demoliſh the Monaſteries and religious Houſes, wherein ſo great a Number of Perſons, who were profeſſedly under the Direction of a foreign Power, reſided, and that not only in Regard to Spirituals, but on many Accounts, indirectly at leaſt, or by neceſſary Conſtruction, in relation to Things Temporal. Whether that Prince might, without the Imputation of Sacrilege, alienate Revenues ſolemnly appropriated to pious and religious Uſes, ſo as wholly to transfer them into ſuch Hands, to which it was never intended they ſhould devolve; whether the Abuſes complained of, in conſequence of ſuch Appropriations, ought not to have been remedied, without totally deſtroying all the good Ends and Reaſons of them, may be conſidered in a proper Place. In the mean time, it cannot be denied, that the Inſtitution of Monks, who ſhould depend upon the Pope as their Superior, and to whom their laſt Appeal might lie, was a very proper Contrivance for ſupporting the Authority, and ſerving the Intereſts of the Triple Crown. And, for the ſame Reaſon, it has been a political Maxim of the Court of *Rome*, to exempt Chapters as much as poſſible from the Juriſdiction of their reſpective Biſhops, the Perſons who compoſe them being frequently leſs timorous, or ſubject to the Influences of the Civil Magiſtrate, than the Biſhops, who owe their Dignity to his Favour.

7. But to return to the Monks, who being diſperſed throughout the ſeveral Dominions, which acknowledge the Pope's Authority, are more capable thereby of ſerving him, both by executing his Orders, and giving him Intelligence of every Motion and Event, which it may concern him to know. And to this End, ſeveral of them are furniſhed, with large and great Powers, in Places very remote from their Sovereign; like thoſe *Roman*-Generals abroad, who were commiſſioned to act at Diſcretion, where the Returns of Diſpatches could not be made with convenient Speed: So that the religious Orders, diffuſed through the Weſtern Patriarchate, may be conſidered in their particular Provinces, as ſo many Detachments of the Pope's Army; but who have this peculiar Advantage, that profeſſing ſtrict Piety, and Contempt of the World, it will not be ſo eaſily preſumed, they would ſerve under his Holineſs, could his Government be ſuppoſed Unjuſt or Tyrannical.

8. *Martin Luther*, who had been initiated into this Fraternity, and conformed ſeveral Years to the Rules of it, yet did not think himſelf bound in Conſcience, or under an indiſſoluble En-

gagement, to obſerve them: Tho', during the Time of his leading a monaſtick Life, his Behaviour was regular and inoffenſive. The Breach indeed of his Vow, and his vigorous Oppoſition to the Doctrines of the *Romiſh* Church, occaſioned many Falſehoods and groundleſs Calumnies to be publiſhed againſt him. But Father [r] *Maimburg*, who will not be ſuſpected of Partiality to him, nor of Ignorance, of what might be objected upon any good Grounds againſt him, ingenuouſly owns, That as to his Morals, there was nothing much to be blamed. This Writer takes notice of the Story, that had been ſpread abroad, of his being begotten by an *Incubus*, but with no other Deſign, than to confute it. He affirms, this Story had no Appearance of Truth, and was not mentioned 'till *Luther* became an Hereſiarch, which he might have been, without any neceſſity of ſuppoſing that the Devil was ſubſtituted in the Place of his reputed Father.

9. *Luther*'s Adverſaries, who addicted themſelves to aſtronomical Obſervations, took Pains to give him a diſadvantageous Horoſcope, that they might defame him according to the Rules of an Art, which had at that time ſome great Names to ſupport the Credit of it; but other learned Men, proved by the ſame Rules, and with equal Evidence and Certainty, that *Luther* ought to have been a very great Man.

10. In a Book, entituled, *Luther*'s *Table-Talk*, and publiſhed by [ſ] one of his Friends, certain Things were ſpecified, upon which, not only his Principles, but his Morals, were attacked. Particularly he was charged with hard Drinking, and with having a catechiſtical Cup, as he called it, that held about two Pints, and which he would take off at a Draught, boaſting that no Body elſe could do it; as *Ulyſſes*, ſaid he, had a Bow, which only himſelf could bend or draw up to the Arrow's Point. He was vindicated by ſeveral, and particularly by *Seckendorf*, from this and other Calumnies; yet, it is certain, the Materials of his *Table-Talk* were ill choſen, and that Collector of them, has diſcovered in ſeveral Inſtances, much Indiſcretion; he having not conſidered ſo much what it became him for the Honour of *Luther* to recite, as how he might teſtify the Zeal which he had for that Reformer, by reciting every thing, that he had occaſionally ſpoken in Converſation. He ought, tho' he idolized *Luther*, to have known, that a great many Things may be ſaid agreeably, by way

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[r] *Hiſtory of* Lutheraniſm.

[ſ] Henry Peter Rebenſtock, *Miniſter of* Eiſcherim *in the Year* 1571.

of free and familiar Communication among Friends, where a certain Negligence of Thought or Expreſſion is more allowable, that yet are not fit to be publiſhed in Writing. Who does not perceive that ſeveral Incidents give a proper Occaſion for ſpeaking Things in private or ſelect Company, which, at other times, being repeated to Strangers, unacquainted with thoſe Incidents, would appear very improper, and in ſome Caſes ſcarce intelligible. But it is the common Error of Collectors in this Kind, to take any ſcattered Piece that comes to Hand, and to preſerve it religiouſly, as ſome ſacred Relict, which it would be impious, on any Account, either to reject or impair.

11. But ſince, ſo much depends upon the firſt Efforts that were made by ***Luther***, towards a Reformation in ***Germany***, and which influenced the ſubſequent Motions towards a Reformation in this Kingdom, during the Miniſtry of Cardinal ***Wolſey***, I ſhall not think it any unſeaſonable Digreſſion to add ſtill ſomething further concerning that Reformer; and to take notice, in particular, of two Articles which have been objected to him, in order to vilify his Character, and by that means to bring a Diſgrace upon the Reformation in general. Theſe two Articles (I ſhall conſider them diſtinctly) relate to the Terms wherein he ſpeaks of the Epiſtle-general of St. *James*; and to his Concurrence, with ſome other *German* Divines, in allowing the Landgrave of ***Heſſe*** to marry two Wives.

As to the former Charge, it was very evident ***Luther*** had, in a Preface to one of his Books, aſſerted, That the Epiſtle of St. *James*, was not equal in Dignity to the Epiſtles of ***Peter*** and ***Paul***, and that, in Compariſon of them, it was a Work of Straw. ***Whitaker***, who vigorouſly defended ***Luther*** ſo long as he could, from the Invectives of ***Campian*** againſt him upon this Head, found himſelf at laſt obliged to [t] acknowledge the Charge. Tho' it is no leſs certain that Jeſuit advanced ſome Things in his Accuſation, which he was not able to ſupport, by any expreſs or authentick Citation from ***Luther***'s Works: He had accuſed ***Luther*** of ſaying, The Epiſtle of St. *James* was a contentious, tumid and dry Piece, and a Work of Straw. ***Campian***, when challeng'd by ***Whitaker***, to produce theſe Words out of any Part of ***Luther***'s Writings, could not find them. Upon which, he was openly cenſured by ***Whitaker***, as a lying Calumniator, having profeſſed, that himſelf had ſeen theſe Words in

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[t] In illa quidem præfatione ſcribit *Lutherus*, *Jacobi* Epiſtolam non poſſe Dignitate certare cum Epiſtolis Sancti *Petri* & *Pauli*, ſed Epiſtolam Stramineam eſſe, ſi cum iis comparetur.

Luther's

Luther's Books. The Truth is, [w] That he might poſſibly have ſeen what concerns the laſt Branch of the Accuſation, tho' he could not recollect particularly in what Place: For in the Progreſs of the Controverſy, it plainly appeared where he had ſaid it. *Bayle*, whom we cannot ſuppoſe to have been byaſſed in favour of *Campian*, freely confeſſeth, it is probable this whole Paſſage was in ſome ancient Edition of *Luther*'s Books; ſince, as he argues, "The other Epithetes were not in reality more derogatory or injurious to the Honour of St. *James*, than this: So that *Whitaker*, like an artful Writer, took Advantage againſt his Adverſary, becauſe the Editions that were wanting, could not be produced. He improved this Advantage into an Occaſion of Triumph, tho' it had not all the Force he attributed to it, and was only a colourable Excuſe: For tho' in ſome Caſes there may be a wide Difference between an abſolute and a comparative Charge; yet this Diſtinction is of no ſervice in the preſent Caſe, admitting the divine Authority of St. *James* his Epiſtle, ſuch a Compariſon ought not to be made. Whoever ſays, therefore, it is a Work of Straw, compared to the Epiſtles of *Peter* or *Paul*, does really ſay it is not canonical, or the Work of an inſpired Writer. It would be impious and irrational to pretend, that thoſe who write by divine Inſpiration, are not of equal Authority; or that the Wtitings of ſome of them, in reſpect to others, are light and inſignificant." What ſome have preſumed, that *Luther* afterwards changed his Opinion as to this Epiſtle, becauſe it is not found in any following Edition of his Books, lays the Groundwork of the beſt Apology for him. Tho', after all, he ſhould openly have retracted an Error, which gave open Scandal and Offence, and not have left the World to juſtify him, by Inferences founded upon a charitable Conjecture, and an Argument merely negative.

12. But his Conſent, upon the other Head, that the Landgrave of *Heſſe* ſhould marry two Wives, can be excuſed upon no Rules of Charity. This Prince, in ſolliciting an Indulgence of ſo extraordinary a Kind, chiefly proceeded upon two Reaſons, tho' both of them might, in good Meaſure, be reduced to One; an unuſual Vigour of Conſtitution, for which the [x] Phyſicians who opened him after his Death, are ſaid to have diſcovered a natural Cauſe; and the Obligation, he was frequently under of being abſent from his Lady, to attend the Diets, where it was not commodious for her to reſide; and where eating and drinking after the

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[w] Bayle. *In the Article of* Luther.

[x] Thuan. lib. 41. Ann. 1567.

High-German Faſhion, provoked him, as he acknowledged, to conflict with Difficulties, upon the Subject of Chaſtity, which he was not able to overcome.

13. If Reaſons of this Kind might be admitted to authoriſe Poligamy; or if every great Inconvenience in the conjugal State ſhould be improved as his was into a Caſe of Neceſſity, what a wide Door would be opened to all manner of Licentiouſneſs? and when or where would Men know to ſtop the Torrent of it? I grant, there is a wide Difference in Caſes of this Nature, between a Prince and a private Perſon, as to the Methods which may be taken to open the Eyes, or obtain the Deciſion of Caſuiſts. The Succeſs of this Prince, in accompliſhing his Deſires, may ſerve to diſcover to us, how conveniently the Engines of this World may be employed over Synods, towards introducing ſuch Principles of Morality or Religion, as are moſt agreeable to the Sentiments or Inclination of the Sovereign. The Landgrave of *Heſſe* was ſenſible, that the Deſign he was forming, would expoſe him to Cenſure, and afford Matter of much Speculation to the Chriſtian World: But he thought the Authority of *Luther*, who was in ſo great Reputation at that time, would go a great Way towards his Juſtification; eſpecially if it could be ſupported by the Suffrages of other eminent Divines. He cauſed therefore ſeveral of them to be aſſembled at *Wittemberg*, who reſolved, it was convenient, he ſhould have a Permiſſion, which accordingly was granted and drawn-up in Form, to marry a ſecond Wife; provided, all poſſible Precautions ſhould be uſed to keep the Matter ſecret. For notwithſtanding they plainly foreſaw the Scandal, and ill Conſequences of the Diciſion which they were going to make, yet being overawed by the Authority of the Landgrave, or influenced by ſome other Conſiderations, they gave in to the Opinion of *Luther* for the Legality of a [y] ſecond Marriage. Whether the Landgrave preſided in this Convocation as ſupreme Head of the Church within his own Dominions, I have not been able ſufficiently to inform my ſelf; I would only obſerve from this Caſe, how far humane Influences will ſometimes carry Men againſt all Senſe of Probity and Honour, and the Maxims of Morality univerſally eſtabliſhed:

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[y] *The Acts of this ſecond Marriage were taken from the Archives of* Ziegenham, *common to the Houſe of* Heſſe Caſſel, *and that of* Heſſe D'armſtadt. *Prince* Erneſt *of* Heſſe Rhinsfields *having embraced the* Romiſh *Faith, was overjoyed at their being publiſhed, becauſe he thought this would fix a Blemiſh on the Church he had quitted. And it is manifeſt they were a great Diſgrace to* Luther, Melancthon, *and* Bucer. *There is therefore no Appearance that the Landgraves of* Heſſe Caſſel, *and* Heſſe D'armſtadt, *the Former* Calviniſts, *the Latter* Lutherans, *would have been ſilent, if there had been any Suſpicion, that theſe Acts were forged. Thoſe great Princes could not be ſufficiently blamed, if having any Suſpicion of this, they had done nothing to oppoſe the Deſign of* Erneſt *a Popiſh Proſelyte.* Bayle Art. of Luther.

And that, it is not abſolutely impoſſible for a corrupt Prince, to find Inſtruments of Corruption even among Eccleſiaſticks, acting in a ſynodical Capacity; eſpecially where their Proceedings are under his Direction, or it may be very dangerous for Men to incur his Diſpleaſure, by regulating their Judgment according to the natural Evidence of Things, or the Perſuaſion of their own Minds, againſt any civil Reſtraints. In the firſt Ages of Chriſtianity, before ſecular Princes took the Church under their Protection, no Inſtance is to be found of any publick Judgement, like this. But when the Fathers of the Church began to contract greater Dependencies on the State, and Princes obſerved, with what Force and Effect the Engines of this World might be applied, it cannot be ſaid, that even in their ſynodical or other publick Aſſemblys, they always conducted themſelves in a Manner agreeable to the Purity or Simplicity of their Rule, or to the Powers wherewith they were originally inveſted by *Chriſt*, for the Government and Edification of his Church.

14. Mr. *Jurieu* has endeavoured to vindicate *Luther*, with reſpect to this Imputation, by Arguments upon no Account reconcileable to Truth, or to what he has advanced himſelf, in his [z] Hiſtory concerning the Doctrines and Worſhip of the Church upon the Subject of Polygamy. But Men of a vehement Temper, in the Heat of an Argument, are ſometimes apt to miliate againſt themſelves. It had been more adviſeable for this warm Writer, ingenuouſly to own *Luther*'s Fault, than to defend him by weak and fallacious Reaſons, had they been really more conſiſtent with his own Sentiments: If Neceſſity, as he pretends, with theſe Divines, who formed the Decree, will excuſe or authoriſe Polygamy, Neceſſity in every Caſe, will give an equal Priviledge, and in reſpect to both Sexes. It appears indeed, from ſome Paſſages in the Works of *Luther*, that his impetuous Temper occaſioned certain Expreſſions, relating to the Subject of Continence, that cannot be juſtified, which ſome have attributed to his Zeal againſt monaſtick Vows, and for a diſcretionary Liberty in the Clergy to marry: A Zeal ſo violent, that it ſometimes cauſes him to ſpeak of *Inevitable Neceſſities*, after a Manner harſh and offenſive to chaſte Ears, and which at the ſame time does not eaſily agree with what

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[z] Vol. 1. Ch. 22. *It is unqueſtionable, that Polygamy is contrary to the Law of* God, *given at the Beginning of the World when he inſtituted Marriage.*

—— *Our Lord* Jeſus Chriſt *himſelf furniſheth us with an Argument to prove, that* Polygamy *is contrary to the Original Contract of Marriage, when he condemns Divorce by the very Words of the Inſtitution of Marriage.* Whoſoever ſhall put away his Wife and marry another, committeth Adultery againſt her. *This could not be, unleſs Polygamy was forbidden; for then, as he argues, ſuch a Perſon by marrying again, would not commit Adultery, but only live in the State of Polygamy.*

himſelf has elſewhere profeſſed, that during the Time of his Celibacy to the Forty-fifth Year of his Age, he had lived without Reproach.

15. The perſonal Errours or Failings of *Luther*, cannot however be urged in Prejudice of the Reformation, which took its Riſe from his Doctrine: The Papiſts eſpecially, can make no Advantage of an Argument in this Kind. The Popes, upon their own Principles, the Vicars of *Jeſus Chriſt*, were many of them very wicked Men, and ſometimes in a long Train of Succeſſion: Yet it will not be denied, That their greateſt and moſt enormous Crimes were conſiſtent with the Authority and other Rights aſcribed to them, proper to their Paſtoral Function. Mutual Recriminations in Controverſies of Religion, founded in private Irregularities or Defects, are of little Uſe to diſcover, where the Truth really lies, but rather tend to obſcure it, by provoking the Paſſions of Men, and rend'ring them leſs capable of making a good and equitable Judgement. Waving this Conſideration, it were perhaps better both for the Credit of the Reformed and the *Romiſh* Church, and of Religion in general, that in controverting the Points wherein they differ, Men ſhould decline all Reflections foreign to the main Argument, and keep themſelves wholly to ſuch Queſtions, as may tend to elucidate or enforce it.

16. If *Luther* was really chargeable with any heterodox Opinions or Miſconduct, the Reaſons of his Proceeding, in Oppoſition to the Errors or Corruptions concerning which he had juſt Cauſe of Complaint, will ſtill ſubſiſt in their full Force. And his greateſt Enemies muſt allow, he had ſome eminent Qualities. For a ſingle Monk to introduce ſo ſudden and ſenſible a Change in Religion, againſt the Doctrines commonly received, and eſtabliſhed by the Laws; againſt the Power of the Pope, and all the Meaſures which the Court of *Rome*, could form, or employ to ſuppreſs him; a Court, diſtinguiſhed for the moſt refined Politicks, and then in the Height of all its Glory; that he ſhould not be intimidated by any Threats, or allured by any Overtures of Favour to retract his Doctrine; and that he ſhould at length triumph in the Progreſs of it, over all his Adverſaries, among whom there appeared ſeveral Perſons of Learning, and who bore a Character of Diſtinction in other reſpects. All theſe Conſiderations ſhew, that *Luther* was not only a Man of Zeal and Courage, which will not be conteſted; but that his Abilities as a *Divine*, and a Scholar, were by no means to be contemned.

17. But what principally facilitated the Reformation by his Means, was a Concurrence of Circumſtances under the Pontificate of *Leo*, which had not perhaps happened at any time ſo favourable to ſuch a Deſign. *Wickliff*, who had ſome time before diſſeminated Principles here in *England*, which tended that Way, and drew a conſiderable Number of Followers after him, was Maſter of as much Learning and theological Knowledge, as *Luther*, and appears to have been animated with as hearty a Zeal for his Opinions, tho' he did not expreſs it with the ſame Vehemence and Impetuoſity of Temper. But tho' he recommended himſelf to the Patronage of certain great Men, by propagating crude Notions againſt the Rights of the Church, and the Powers of the Clergy; a Method, wherein Eccleſiaſticks often find their Advantage, who can ſo far debaſe their Character, as to make their Court by it; yet, on Account of the juſt Prejudices which good Men entertained againſt him on this Account, his other Principles, tho' many of them had a better Tendency, were more coldly received, and did not ſpread themſelves very wide, except among vulgar and ignorant People, who were not the moſt capable of examining the true Grounds of them. Perhaps the Diſeaſe, which *Luther* attempted to cure, was not then come to its Maturity, or the proper Remedies towards the Cure of it were wanting. *Luther* interpoſed at the critical Time, when the Diſtemper was come to its Heighth, and began to turn, and diſcharge its Malignity, and ſo had the good Fortune of thoſe Phyſicians, who carry away the Reputation of the Cure, by preſcribing the laſt Medicines, at the Inſtant they will operate moſt powerfully.

18. Both theſe Reformers had the Advantage of inſinuating themſelves into the Favour of the People, by preaching Doctrines, which ſet them looſe from Diſcipline, and rendered the Payment of Tythes more precarious. But yet they are by no means chargeable with all the Conſequences, which the *Anabaptiſts* and other *Enthuſiaſts* in *Germany*, and the *Lollards* here in *England*, drew from thoſe Doctrines: *Bull* in particular, who made uſe of *Wickliffe's* Principles to encourage the Rebellion of *Jack Straw* and *Wat Tyler*, applied them by undue Inferences, to ſerve a moſt wicked and villanous Deſign, wherein there is not the leaſt Proof of *Wickliffe's* Concurrence, or to which it does not appear that he gave any tacit Approbation.

CHAP. VIII.

1. *The Occaſion of a Tumult in* London. 2. *Dr.* Standiſh *prudently declines an Application made to him.* 3. *A dangerous and very indiſcreet Compliance of Dr.* Beal. 4. *A Provocation in particular at which the Citizens were much irritated.* 5. *The Cardinal's Directions to the Mayor, concerning the Precautions to be uſed.* 6. *An Alderman oppoſed in the Exerciſe of his Authority.* 7. *The Criminals in general pardoned.* 8. *Inſtances of the Cardinal's ſtrict Adminiſtration of Juſtice.* 9. *Yet involved on that Account in much Trouble.* 10. *Deputes others for ſome time to hear Cauſes.* 11. *Diffident in intricate Caſes of his own Judgement.* 12. *A Bull from the Pope to the Cardinal for collecting a Tenth.* 13. *The exorbitant Powers which the Pope in this Brief aſſumes to himſelf.* 14. *And which had no Foundation in Reaſon or Scripture.* 15. *The Cardinal's great Attachment to the Court of* Rome, *particularly in relation to* Tournay. 16. *The Effect of* Samſon's *Advice to him.* 17. *Who Petitions for ſome Preferment.* 18. *The Affairs of* Tournay *ſtill in Diſorder.* 19. *The* French *King inclined to Peace.*

1517. 1. THERE was a Commotion at this [a] Time in *England*, yet not upon a religious, but a civil Account: Which becauſe it not only affected the Adminiſtration, but the Cardinal immediately in Perſon, it may not be improper to give ſome Account of it. The Artificers of *London* apprehending themſelves aggrieved by the great Confluence of Strangers, who were permitted to exerciſe their manual Occupations in the City, were very much irritated; not only as ſuch an Indulgence tended to impoveriſh their own Families, but becauſe theſe Strangers preſuming upon the Favour and Protection of the Court, behaved themſelves with great Inſolence towards the *Engliſh*, and even in Contempt of the City-Magiſtrates. Among other particular Inſults which the Natives received, one from a certain *Lombard*, did not a little contribute to inflame them. This Foreigner found Means of prevailing upon the Wife of an *Engliſhman* to come to his Chamber, and to bring with her Part of her Husband's Plate, both which he refuſed to reſtore upon the Husband's Demand. But the greateſt Hardſhip upon the injured Party was, That the *Lombard* arreſted him, and obtained Conſideration from him for his

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[a] Hollingſhead. Stow. Godwin.

Wife's Board, whilſt he kept and detained her againſt the Husband's Conſent.

2. Complaint was made of this and other Abuſes committed, by the Foreigners, to one [b] Dr. *Standiſh*, who was appointed to preach on a publick Occaſion, and deſired to repreſent, That ſuch Inſolencies, were againſt all Law and Reaſon, and the Good of the Common Weal; That, Complaint of them had been preferred to the Council, but could not be heard; and in ſhort, That while Strangers were obſerved to live in great Splendour and Luxury, the *Engliſh* were reduced to a poor indigent and diſtreſſed Condition.

3. *Standiſh* prudently declined to intermeddle in ſo dangerous a Matter: But Application being made to the ſame Effect, by one *Lincoln*, a Broker, to Dr. *Beal*, the Doctor was prevailed upon to receive a Bill of Complaint that *Lincoln* had prepared, and to read it openly from the Pulpit wherein he preached.

4. *Bard*, which was the Name of the *Lombard*, being ſometime after on a *Sunday* in the King's Gallery at *Richmond*, with other Foreigners, they made a Jeſt of his keeping another Man's Wife, and were ſo inſolent as to ſay, if they had the Mayor's Wife of *London*, they would make no Scruple of treating her in the ſame manner. Several *Engliſhmen* being provoked at their impious and indecent Raillery, *Bolt*, a Mercer, ſaid, "Though the "*Lombards* then rejoiced and laughed, yet the *Engliſh* would one "Day have a Fling at them, come when it would." What paſſed upon this Occaſion being publickly reported, the People were diſpoſed more than ever to revenge themſelves upon the Foreigners.

5. The Mayor conſidering the Diſpoſition, which the Citizens were in, repairs to the Cardinal for Inſtructions, whereby he might better regulate his Conduct; who adviſed him to uſe all proper Methods towards preventing any Tumult upon the firſt or leaſt Appearances of it. And a Rumour having been ſpread abroad, that the Deſign againſt the Strangers was to be put in execution, as upon *May-day* following, the Citizens were ordered to ſhut up their Doors on the Evening before, and to keep their Servants within 'till the next Morning.

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[b] *Afterward Biſhop of St.* Aſaph, *a grave and learned Man.* Godw. Ann. *p.* 14.

6. One of the Aldermen, finding in his Quarter, two Perſons fighting at Bucklers, with a good Number of People about them, commanded they ſhould deſiſt, and apprehending one of them, in order to carry him off to the *Compter*, was violently oppoſed; upon which, the Delinquents, crying out *'Prentices and Clubs*, it proved the Signal to that great Diſorder, which ſoon followed, for before Eleven that Night, the Number of the Rioters was increaſed in *Cheapſide* to ſix or ſeven Hundred. And tho' the Mayor and Sheriffs made Proclamation in the King's Name to cauſe them to diſperſe, yet they could not be ſuppreſſed, 'till certain Lords, and Gentlemen came to *London* with what Forces they could raiſe, upon ſo ſuddain an Exigence, and compelled them to a Submiſſion. Many of the Offenders were taken and convicted, and eleven Pair of Gallows were erected in different Places, to give them more terrifying Apprehenſions of their Crime. Yet *Lincoln*, when executed, ſhewed no ſenſible Regret for his own. He endeavoured to juſtify himſelf, upon a Pretence, that he meant well; and ſaid, if others conſidered the Miſchief occaſioned to this Realm by Foreigners, they would uſe Means to remedy it, and that he had many times complained upon this Head, but to no other Effect, than that he incurred the Cenſure of a Buſy Fellow.

7. Upon Application to the King for [c] Mercy, the Matter in concluſion was referred by him to the Cardinal, who, during the Inſurrection, had thought it adviſeable to fortify himſelf in his own Houſe; when the Mayor and Alderman came to appear in Form of Supplicants before him, he gave them a gentle Rebuke for their Negligence, and directing himſelf to the Priſoners, told them, they had juſtly deſerved Death. Yet theſe Expreſſions of Severity, it appeared, did not proceed from any Motive or Deſire of Revenge, but from a neceſſary Regard to Reaſons of State, which always require, that Acts of Lenity ſhould be tempered in ſuch a Manner as to preſerve a due Senſe of Authority. At the Inſtance of the Cardinal, the King was pleaſed to pardon the Criminals, who expreſſed a Senſe of the Mercy ſhewed to them by many joyful loud Acclamations.

8. The Cardinal had lately taken another very popular Method towards recommending his Adminiſtration to the King's good

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[c] *By no leſs than three Queens at that Time in the* Engliſh *Court, according to* Godwyn. *I ſhall tranſcribe his Words, as tending to ſhew, the almoſt incredible Power which the Cardinal was poſſeſſed of at that Time, and eſpecially which he had over the King.* Tres Reginæ, *Angliæ* nimirum, deinde etiam *Franciæ*, & *Scotiæ* (nam & illæ Regis ſorores tunc temporis aderant.) Aſſiduis precibus Regem fatigabant, in Genua provolutæ, nec deſtiterunt, donec, annuente *Wolſeo*, a cujus ſolius Arbitrio is pendebat, venia miſeris conceſſa eſt. *God. ad Ann.* 1517. *p.* 15.

Subjects in general, by calling [d] all Perſons to a ſtrict Account, who had been entruſted with the publick Money. Upon ſuch as had embezzeled or miſapplied any Part of it, proper Mulcts were inflicted, and thoſe whom he found in Arrears were obliged to make full Payment. Perjury, in particular, was puniſhed with an exemplary Severity, and ſuch Marks of publick Infamy, that it was obſerved to be leſs practiſed than formerly. Men of the greateſt Quality and Fortune, charged with violent notorious Diſorders in the Country, or who had, after an unjuſt and arbitrary Manner, oppreſſed Perſons of inferior Condition, and would not ſuffer them to live quietly, were not exempted from the Rules which he preſcribed to himſelf, of adminiſtring Juſtice with a ſtrict Hand, without Reſpect of Perſons, and which might moſt effectually contribute to promote, in every reſpect, the [e] Good of the Commonwealth.

9. But the Maxims whereby he regulated himſelf in this Capacity, however juſt or reaſonable, accidentally involved him in much Trouble. The poorer Sort of People obſerving, that he puniſhed all Delinquents indifferently, preferred Complaints of Grievances without Number, and by that Means many honeſt and innocent Men were expoſed to Vexations, and ſometimes to very unjuſt Proſecutions.

10. Being ſoon apprehenſive of theſe Inconveniences, and wearied with a Multitude of Caſes and Petitions from all Quarters, he delegated others, in virtue of the King's Commiſſion, to hear Cauſes and receive Complaints by Bill. But theſe Commiſſioners being dilatory in their Proceedings, and the People not finding that ſpeedy Relief in this Method, which they expected, they were glad at laſt to let Things run in the old Channel, and to have Recourſe, in Caſes where they apprehended themſelves aggrieved, to the Common Law.

11. In examinining Caſes which came before the Cardinal, as Chancellor, he would take Aſſociates with him learned in the Laws

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[d] Omnes, nulla Dignitatis Cujuſquam habita Ratione, aut affecit pœna aliqua publica, aut magno ſe redimere coegit: iſta faciendo & ærarium antea vacuum replevit, & apud plebem magnam ſibi Juſtitiæ Laudem comporavit. *Godw. Ann. p.* 14.

[e] *What Biſhop* Godwyn *obſerves, in Relation to this Part of the Cardinal's Conduct, is ſo very honorary to him, and there is ſo little Reaſon to ſuſpect, that an Author, who on other Occaſions has animadverted upon him with a becoming Severity, ſhould be partial in his Teſtimony, that I here think my ſelf obliged to recite it in his own Words.* Multa ordinavit in Rebus civilibus popularibus grata ac nobis in hunc uſq; Diem uſurpata, Quibus virum ſe oſtendit ſapientiſſimum necnon Reipublicæ Amantem. Certe, qui illis temporibus vixerunt, aſſerere non dubitarunt, cum hoc Regno nunquam felicius actum, quam cum florente *Wolſeo*; cujus conſiliis pacem opulentam & ſecuram, qua fruebantur, & juſtitiam *equo Jure* civibus omnibus adminiſtratam, tribuebant. *ib.*

and aſk their Opinion; but in ſuch Matters as came before him, and were not very intricate, but might be determined in a rational Way of Arguing, from the common Principles of Equity, he would often give Sentence according to the Light of his own Underſtanding. The great Power which he had in all judicial Proceedings, gave much Diſguſt to the Peers. This however is no Argument that he abuſed his Power. Reaſons of Envy, or an Apprehenſion of being neglected, might have created him many Enemies, tho' he had not been really guilty of any Abuſe in diſcharging his Truſt. But there is a general Concurrence in the Writers of his Hiſtory, whether Friends or Enemies, that he acquitted himſelf in his judicial Capacity, as a Man of Vertue and Honour ought to have done.

12. Concerning the Affairs of the Church here in *England*, I find a [f] Bull containing very ample Powers, and high Strains of Complements ſent to the Cardinal from his Holineſs: The Import of it is, to empower the Cardinal to collect a Tenth from all the Clergy in the King's Dominions for the Defence of Holy Church, and to give him Authority where any of them ſhould refuſe Payment, to compel them to make it, upon Pain of Deprivation, or any eccleſiaſtical Cenſure or Puniſhment that he might think fit to inflict: He was even commiſſioned, in Caſe the Clergy were found refractory or incompliant with his Orders, to invoke the ſecular Arm to his Aſſiſtance, with a Power of Abſolving thoſe, who had offended, upon their Submiſſion; and of deputing others to act according to the Tenour of his own Inſtructions; who might therefore not only inflict pecuniary Mulcts, but make a Seizure of any Goods or Emoluments belonging to them, except Books, Veſtments, or other Utenſils appropriated to ſacred Uſes; and theſe Powers might be executed in their moſt ample Extent, notwithſtanding any Uſages or former Cuſtoms, any Indulgences or ſpecial Exemptions from the apoſtolick See to the Contrary.

13. The Sovereign Pontiff in this Brief, expreſſeth himſelf, as having the ſupreme and abſolute Dominion, not only over the Spiritual State, but the Temporal Poſſeſſions of the Church. It is true, in order to execute the Powers in the later Reſpect, he appears to ſollicit the Aid of the Civil Magiſtrate; but that might be done, not by way of acknowledging to him any ſuperior or overruling Authority in temporal Affairs, but only in the Nature of a

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[f] Collect. N° 7. Book II.

Petition of Right, which the Prince was obliged to grant upon his Demand, and by Virtue of it.

14. This was carrying the Prerogative and Claims of the Triple Crown to the utmoſt Stretch, and beyond what there were any Grounds in Reaſon or Scripture to juſtify, and which no authentick Precedent either in the ſacred or eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, could be produced to ſupport. And it is not improbable, that the Publication of ſo very unwarrantable and exorbitant a Grant, might be one of the Cauſes, which ſoon after contributed to the utter Abolition of the Pope's Authority here in *England*; tho' indeed ſome of thoſe Nations which ſtill acknowledge and ſubmit to it, yet will by no means allow the Exerciſe or Extent of it, according to the Tenour of this Bull, to the Inſtructions whereof I do not yet find the Cardinal, who was always inviolably attached to the Papal Intereſt, made any Scruple of conforming himſelf.

15. Beſides that his Principles, and private Views, perhaps, of which ſome Account will be given, might incline him to ſupport the Dignity and Power of the Pontificate, he had great perſonal Engagements at this Time to the Court of *Rome*. For notwithſtanding what had been done in Favour of his Competitor, the Biſhop-Elect of *Tournay*, to whom the Profits and Adminiſtration of that Biſhoprick had been granted by his Holineſs, the Cardinal is inveſted by another [g] Bull with the Government of it both in Spiritual and Temporal Affairs; this Brief was obtained at the Inſtance of *Silveſter* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, by Direction from the King, and in his Name. The Biſhop repreſented, That it was neceſſary to the Peace and Safety of the City, that the Adminiſtration of the Biſhoprick ſhould be transferred into other Hands; That the *French* Biſhop conſcious of his Diſaffection to the King, had not made the uſual Homage for his Temporalities; That he was juſtly ſuſpected to the King, and was not to be truſted, and ought therefore to be ſuperſeded by ſome Perſon in whom the King might ſafely confide. The Pope, and the Cardinals, upon this Repreſentation, did not think convenient that he ſhould exerciſe his Epiſcopal Authority in a Place, to the Lord and temporal Power whereof he was an Enemy, and that neither was it convenient he ſhould depute another, where he could not perſonally viſit, or ſuperintend the People committed to his Charge. And therefore to prevent Sedition and Scandal, and any Diminution, which might accrue to the Church of her Rights, with other Conſiderations

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[g] Rym. T. 13. 584. Ex Orig. *A. D.* 1517.

hereunto moving, his Holineſs, by the Plenitude of his Power, declares the People of *Tournay*, and within the Epiſcopal Diſtricts of it, abſolved from all Ties of Obedience to *Lewis*, the *French* Biſhop, and prohibits him, upon Pain of Contumacy, to make any Claim to it, inveſting the Cardinal with all the Powers of it, Spiritual and Temporal, 'till the Matter could be finally determined.

16. The Advice which had from Time to Time been communicated to the Cardinal by Dr. *Samſon*, to whom the principal Direction of his Affairs was committed in thoſe Parts, might not a little contribute to the Ardor of his Applications for this Bull. For *Samſon*, in a [b] Letter directed to him ſometime before, particularly adviſeth, that if his Grace might think fit to proceed further in aſſerting his Title to that Biſhoprick, it would be requiſite, that he ſhould with all convenient Speed and Diligence procure an Inhibition from *Rome*, againſt the Pretenſions of his Competitor. In the mean time, ſo ſoon as his Grace's Intention and Pleaſure in that Behalf ſhall be ſignified to him, he will endeavour, in virtue of his Grace's Letters to them, to obtain a Prohibition from the Lady *Margaret*, and the Chief of the Council in thoſe Parts, that the ſaid Elect, while this Affair is depending, ſhall not proceed to take any further Poſſeſſion or Advantage againſt him.

The Suit between the Cardinal and the Biſhop-Elect had been committed by Way of Reference to two Cardinals; notwithſtanding while it was depending, the Elect had cauſed Writings to be affixed openly in ſeveral Places in vindication of his Title, Copies of which *Samſon* ordered to be taken down, and ſubſtituted in the Place of them, Copies of the Inhibition decreed by the ſaid Cardinals, with a Schedule annexed, to this Effect, That the pretended Biſhop, with his Agents, had incurred the Sentence of Excommunication; becauſe it appeared evidently, that in Contempt of the Cardinals to whom this Affair was referred by the Pope, and while it was lying before them undetermined, they had preſumed to continue their old Proceſs. In Concluſion, he repreſents to the Cardinal, that there was ſomething more to be done in this Affair. And addeth, " Neverthleſs, Sir, ſaving your Grace's Pleaſure, it " were very neceſſary, both for Danger of the Sentence, which is " always to be dreaded, and Slander of the World, that by the " ſaid moſt reverend Cardinals, your Grace ſhould have a Com- " miſſion to ſome Men in theſe Parts to decree, that the Execution

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[b] Strype, Mem. Eccleſ. *H.* 8.

" and Proceſs now made by the *French* are of no Strength, and
" your Grace's Officers to be in no Danger of the ſaid Proceſs or
" Sentence, and if there be Occaſion, that they ſhould be abſol-
" ved from all Inhibition on the other Side. This Thing, Sir,
" is ſo neceſſary, that no Man ſhall dare to ſerve your Grace here
" in any Office, if they be not declared by this Means free from
" all Danger of Excommunication."

17. *Samſon*'s Zeal for the Cardinal's Intereſts, and his Aſſiduity in promoting them, did not wholly divert him from a Regard to his own. He therefore writes a Letter of Requeſt to the Cardinal for ſome better Preferment, repreſenting the Meanneſs of his Condition, the Neglect wherewith Perſons in narrow and indigent Circumſtances muſt expect to be treated, and the Conveniency of ſome better Settlement, in order to render him capable of ſerving his Grace more to his Advantage and Honour. There was nothing extraordinary, or directly criminal in his employing theſe Topicks towards recommending himſelf to the Cardinal's Favour. Great Allowances are to be made for Addreſſes of this Kind, where Men are under violent and preſſing Neceſſities, which obſtruct their beſt and greateſt Deſigns. But certainly it would be much more eligible, if the Occaſions of them could be removed. The Cardinal ought not to have put a Perſon of *Samſon*'s Capacity, who had ſerved him ſo well and faithfully, and who had a Right to be conſidered, upon begging after a Manner, which, however it may be excuſed, certainly does not tend to give us any extraordinary Idea of the Greatneſs of his Mind. It is the higheſt Act of Cruelty to expoſe Dependents, eſpecially Men of Parts and ingenuous Diſpoſitions, to a Neceſſity of ſuch Applications, as cannot be made without Violence to themſelves, and without depretiating them in the Eye of the World. Of all the Evils of Poverty, or as *Samſon*, who was afterwards a Biſhop, repreſents his Caſe, of *Extreme Poverty*, perhaps there is none ſo great, or inſupportable, as when Men are forced to complain of it. I chuſe rather to refer the Reader to this Letter, which he will find in [i] Mr. *Strype*'s Collections, than to recite it.

18. The civil Affairs of *Tournay* at this time, gave alſo both the King and Cardinal much Occaſion of Uneaſineſs: The *French* had formed ſeveral Projects, in order to recover it by Force or Surpriſe, and were continually in Motion that Way. Beſides, *Francis* was ſtill more irritated againſt our King, on account of his aſſiſting

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[i] Mem. Eccl. *H.* 8. *p.* 18.

Maximilian in *Italy*, where the Diſſentions being now compoſed, that Prince finding himſelf more at leiſure, to proſecute his Deſigns elſewhere, had Thoughts of attempting ſomething by Way of Revenge upon *England*. And to that End, upon his Return from *Italy* to *Lyons*, he had ſent for *Richard de la Pole*, repreſenting to him, That he knew the King of *England* to be his Enemy, having an Intention to deprive him of his Eſtate in *Italy*, and with that View had remitted large Sums of Money to the Emperor. He was determined therefore to make Repriſals upon him in his own Way; “and becauſe, *ſays the King to him*, I know your Title to be good to the Crown of *England*, I ſhall ſhortly endeavour, without fail, to make ſuch Peace with the Emperor, and to eſtabliſh my Affairs on ſuch a Foot, that I may be able to aſſiſt you both with Men and Money, towards obtaining your Right.

19. But tho' ſome Meaſures were entred upon toward the Execution of this and other Deſigns againſt *England*, they were not long or reſolutely proſecuted, and *Francis* began to entertain more pacifick Sentiments in relation to King *Henry*, the Reaſon whereof is aſſigned by *Polydore*: For he conſidered, ſaith that Writer, there was no great Proſpect of Succeſs from a War with *England*; and that withal, the King had ſo much exhauſted his Treaſure, by aſſiſting the Emperor, that the Expence he had been at in ſerving him, might be eſtimated as equivalent to a Revenge. Therefore diſſembling his Reſentments, he ſecretly at firſt endeavours to negotiate with the Cardinal concerning a Reconciliation, who yet did not fail to impart what paſs'd between them, as Matters ripened, to the King, by which the Foundation was laid of the Peace, which ſhortly after followed, and of the Treaty, whereby *Tournay* was to be evacuated and reſtored to the *French*.

CHAP. IX.

1. *Some Account of the Conduct of the* French *King and the* Pope, *at this Time.* 2. *An Inſtance of* Guicciardine's *Ingenuity.* 3. *One ſpecial Reaſon, which might now incline the* French *King to a Peace with* England. 4. *An Obſervation upon it.* 5. *More concerning the Oppoſition of the* French *King to the Deſigns of the Emperor.* 6. *The Method which he principally relied on towards obviating thoſe Deſigns.* 7. *A Citation from* Polydore Virgil. 8. *Suppoſed injurious to the Cardinal.* 9. *A Reflection of* Montaign.

1. THERE were other Reaſons, beſides thoſe mentioned above by *Polydore*, which inclined *Francis the Firſt* to enter into pacifick Meaſures at this Time with *England*; and, by Conſequence, to turn his Thoughts upon ſome proper Means of negotiating with the Cardinal. That Prince having lately made a Treaty with the Pope, in Purſuance of it, according to his Promiſe at *Bologna*, his Holineſs confirmed to him the Nominations to Benefices, and the Revenue ariſing from the Collection of Tenths in his own Dominions, but with this Proviſion, that the Money ſo advanced, ſhould be depoſited in the Hand of ſome third Power, in order to be employed againſt the *Turk*. The Tenths, ſaith [k] *Guicciardine*, were granted, under this honeſt and ſpecious Colour: But there was Hope given ſecretly to the *French* King, that, after the whole Sum ſhould be made over into ſuch Hand, the Condition might be changed by another Writ, and in virtue of it, the Money be converted by his Majeſty to his proper Uſe. The Pope promiſed, at the ſame time, by a ſeparate Brief, he would never demand from the *French* King any Aid or Succours, againſt the Duke of *Ferrara*, who was now in a State of Hoſtility with his Holineſs, and whom *Francis* had taken under his Protection. Beſides theſe Conceſſions to the *French* King, his Holineſs had farther made a Promiſe to him of ſurrend'ring into his Hands, *Reggio*, *Modena*, and *Rubiero*: but he delayed the Performance of that Promiſe, upon a Pretence it would be an Action unworthy of him, and the World would interpret it as a Confeſſion of his being reduced to very low and diſtreſſed Circumſtances, ſhould he deliver up ſo many ſtrong Places, and of great Importance to him in other Reſpects, at a Time, when he was openly engaged in War. Theſe Remonſtrances did not ſatisfy the King of *France*, who ſtill inſiſted, that the Pope ought to execute what he had promiſed. 1518.

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[k] Guicciard. *l.* 13.

But his Holineſs giving ſecret Intimations, that if *Francis* ſhould ſtill perſiſt in his Demands, or attempt to lay any Conſtraint upon him, he would ſhew no further Regard to his Intereſts; that King being as yet upon no good Terms with *England*, diſtruſtful of the Emperor, of the King of *Spain*, and the *Swiſs*, was willing to come to an Expedient; and ſo deſiſted from urging his Claims, on Condition the Pope ſhould promiſe within ſeven Months to put thoſe Towns into the Poſſeſſion of the Duke of *Ferrara*; his Holineſs having this Intention, that if the Difficulties wherein he was involved, and the Dangers, which then threatned him, ſhould be removed before the Expiration of the Term ſpecified, he would make no more Account of this Article, than of what he had promiſed before at *Bolognia*. The King ſeeing he could obtain nothing more, without Hazard of alienating the Pope intirely from him, ſatisfied himſelf, as well as he could, with a Brief from his Holineſs to this End, and thought he had at leaſt gained ſomething conſiderable, in having the Faith and Honour of the Pope conſigned to him under his own Hand.

2. The Ingenuity of *Guicciardini*, who was Secretary to the Pope, and who had therefore the beſt Opportunities of penetrating his ſecret Deſigns, is here very remarkable: He is not aſhamed to confeſs, That *Leo* the Tenth, acted by the ſame Maxims, whereby ſecular Princes frequently regulate themſelves in relation to publick Treaties, and that the great Buſineſs in this Negotiation of his Holineſs was chiefly to preſerve Appearances.

3. It might be another Conſideration, upon which *Francis* was diſpoſed to a Peace with *England*, That *Maximilian* had diſcovered an Inclination to ſettle the Succeſſion of the Empire in one of his Nephews, and upon that View, Overtures were made to the Electors, towards inducing them to chuſe a King of the *Romans*, a Dignity upon which the Succeſſion to the Empire is entailed, without other Election or Confirmation; and becauſe a King of the *Romans* cannot be regularly elected, 'till He who is actually in Poſſeſſion of the Empire has obtained the Imperial Crown *in Form*, which *Maximilian* had not yet obtained; he therefore made Inſtances to the Pope, that his Holineſs would cauſe him to be crowned with the uſual Solemnities, in *Germany*. And though he wiſhed *Ferdinand* his Grandchild might ſucceed, and to that End particularly propoſed him to the Electors at *Augsburg*, where he had aſſembled a Diet; yet he was afterwards determined to the contrary in favour of *Charles*, who was already poſſeſſed of many powerful and great Eſtates. He thought at firſt, that in caſe of any ad-

verſe Accidents, the Dignity of his Houſe might be preſerved more ſafe, when ſupported by two Sovereign Princes: Should one of them, upon any future Contingency fail, the other might continue upon a more firm and laſting Foundation. But he afterwards changed his Opinion, upon Reaſons, which appeared more cogent to him on the other Side. He judged it more conducing to the Grandour and Intereſts of the Houſe of *Auſtria,* that the whole Power of it ſhould devolve into one Hand, than that it ſhould be diſſipated, and in conſequence weakened by a *Partition.* The Empire added to the Dominions, of which *Charles* was already in Poſſeſſion, might enable him to reduce all *Italy,* and in Time the greateſt Part of *Europe* under one Sovereign; and the Advantages of ſuch a Reduction, it was ſaid, would not terminate in the Exaltation and Glory of the *Auſtrian* Family, but be of general Service to Chriſtendom, and eſpecially towards ſuppreſſing the common Enemy of the Chriſtian Faith. It was farther repreſented to *Maximilian,* that he was under a more particular Engagement to conſult the Imperial Dignity, wherewith the Houſe of *Auſtria* had been ſo long inveſted; which yet he could not but obſerve, when he reflected upon the Diſtreſs to which both himſelf and ſeveral of his Predeceſſors had been reduced, was now very much in the Declenſion. It was added, there was no manner of Proſpect, from the preſent State of the Empire, that it could be reſtored to its ancient Strength or Luſtre, but by annexing to it the Crown of *Spain*; that his Imperial Majeſty ought not to oppoſe, what both the Order of Nature, and Reaſon of Things, evidently appeared to direct; That, in Hiſtory, there were Inſtances of ſeveral Princes, wanting a lineal Iſſue, and jealous leaſt their Power ſhould die with them, or ſuffer Diminution, by being divided, who had adopted Perſons to ſucceed them, tho' every remote in Alliance, and nothing related in Blood. Theſe Arguments were corroborated by the Example of the late King *Catholick,* who, though he particularly loved *Ferdinand,* and the more, as having been educated under his Eye, yet he bequeathed none of his Eſtates to him, which he could diſpoſe of either by Right of Conqueſt, or in Virtue of any other Tenure: But left them all intirely to *Charles,* whoſe Perſon he did not ſo much affect, who was in a Manner a Stranger, and had even been charged with ſome Inſtances of Diſobedience to him. *Maximilian* was reminded, that the ſame Prince had adviſed him to purchaſe new Eſtates for *Ferdinand,* but to leave the Imperial Crown, with all its Dependencies to *Charles*; and that, puſhed on with no other Motive but this, to augment the Greatneſs of his Succeſſor, he had, with a Reſolution condemned by many, excluded his own royal and renowned Houſe from the Crown of *Arragon*.

4. It is not improbable, that theſe or the like Reaſons might determine a ſucceeding King of *Spain*, to tranſmit his Dominions whole and intire to his Succeſſor; not ſo much perhaps, becauſe any extraordinary perſonal Affection inclined him to ſuch a Settlement, as that he might better obviate the Deſigns of thoſe, who had projected Schemes for dividing them, without his Concurrence, and thereby aſſumed a Power, which belongs only to the ſupreme God, of appropriating the Kingdoms of the Earth to Men by an over-ruling arbitrary Diſpoſition.

5. But what I am principally concerned at preſent to obſerve, is, that the *French* King oppoſed this Deſign of the Emperor, for the ſame Reaſons upon which his Imperial Majeſty endeavoured to execute it. He was apprehenſive, that the Empire, by the Acceſſion of *Spain*, would be rendered too potent and formidable; and therefore was importunate in his Inſtances to the Pope, that he would not make a new Precedent, in ſending, by a Deputation of Legates, the Imperial Crown into *Germany*. *Francis* alſo made Remonſtrances to the Electors againſt the Emperor's Deſign, but they were for the moſt Part engaged to favour it. Neither was it believed, the Pope would make any Difficulty of conſenting, that *Maximilian* ſhould receive the Imperial Crown by the Hands of his Legates; ſeeing, it would be very uncommodious for him to make a Journey to *Rome* purpoſely to receive it: And the Rights and Honour of the See Apoſtolick would ſtill be, in all reſpects, effectually preſerved, ſuch a Journey being rather Buſineſs of Pomp and Ceremony, than neceſſary in that Inſtance to aſſure or recognize the Pope's Authority.

6. The moſt probable Method of preventing a Deſign, from which *Francis* apprehended ſuch pernicious Conſequences, and who probably might himſelf, at preſent, have Thoughts of ſucceeding to the Empire, was (if That might be found practicable) to court the Friendſhip and Alliance of *England*; tho' in order to obtain them, he ſhould ſubmit to make a Sacrifice of ſome former Reſentments for Injuries received or pretended to be received from the *Engliſh*; at leaſt it might for the Time, be convenient to diſſemble them.

7. I ſhall here recite from *Polydore Virgil*, the Methods which *Francis* took, to accompliſh what he had projected to this End;

only premiſing, That the Teſtimony of this Author, for Reaſons beforementioned relating to his Uſage from the Cardinal, is not perfectly free from all Suſpicion of Prejudice and Animoſity; and that there is no neceſſity that we ſhould, upon his ſole Credit, implicitly aſſent to it. He ſaith, That *Francis* having determined to ſeek the Amity of *Henry* King of *England*, the Avarice and Ambition of his prime Miniſter, pointed the moſt ready and open Way to him of effecting what he deſired; he made no doubt, but that by addreſſing to theſe Paſſions, in a proper Manner, the Cardinal might be brought over to his Intereſts: And therefore he firſt propoſed to accoſt him by rich Preſents and pompous flattering Titles, which Method being artfully applied by the Perſons deputed by him, had ſo quick and powerful an Operation, that whereas the Cardinal had formerly been an avowed Enemy of the *French* Nation, he now diſcovered a great Zeal for the Welfare and Service of it; and that, as he apprehended, from a Proſpect of Reputation and Honour no leſs than of private Advantage to himſelf. Animated by theſe Views, he ſoon took an Opportunity of acquainting the King with the Advances which *Francis* had made towards a Reconciliation and Peace with him, repreſenting, how deſirous that Prince was, not only of entring into a Treaty with him, but of ſettling it upon a ſolid and laſting Foundation. He was ſo far from diſſembling the Receipt of Preſents from the *French* Court, that he made a Tender of ſome of them to the King his Maſter, “ and while his Majeſty was agreeably “ entertained with obſerving the Luſtre or Curioſity of the Work, “ would improve the Occaſion towards inſinuating ſomething in “ Favour of the Donor, and which might leave ſuch Impreſſions “ upon the King's Mind, as ſhould incline him to accept the friend- “ ly Overtures which had been propoſed on the Part of *Francis*. “ The King was not diſpleaſed with the Proſpect of entring into “ Terms of Accommodation and Alliance with that Monarch; “ the Conduct of his great Miniſter the Cardinal was rather ſo “ grateful to him, on this Occaſion, that he applauded his Dex- “ terity and Addreſs, in Terms which expreſſed a peculiar Ap- “ probation of it; ſo that he declared, not in a Way of Raille- “ ry, but with a ſerious and compoſed Air, That he plainly diſ- “ covered the Cardinal would now govern both himſelf and the “ King of *France*; intimating, by the Manner of his Speaking, “ that he really thought the Cardinal equal to both Provinces. *Fran-* “ *cis* obſerving Things to run with ſo ſmooth a Current, and “ that this Miniſter had been affected by his Preſents, in the Man- “ ner he deſired, applieth himſelf to conſider more effectually, “ how by his Aſſiſtance and Interpoſition, proper Meaſures might

“ be concerted in order to the Recovery of *Tournay*. But becauſe
“ this was an Affair both of much Nicety and Importance, where-in
“ great Caution and Addreſs were to be uſed, he did not think
“ proper to open it all at once, but gradually, 'till the Seeds of
“ Peace, which had been ſown, had taken deeper Root. In the
“ mean time, knowing where the Cardinal was moſt acceſſible,
“ he improved all Occaſions, which preſented, of offering In-cenſe
“ to his Vanity; he ſhewed to him the greateſt Deference
“ and Regard, continually by Letters, or ſpecial Meſſengers, ſa-luting
“ him by the Name of Father, or other honorary, and moſt
“ reſpectful Appellations. Sometimes he would conſult him, as
“ an Oracle, upon political Queſtions and arduous Affairs of
“ State, extolling him, at other times, to the Heavens, in the
“ higheſt Strains of Admiration and Applauſe. *Francis* having
“ thus prepared the Way for a more free and open Diſcovery of
“ his Intention, he began to treat directly, and without Diſguiſe,
“ about the Reſtitution of *Tournay*; which, he alledged, had been
“ long in the Hands of his Predeceſſors, Kings of *France*. But
“ there was no need of formal Proofs or Arguments to one, who
“ allured by ſo many and great Rewards was ready in Return, to
“ do any thing required of him, provided it was ſound practi-cable.
“ Specious Pretences notwithſtanding were not wanting,
“ why the King might with Juſtice and Honour comply with
“ this Demand of the *French* King upon the Conditions propoſed;
“ the Advantages of which the Cardinal repreſented with ſuch
“ Force, that he ſoon obtained the Royal Aſſent to them, and
“ then laying the Matter before the Council, he freely declared
“ his Opinion for yielding up a Place ſo remote from the *Engliſh*
“ Territories, which could not be kept without great Expence
“ and much Difficulty, nor be at any time of much Service to the
“ Crown of *England* (ſo precarious was the Tenure of it) except
“ by the Conſent or Permiſſion of his Catholick Majeſty.”

8. I have repreſented this Account according to the Sentiments of *Polydore*, and endeavoured to expreſs his Reflections after a Manner, that ſhould not in the leaſt leſſen the Boldneſs or Virulency of them: To what has been ſaid before, I only beg Leave to add the following Obſervation, That this Writer aſcribes the whole Conduct of the Cardinal, in tranſacting this Affair, to ill and unworthy Motives: If Hiſtorians had a Right, where they have any perſonal Prejudice, to take ſuch a Liberty, how eaſy might they often find it to reſolve the beſt Actions, upon one Pretence or other, into the worſt Principles. But certainly Reaſons both of common Juſtice and Humanity require, That, where the natu-

ral Appearances of Things will admit, and there is no good or certain Evidence to the contrary, we ſhould rather aſcribe the Counſels and Conduct of Men, to honourable, or at leaſt to innocent Motives; and if that Part of the Cardinal's Conduct, which has been here under Conſideration, ſhould be examined fairly by this Rule, there might be aſſigned Reaſons for it from a Deſire of Peace, and the true Service of his Maſter, and of his Country, very different from thoſe ſpecified by this Writer.

9. ***Montaign*** has a fine, but I will not aver it to be in every Reſpect a juſt Reflection, upon the Hiſtory of *Guicciardine*, not impertinent to the preſent Subject. He ſaith, "That Author be-
" ing deſirous to omit nothing, and having a very full, and, as
" it were, an infinite Subject, he grows weak by it, and his Hi-
" ſtory ſavours of the Prattle of the Schools. I have alſo obſerved
" among ſo many Events and Counſels, about which he gives
" his Judgement, he never aſcribes any to Vertue, Religion, or
" Conſcience, as if thoſe Things were wholly baniſhed out of the
" World; and he imputes all Actions, though never ſo fine, to
" a vicious Principle or Self-Intereſt. It is impious to believe,
" that among ſuch a vaſt Number of Actions, none ſhould have
" been produced by a reaſonable Motive: Men will never be ſo
" generally corrupt, but ſome will avoid the Contagion: Which
" giveth me a Suſpicion, that *Guicciardine* had a vicious Taſte,
" and perhaps he judged of others by himſelf.

CHAP. X.

1. *The Parts into which the Remainder of this Book is chiefly diſtributed.* 2. *A Letter to the Legate from Pope* Leo. 3. *An Inference from it.* 4. *Some Account of Cardinal* Hadrian. 5. *To what his Diſgrace was principally owing.* 6. *Concerning Breach of Faith wherewith* Leo *the Tenth, and the Council of* Conſtance *have been charged.* 7. *Concerning the Abbey of St.* Albans. 8. *A Secular Office conferred on the Cardinal.* 9. *An Account of ſome Preferments not ſpecified before.*

1. THE remaining Part of the Time to which I confine my ſelf in this Book, is ſo conſiderable, on Account of many important Tranſactions and Events, relating to the Cardinal, that, to give the Reader a more clear and full View of them, it may be proper to reduce them under theſe three diſtinct Heads.

I. The Acceſſion of Preferments, of Honours, Penſions, and Powers to him.

II. His magnificent Deſigns and Works.

III. The Negotiations, wherein he was employed.

2. In reſpect to the former Head, and the firſt Article of it, I find a Letter from Pope *Leo* to the Cardinal, wherein his Holineſs, after having made the uſual Complements to his great Wiſdom, and extraordinary Merit, acquaints him with the Deprivation of Cardinal *Hadrian* Biſhop of *Bath*, and veſteth in him the perpetual [l] Adminiſtration and Revenues of that Biſhoprick. This Cardinal had been ſeveral Years employed as a Miniſter of the King, at the Court of *Rome*; but on other Occaſions, beſides that beforementioned, acquitted himſelf ſo ill of his Commiſſion, that the King was much diſſatisfied at his Conduct. And it appears, from a Letter of the Cardinal [m] *de Medicis* to the Legate, that the King had even moved the Pope for his Deprivation, and thought his Holineſs too dilatory in the Proceedings againſt him. This Cardinal alledgeth in Excuſe of the Pope, that the uſual Forms ought to have been obſerved in the Caſe, to the End no one might pretend to object againſt his Holineſs, who was naturally inclined to Acts of Mercy and Clemency, that *Hadrian* had been proſecuted upon a Motive of Reſentment or perſonal Hatred, or at the Inſtigation of the King, and not on the Account of his perſonal Demerits. In the Sequel of the Letter it is ſaid, the Pope will not proceed to make any Proviſion relating to *Hadrian*'s Biſhoprick, 'till the King's Pleaſure, *as your Grace*, ſaith he, *knoweth very well*, ſhall be ſignified to him on the Occaſion. He addeth, "There is nothing "wherein the Holy Father will not oblige the King, to whom "alſo the Houſe of *Medici* is ſo much attached, that they are "no leſs at his Diſpoſition and Command, than his own Sub"jects.

3. It may be concluded, without any forced Conſtruction, from this Letter, that the Pope very well underſtood who would be the moſt acceptable Perſon to the King, as Adminiſtrator of the Biſhoprick of *Bath* upon *Hadrian*'s Deprivation; and accordingly by the Letter beforementioned, about a Month after that from Cardinal *de Medicis* was written, the Pope conferred the Adminiſtration of it, upon his Legate, the Cardinal of St. *Cicily*.

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[l] Coll. Nº 8. Book II.

[m] Coll. Nº 9. Book II.

4. But for the Satiſfaction of the Reader, who may probably have a Curioſity to know ſomething more particularly concerning the Character of a Perſon, that had been ſo long in the Service of the *Engliſh* Court, and what was the principal Occaſion of his Diſgrace, I ſhall deſcend to give a ſummary Account concerning him in both reſpects. He was a Man of Letters and good Capacity, had ſtudied the Works of *Cicero* with Succeſs, and underſtood the *Latine* Tongue very well. But he had the Misfortune, which was probably owing to a fluctuating and unconſtant Temper of Mind, to fall under the Diſpleaſure of all his Maſters. Under the Pontificate of *Alexander* the Sixth, he was not only out of Favour, but found it neceſſary for his Safety to withdraw from Court, and even to abſcond in the Mountains of *Trent*, that he might avoid the Cenſures, which his Holineſs had fulminated againſt him. What Offence he gave by his Conduct to the *Engliſh* Court, we have before intimated. Upon the Acceſſion of *Leo* the Tenth to the Papacy, he was recalled from Baniſhment, and diſtinguiſhed by him with ſpecial Marks of Favour and Truſt; but had not a Senſe of Gratitude of ſufficient Force to correct or reſtrain the natural Levity of his Mind, or rather in general had a vicious Diſpoſition to Acts of Falſehood and Treachery. Tho' Monſieur *Bayle*, indeed, has mentioned one of his Actions, which ſheweth, he was capable of being affected with a grateful Senſe of Benefits received. That Author reports, “ He bequeathed a Palace to the King of *England* his Patron, which was called the *Engliſh* Palace, and is at preſent poſſeſſed by the Family of *Colonna*.

5. But what occaſioned his final Diſgrace and Ruin was his Infidelity to *Leo* the Tenth. An Attempt had been made againſt that Pope's Life, by a young Cardinal, whoſe Name was *Alphonſo*, inſtigated thereunto by an implacable Reſentment which he had entertained againſt the Pope, for the ill and ungrateful Uſage which he pretended his Father had received for his eminent Services; himſelf alſo having contributed to the Advancement of *Leo* to the Popedom. He expected very different Treatment from him, than what he had as yet experienced; for his Holineſs had even diſpoſſeſſed him of his paternal Eſtate; and he was at preſent no ways capable of living up either to the Dignity of his Houſe or his Character: Burning with Revenge, and almoſt brought to the Brink of Deſpair, he thought to have aſſaſſinated the Pope with his own Hands. But fearing the Scandal, the Difficulty, and Conſequences of executing ſo bloody and horrid a Deſign, he ſought to poyſon him by the Help of a Surgeon, who was employed about the

Pope's Perſon, and ſound Means to make him an Accomplice in his Deſign. But before it could be [n] effected, he had by his continual and open Invectives againſt the Pope, rendered himſelf ſo violently ſuſpected to his Holineſs, that he thought proper to conſult his Safety by retiring out of *Rome*. The Pope, who had diſcovered the whole Secret, recalled him, under Pretence of a Safe-conduct, which he had promiſed not to violate, and had indeed expreſly given his Word and Faith to that End, to the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador: *Alphonſo* upon this Aſſurance, tho' conſcious of ſo wicked and deteſtable a Crime, returned to *Rome*, where the Pope immediately cauſed him to be apprehended; pleading in his own Juſtification, (upon Complaint of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador,) that no Safe-conduct, how ample ſoever or full of Specialties, could be any Protection, in caſe of Conſpiracy againſt the Life of the Pope, without expreſs and particular Proviſion; that this Prerogative particularly extended to a Queſtion of Poyſoning; a Practice, ſo greatly abhorred by God and Man, and of ſo deteſtable a Nature, that the Laws have reſerved no Safe-conduct or Aſſurance of Pardon for Perſons offending in that Kind, but under the ſpecifick Condition beforementioned.

6. Theſe Reaſons of *Leo* the Tenth for the Breach of publick Faith wherewith he was charged, do not appear to be ſatisfactory. If the Popes had any ſuch ſtanding or legal Prerogative, which he contended for; yet he can never be excuſed for making a ſolemn Promiſe, by which he was antecedently determined not to be obliged, or rather, which he thought himſelf obliged to falſify. The Preſervation of publick Faith, is ſo neceſſary to all the Ends of Government, of Society, and Commerce, that no perſonal Conſiderations, no common Advantages to any State, will ever be able to ballance the open and notorious Breach of it. Under what Cenſures has the Council of *Conſtance* fallen, for the Proceedings againſt *John Huſs*, contrary to the Faith of the Paſſport and Safe-conduct granted to him. Tho' it has been pretended indeed, that a Protection from the Emperor could not preclude the Fathers who compoſed that Council, from proceeding, againſt a Perſon charged with heretical Principles, in the ordinary Way, and if he ſhould be convicted of Hereſy, from delivering him over to the ſecular Arm. The Emperor *Sigiſmund*, who had given *Huſs* a Protection, was concerned, ſay they, to make it Good, and ought not to have interpoſed by the Civil Authority, where he had obliged himſelf not to make uſe of it. [o] One of our learned Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians,

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[n] Guicciardine.

[o] *Mr.* Coll. *Eccl. Hiſt.*

has a Reflection upon this Article, which ſome Perſons perhaps may think too favourable to that Council. " As to the Burning " of *Huſs*, after the Security of a Safe-conduct, that Breach of " Faith muſt be charged upon the Emperor; for it was from his " Majeſty, and not from the Council, that this Safe-conduct was " given." This Reflection is certainly juſt, provided the Council did not adviſe or inſtigate *Sigiſmund* the Emperor to act contrary to his ſolemn Engagement; and it was, I conceive, with that Reſtriction, the Author deſign'd to be underſtood. But to return from this occaſional Digreſſion, *Leo* the Tenth did not only violate his Faith to *Alphonſo*, by cauſing him to be apprehended and deprived, but incurred a Suſpicion of having exerciſed a cruel Violence againſt him, on Account of his being poyſoned in Priſon the Night after he was put under an Arreſt. What affected *Hadrian* Biſhop of *Bath* in this Proceſs againſt *Alphonſo* Cardinal of *Sienna*, was, That he confeſſed this Cardinal had, in his Hearing, uſed Menaces againſt the Pope tending to Violence, which yet he did not diſcover. But upon proſtrating himſelf before the Pope, and making this Confeſſion, as two other Cardinals had done, in the Conſiſtory, he was pardoned on Condition of his paying a certain Sum of Money; yet either not truſting to the Pope's Letters of Pardon, or being unable to expend the Sum ſpecified, without leſſening his Dignity; or perhaps apprehending, he could not any longer appear with Decency, or any Degree of Reputation in the Court of *Rome*, he privately withdrew from that City, and no certain Account was ever given afterwards of him. Some have reported, that he was killed by the Servant who attended him in making his Retreat, for the Sake of the Money which he carried off, and had quilted up in his Cloaths. The Pope ſuſpecting from this Conſpiracy, that ſeveral in the College of Cardinals were not well affected to him, or might perhaps be ſecretly engaged in Deſigns againſt him, had recourſe to an extraordinary Method for the Preſervation of his Power and Dignity; ſuch a Method indeed, as only neceſſary Reaſons of Safety could juſtify; which was by declaring ſometime after in the Conſiſtory, the Creation of One-and-thirty new Cardinals.

7. Cardinal *Wolſey* had not only the Temporalities of *Bath* and *Wells* conferred on him this Year, whereof he was perpetual Commendatory, but he had Liberty of holding it with the Abbey of St. *Alban*'s, tho' the preciſe Time, when he was made Abbot of that Place, does not appear. " When he came firſt into the[p] Ab-

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[p] *Extract of a Letter from* Brown Willis, *Eſq*;

“ bacy of St. *Alban*'s (I here think my ſelf obliged to refer to my
“ Authority) I never could exactly find: It is plain he ſucceed-
“ ed Abbot *Thomas Ramrige,* who was alive in the Year 1514,
“ and poſſeſſed of the Abbacy, but when *Ramrige* died I could
“ never diſcover. I ſhould judge *Wolſey* to come in the Year 1516,
“ by ſome Circumſtances, tho' it is plain he had not the Tempo-
“ ralities of it veſted in him 'till the 7th of *December* 1521, as
“ the Patents ſhew. I am apt to think, his being ſaid to be de-
“ prived of his Abbacy by the Premunire is a Miſtake; for in
“ a Manuſcript of St. *Albans,* in the Archdeacon's Office of Inſti-
“ tutions, I find one *William Wakefeild* inducted the 9th of *Septem-*
“ *ber* 1530, into the Vicarage of St. *Peter*'s, in the Town of
“ St. *Alban*'s, by the Cardinal's Licenſe and Authority, and this
“ was not three Weeks before his Death.

8. In *October* following the King was pleaſed to confer an [q] Office on the Cardinal, which may be conſidered under the Article of his Preferment, but which was purely of a temporal Kind; the Office of Bailiff of the Honour or Lordſhip of *Cheſthunte* in the County of *Hereford,* in which Grant he was alſo conſtituted Park-keeper of *Brantingiſhey* in the ſame Lordſhip, and entitled to the Benefit and Herbage of the ſaid Park; with the Profits of the Garden belonging to it, and other Emoluments, for the Term of his Life, without being obliged to give any Account of them to the King, his Heirs, or Succeſſors. I ſhall not enquire how far theſe Offices of Bailiff and Park-keeper conſiſted with the Dignity of an Archbiſhop, a Cardinal, and Legate, or whether it be agreeable to the Character and Truſt repoſed in a firſt Miniſter to employ the Power he has at Court, towards obtaining whatever Grants the Prince may be diſpoſed to make to him. Without drawing any Conſequences from the Fact, I only obſerve, in a proper Place, this Grant to the Cardinal, as an additional Mark and Inſtance of that Share which he now poſſeſſed of the royal Favour.

9. Beſides the Preferments of the great Man, whoſe Hiſtory I write, already mentioned, I have received an Account of his Promotion to theſe which follow. “[r] In 1512 he was made Dean
“ of *Hereford,* and in 1513 Precentor of St. *Paul*'s, both which
“ Dignities he quitted upon his being preferred to the Biſhoprick
“ of *Lincoln.*” I have mentioned him before as Regiſtary of the *Garter* and Canon of *Windſor,* which that Office indeed then ſuppoſed; but I have ſince found the [ſ] Patent for this latter Prefer-

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[q] Collect. N° 10. Book II.

[r] *Letter from* Brown Willis, *Eſq;*

[ſ] Coll. N° 11. Book II.

ment. In the [t] Diſpenſation alſo from Pope *Julius* to qualify him for holding a third incompatible Benefice, we are inform'd, that he was at the ſame time Rector of *Lymington*, and Vicar of *Lyde* in the Dioceſe of *Canterbury*. His Advancement to the Biſhopricks of *Durham* and *Wincheſter* will be mentioned in the Sequel, according to the Order of Time wherein theſe high and rich Dignities in the Church were accumulated on him.

CHAP. XI.

1. *The great Deference paid to the Cardinal by all Diſtinctions of Men.* 2. *More concerning the Conteſt he had with Archbiſhop* Warham *about Superiority.* 3. *A Letter to him from the Mayor and Aldermen of* York. 4. *The Honours done to him by foreign Powers.* 5. *Particularly by* Leonard *Duke of* Venice. 6. *Whether an Expreſſion of that Duke, by Way of Complement to him, is allowable.* 7. *The Title of Majeſty given to him in ſeveral Letters from the Univerſity of* Oxford. 8. *To which Place he attends the Queen, and propoſes to Found certain Lectures.* 9. *Extract of a Letter on that Occaſion from Archbiſhop* Warham. 10. *Farther referred to.* 11. *A ſolemn Decree of the Univerſity, veſting the Cardinal with full Powers over their Statutes.* 12. *Some Account of a Letter to him from the Univerſity concerning the Choice of a Bedel.* 13. *The Cauſes of the Epidemical Diſtemper which had raged there, incidentally conſidered.* 14. *The Univerſity of* Cambridge *made a like ſolemn Reſignation of their Rights and Statutes, with that of* Oxford, *into the Hands of the Cardinal.* 15. *The Motives upon which they proceeded, with the unlimited Powers veſted, by that famous Seat of Learning, in him.* 16. *Extracts from certain Letters of* Eraſmus *to him.* 17. *He is addreſſed to by* Whittington. 18. *And by* John Voſſius.

1. THE great Revenues ariſing from the Cardinal's Preferments, his Magnificence, the Characters of Chancellor, Archbiſhop, and Legate *a Latere* of the Apoſtolick See, uniting in his Perſon, cauſed him to be revered, externally at leaſt, by Men of all Diſtinctions, after an extraordinary Manner: When he ſaid Maſs, Dukes and Earls did not think it beneath their Dignity, to attend his Adminiſtration, and when he waſhed, to hold the Baſon and Towel to him. We may perhaps acknowledge,

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[t] Vid. Rym. Conv. T. 13. *p.* 217. *Ann.* 1508.

without being injurious to him, that he ſometimes diſcovered a Temper too much elated with Proſperity and Succeſs; the Homage, which he obſerved every where paid to him, and the Honours he continually received, might contribute to enflame a Paſſion for outward Grandeur, to the Motions whereof he does not appear to have been naturally inſenſible. It has been imputed to him, as one Inſtance of too arrogant and aſſuming a Temper, that when Archbiſhop *Warham*, on a certain Occaſion, wrote to him, and at the Bottom of his Letter ſubſcribed himſelf *Your Brother* William *of* Canterbury, he was highly irritated at this familiar Stile; and declared with ſome Warmth, he would make the Archbiſhop ſenſible, that he was his Superior, not his Brother. The Bearer of the Letter having, upon his Return, informed that Primate what Offence the Cardinal had taken at his Subſcription, ſaid to him, but not without ſome Shew of Reſentment, "*Peace*; *knoweſt thou* "*not, that the Man is become inebriated with Succeſs.*

2. It is proper, after all, that Perſons ſhould be addreſſed to, according to the Diſtinction which they bear in Society; and the Cardinal being, at that[u] time, in Regard to One of his Characters, at leaſt, confeſſedly, the Archbiſhop's Superior; his Grace perhaps had acted more agreeable to this Rule, and the Forms commonly obſerved by Men, in Writing to thoſe who are in any Degree above them, had he avoided a Stile, which is not ordinarily uſed, unleſs towards their Inferiors, or however their Equals: And yet it might have been very conſiſtent with the Rules of Piety and Prudence, if the Legate had taken no notice of an Expreſſion, which appears to have been intended, as a Token of cordial and ſincere Affection. In the Letters which this Archbiſhop afterwards wrote to the Cardinal, two of which I find in the *Cotton Library*, both of them *Original*, he took care not to give any future Occaſion of Diſguſt to the Cardinal in this Kind. In the Former, he thus directs himſelf, *To the Right venerend Father in God, and my very ſingular good Lorde my Lord Cardinall of* York, *and Legate* a Latere *is good Grace*, concluding, *at your Grace's Commandment.*

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[u] *It has been diſputed, whether Cardinal* Wolſey, *merely in virtue of that Character, could take Place of Archbiſhop* Warham. *For tho' in a warm Conteſt between Archbiſhop* Chichley *and* Kempe, *who was Archbiſhop of* York *and Cardinal, the Queſtion was decided in Favour of the Latter by the Pope*; (See *Duck*'s Life of Archbiſhop *Chichley*) *yet my Lord* Coke *ſays, a Cardinal, as ſuch, had no Place in* England *by Law*; *upon which it is poſſible* Warham *might inſiſt. And therefore there is no Neceſſity of ſuppoſing, with Biſhop* Burnet, *that he took Place, as being Lord Chancellor, of Cardinal* Wolſey; *for then it would follow, as the Author of the* Specimen *under the Name of* Anthony Harmer *has argued, that the Lord Chancellor, as ſuch, ought to precede the Archbiſhops of* Canterbury, *the contrary to which is known to be, and to have alſo been, true. But it has never, I conceive, been diſputed, that the Pope's Legates, as ſuch, have always had Precedence of the Archbiſhops of* Canterbury.

The [x] Other is ſubſcribed in the ſame Terms, and differs very little from it in the Direction.

3. In the ſame invaluable Collection of learned Monuments there is a [y] Letter addreſſed to the Cardinal, from the Mayor and his Brethren of the City of *York*; but not being able to determine exactly in what Year this Letter was written, it may as properly be mentioned here, as on any other Occaſion. The Import of it is, to acknowledge, in a very thankful and humble Manner, the Favours which his Grace had done to that City, particularly by his interpoſing to mitigate a Feefarm Rent, which had been claimed by the Lord of *Rutland*; and eſpecially, becauſe, at his Grace's Interceſſion, Letters Patents had been obtained from the King, whereby they were empowered to Ship-off Wool and Fells, to the great Encreaſe and flouriſhing Condition of the Inhabitants, as well as Benefit of the Country adjacent, while that Trade was open and uninterrupted; but meeting with ſome Obſtructions in it, and being under Reſtraints, as to another conſiderable Article of Commerce relating to the Exportation of Lead, they deſire his [z] Grace would intercede to the King, that they may have a more free and open Paſſage for Trade, in theſe ſeveral Reſpects, as the only Means of preventing their utter Ruin.

4. The Cardinal's Weight and Intereſt at Court, in conjunction with his great Fortune, his high Poſts, and perſonal Qualifications, cauſed many Honours to be done to him from foreign Courts and Princes, as well as from his native Country. I ſhall not repeat the Addreſſes made to him by the King of *France*, one of the greateſt and moſt accompliſhed Princes, who had ſat upon the Throne of that Kingdom, tho' in ſome Reſpects very unfortunate. *Leo* the Tenth, at that Time Sovereign Pontiff, and a zealous Aſſertor of the Papal Power and Dignity, in the ſeveral Letters which he wrote to the Cardinal, payeth a Deference to him, and treateth him after a Manner, as if he were able to direct, to undertake, and do every Thing. Theſe Letters are for the moſt Part elegantly written, and might for this Reaſon, as well for the Light which they give into the State of publick Affairs at that Time,

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[x] Coll. N° 12. Book II. *The former Letter relating only to a private Affair, as recommending the Lady* Bulſtrode, *a Widow, to the Cardinal's Favour, I ſhall not recite it, but this being upon the Subject of a Grant or Contribution required from the Clergy, and diſcovering the Diſpoſition they were in on that Account, the Reader is referred to a Copy of it among the Collections.*

[y] Coll. N° 13. Book II.

[z] *This Letter is directed (the 24th of* June) To the moſte reverende Father in God and theyr moſt ſinguler goode and gracyous Lorde, the Lorde Legate is Grace Chauncellor of *England. And ſubſcribed*, by your Grace, moſt bounden and daily Bedemen, the Mayor of the City of *York*, and hys Bredery Aldermen of the ſame.

very well deſerve to be tranſcribed, in the Collections; but leaſt I ſhould overcharge it, I chuſe rather to refer the Reader to Mr. *Rymer*'s Collection of them in his thirteenth Volume.

5. Of all the Epiſtolary Honours which were done to the Cardinal from foreign Potentates, there are none, if we may judge from the Complements offered to him in them, which exceed [a] thoſe, he received from ***Leonard Lauredan***, Duke of ***Venice***: His Ducal Highneſs, in two of his Diſpatches accoſteth him in Terms, as if he had a Genius ſuperior to every Thing. Both theſe Letters run much in the ſame rhetorical Strain; but in the Latter his Eminency is repreſented as endowed with Abilities, and a Degree of Wiſdom that even [b] ſurpaſſed human Credibility: He is told, [c] there could be nothing ſo arduous or difficult, provided it was juſt and honourable, which his innate Goodneſs would not excite him to undertake, which his conſummate Wiſdom could not regulate and direct after the beſt Manner, and which his ſupreme Authority in the Kingdom, with which he was ſo juſtly inveſted, might not enable him happily to execute. The Duke taking Occaſion, in the Sequel of this Letter, to ſpeak of the King, expreſſeth himſelf in [d] Terms, whereby he even directly appears to aſcribe to the Cardinal a Participation of the Royal Power and Majeſty.

6. I ſhall not defend the Propriety of this laſt Complement. The Diſtance between Sovereign Princes and the greateſt Subjects, cannot be too carefully preſerved. The Cardinal could not but obſerve, that the Authority and Dignity of the King was here really impaired, out of an Appearance of doing Honour to himſelf. This was an Incenſe too ſtrong to be offered, and which he ſhould not be preſumed to have accepted without Diſguſt and Reluctance.

7. Yet the Title of *Majeſty*, which is here aſcribed to the King, was not then the common Appellation of Crowned Heads; it rarely occurreth as the Stile proper to them, among our own or foreign Writers, at that Time. Tho' I find the Univerſity of *Oxford*, in ſeveral Letters, addreſſing themſelves to the [e] Cardinal un-

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[a] Rym. Vol. 13, 1520. *May* 5. Ib. *July* 6, 1520.

[b] Incredibilis veſtræ Reverindiſſimæ Dominationis virtus & ſapientia.

[c] Ut nihil tam arduum difficileq; foret (ſi modo id honeſtum eſſet & conducibile) quod non ipſa ſua bonitate ultro tellet; ſapientiſſime, ac providentiſſime diſponeret; Auctoritate vero quam meritiſſime in Regno iſto ſupremum tenet, optime poſſit coſſincere.

[d] Dominatio. Quæ Majeſtatis ejus pars altera merito eſſe cenſetur.

[e] Bod. Bib. F. Man. Arch. A. Ep. 83. Conſultiſſima tua Majeſtas. 84. Reverendiſſima Majeſtas. 95. Inaudita Majeſtatis tuæ Benignitas. 104. Veſtra conſultiſſima Majeſtas. 125. Veſtra illa ſublimis, & longe Reverendiſſima Majeſtas.

der that Title: And all that can be inferred from it is, that Uſe, which is the Rule of juſt Speaking, has now determined and appropriated the Signification of a Word to Monarchs which might then be more arbitrarily applied to inferior Perſons. For that the Univerſity did not intend any peculiar Honour to the Cardinal, by this Appellation, or were not induced to it from any ungenerous Motive of Flattery, may be concluded from a Letter of the ſame learned Body to [f] *Warham* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, wherein they uſe the ſame Stile to him. The Title of Eminency, as proper to Cardinals, was then too leſs frequent; yet I find it uſed in another [g] Letter from that Univerſity to their great Patron and Benefactor, and ſhould think this Authority, had I no other, ſufficient to juſtify me, as I ſhall ſee Occaſion, in the future Uſe of it.

8. But the Honours which were done to the Cardinal by that learned Body, were more than verbal. This Year, towards the latter End of *Lent*, the Cardinal accompanied the King and Queen in their Progreſs to *Abingdon*; where, the Day after their Arrival, a Deputation was ſent to wait on them, in the Name of the Univerſity; and the Queen taking that Opportunity to viſit *Oxford*, the Cardinal attended her thither. Her Majeſty was received with all the Honours and Expreſſions of Joy, that could be ſhewed on the Occaſion, and which were proper to teſtify how much they thought the Seat of the Muſes adorned by the Preſence of ſo great and excellent a Princeſs. As to the Cardinal, after he had entered the Convocation, and received the congratulatory Addreſſes upon his Arrival, he made a Speech, wherein he declared how much he had the Intereſt of the Univerſity at Heart, and how deſirous he was of doing to it real Service; to which End he particularly propoſed to found certain Lectures, and to be intruſted with the Care of reducing their Statutes into ſome better Form and Order; the Regulation of which, becauſe they were not only in much confuſion, but in certain Caſes evidently repugnant to one another, had been ſome time before committed to other Perſons. This benevolent Motion of his Eminency was gladly entertained, and thereupon Letters were directed to Archbiſhop *Warham*, the Chancellor, to ſignify the Propoſal to his Grace, and to acquaint him with the favourable Reception which had been given to it. And tho' at firſt the Chancellor could not be induced to concur in what they approved, for a Reaſon which I ſhall preſently mention;

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[f] Ib. An. 1523. Et diu feliciſſime vivat tua Majeſtas.
[g] Epiſt. 9. Tuæ ſatiſfacere Eminentiæ.

yet he was at laſt prevailed upon by their repeated Inſtances and Repreſentations to depart from his former Opinion, and to comply with the Deſire of the Univerſity. So that upon the Firſt of *June*, in a full Convocation, an ample and ſolemn [h] Decree was paſſed, that the Statutes of the Univerſity ſhould be put into the Hands of the Cardinal, to be corrected, reformed, changed, or expunged, as he in his Diſcretion ſhould think proper. So great Confidence did they repoſe in his Wiſdom and good Affection towards the Univerſity, that all the Liberties, Rights, and Privileges of it, and ſo in effect the whole incorporate Society which formed it (but with a Reſerve to the Colleges of their proper and diſtinct Rights) were wholly in his Diſpoſition; and he had full Power of Methodizing the publick Diſcipline, or of altering it, after what Manner he judged moſt convenient; but with Aſſurance, upon his receiving ſo extraordinary a Mark of their Regard and Veneration for him, That he would take care to make ſuch Uſe of the Power wherewith he was veſted, as, he doubted not, would moſt effectually conduce to the Honour and Benefit of the Univerſity.

9. Tho' Archbiſhop [i] *Warham* in his Anſwer to the Univerſity, where he was reſident at this Time, for it bears Date at *Oxford*, highly approved and applauded the Overtures which the Cardinal had made towards founding certain academical Lectures; yet, he could by no means grant, upon their firſt Application to him for his Concurrence, that the whole Rights and Power of the Univerſity, ſhould be transferred into the Cardinal's Hands, even upon Aſſurance he ſhould really uſe his beſt Endeavours to attain the End propoſed by him. " For ſeeing, *as he remonſtrates*, all the Statutes " of the Univerſity do in general, and ſeverally, tend to the Ad" vancement of Learning, and ſcholaſtick Diſcipline, if the whole " Authority reſpecting ſuch Statutes ſhould devolve upon any Per" ſon beſides thoſe, who are at this time veſted with it; the Uni" verſity, conſidered as a Society, would be diſſolved: A mere " empty Name, or Shadow of Power would only remain to it, " and the Authority which it formerly exerciſed, wholly ter" minate in the Perſon to whom you deſire it may be transfer" red. But, *continueth he*, if the Cardinal ſhould be pleaſed to " declare his Sentiments concerning a Regulation of the Statutes, " or in what Reſpects he would have them altered, reſtored, or " methodized, and ſhould lay his Scheme to that End before the " Univerſity for their Confirmation, if it ſhould appear ſo ſalutary,

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[h] Coll. Nº 14. Book II.

[i] Coll. Nº 15. Book II.

"and well concerted, as might juſtly be expected from him, there
"would then be no Queſtion, but all Perſons would readily come
"into it.

10. This was a plauſible Expedient of the Chancellor, but overruled through the extraordinary Eſteem, which the Univerſity had at that time entertained for the Cardinal, heighten'd by a Senſe of his many Favours, and his late munificent Overtures for the Encouragement of Learning among them. In the Beginning of this Letter, which I have printed at large, this good Archbiſhop ſpeaketh of *Henry* the Eighth, on Occaſion of the Homage which the Univerſity had made to him at *Abyngdon*, as a Prince, to whom, in Regard of his innate Goodneſs and Generoſity, too great Honours could not be rendered. And it muſt be acknowledged, had he purſued thoſe Meaſures, or gone forward in thoſe Paths of Vertue and Glory for which his Reign was hitherto, and for ſome time after, juſtly celebrated, it had concluded much more to his Honour and Advantage: But no ſooner did the Perſon, to whoſe Conduct, Wiſdom, and Fidelity he owed ſo much, fall into Diſgrace with him, but the Luſtre of it began ſenſibly to tarniſh, and ſeveral Diſorders to be committed, too well known to need a Recital. The Character, which followeth, by that Primate of the Queen, is expreſſed in few Words; but comprehends every thing that could be ſaid in [k] Praiſe of her, and as if all the Vertues and Graces, which were to be found or deſired in her Sex, had been united in her ſingle Perſon. I thought it an Act of Piety due to the Memory of an unfortunate Princeſs, and which the Reader might excuſe, to mention ſo handſome and beautiful an Elogy from one of the moſt grave and venerable Authorities, which that, or any other Age has produced.

11. The Decree which was afterwards made for veſting a Power in the Cardinal to reform and model the Statutes of the Univerſity, and even to annihilate as many of them as he ſhould think fit, containeth ſeveral Things very honorary to him; and from which we may judge, what Opinion one of the moſt learned Societies then in the World, and the beſt capable of Judging in the Caſe, did really entertain, concerning his perſonal Merit and Abilities. Such a Teſtimony, eſpecially if we add That from the other Univerſity on the ſame Occaſion, cannot but be thought an Honour indeed: And there is not a Prince in the World, who would not willingly exchange all the Statues of Marble or Braſs, and whatever

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[k] In qua relucet quicquid virtutis in muliebri ſexu optari poteſt.

ever mechanical Trophies have been erected to him, for ſuch a glorious Monument. To which I might add ſeveral Letters written to his Eminency from the ſame learned Body, for his Advice, his Direction, or Aſſiſtance, or in Acknowledgement of the many ſignal Favours received from him: ſome of which [l] Letters, as giving a more diſtinct Light both into his own Character, the State of the Univerſity at that Time, and the Methods which he happily employed to ſerve it, I have cauſed to be tranſcribed for the Benefit of thoſe, who may have the Curioſity to conſult them.

12. I ſhall have Occaſion afterwards to make References to all theſe Letters: But I ſhall here in particular, by the Way, give an Abſtract of the Sixty-eighth, as it appears to diſcover a certain Peculiarity in the Cardinal's Temper, if that may be ſaid to be peculiar which has alſo been obſervable in ſome other great Men. It cannot be denied that, on all Occaſions, he ſeemed to affect pompous and external Appearances; it was from this Paſſion, that he cauſed in his Proceſſions two large ſilver Croſſes to be carried before him, by two of the talleſt Prieſts which could be found in the Kingdom, upon two great Horſes. There are Circumſtances in this Letter, from which it appeareth, the Univerſity did not altogether omit to conſult the Cardinal's Temper herein. After they have acknowledged to him, how much the Reſtoration and Advancement of Learning among them was owing to his Patronage, and addreſſed him by the following Appellations of Father and Defender, of Maſter and Primate, to whoſe Authority and Wiſdom all their Power had been delegated; they take Occaſion to commend his Commiſſary, who was charged with Letters from him, for the ſuperior Graces of his Perſon, as well as for his extraordinary intellectual Qualities, in regard to both which the Cardinal had made him his Chaplain. Then they proceed to inform the Cardinal, that when his ſaid Commiſſary had opened his Inſtructions, and acquainted the Univerſity with the Sentiments of his Eminency in relation to the State of it, wherein they all unanimouſly concurred, they had, in Regard to his Recommendation, made Choice of one *Standiſh* for their Beadle, as being a Perſon of a comely and exquiſitely proportioned Body, as well as for other moral Qualities, which had procured him the Cardinal's Favour; and, in particular, for the Manner and Addreſs, whereby he had recommended himſelf to them; applauding the Cardinal for directing them to the Choice of One, who was not a Foreigner, but a Gremial, and in the Strength and Flower of his Age. It

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[l] Coll. Nº 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21. Book II.

may be further obſerved from this Letter, that tho' the Cardinal was inveſted with full Authority to do what he pleaſed in the Univerſity, and might by virtue of it, have appointed any Officer, or made any Regulation without conſulting that learned Body, yet he would not make uſe of the Plenitude of his Power, ſo far as to impoſe a Servant on them, without their Approbation and Concurrence. They proceed in the following Part of the Letter to acquaint him, That they were lately viſited with a peſtilential Diſtemper, which had raged for three Months among them, and had cauſed a great Number of Students to retire from the Univerſity, and did ſtill ſpread it ſelf among thoſe who remained, but not with the ſame Violence: Which yet I find by another * Letter of Complaint to the Cardinal broke out again in *March* following, and after ſo deſtructive a Manner, that they repreſent the Univerſity as reduced to a moſt deplorable and diſconſolate Condition: Attributing the Origin of it, if it may be accounted for from any natural Cauſes, to the Stagnation of the Waters in the adjacent Fens, and the noiſome Smells ariſing from them, occaſioned by the Want of a free Current of the Water in the *Thames*, which their Juriſdiction did not extend to open; and therefore they pray the Cardinal that he would make uſe of his great Authority to apply ſome proper and ſpeedy Means, whereby ſo great an Evil may be remedied.

*Ep. 78.

13. In the Year preceeding, the *Sweating Sickneſs* raged to ſuch a Degree, that it had in a Manner diſpeopled the Univerſity, tho' moſt of thoſe who eſcaped the Fury of it, withdrew into the Country. Whether the preſent Diſtemper were originally the Same, and only diſcovered its Malignity by different and leſs violent Symptoms, I cannot infer from any certain Authority. *Wood*, on the Occaſion of his mentioning this Peſtilence, quits the Character of a Hiſtorian for That of a natural Philoſopher, and enquiring into the Cauſe of the frequent Calamities in this Kind, wherewith the Univerſity had been viſited, propoſeth two Ways of accounting for them. The One, from the vaſt Concourſe of Students who repaired to *Oxford*, and were crouded in it, as in a Siege, wanting both wholſome and convenient Apartments. The Other, from the Negligence of the Citizens, in not keeping a Paſſage open to the Water of the *Iſis*, the *Cherwell* and other Currents, whoſe Channels were choaked with Filth and Dirt, and by the Corruption of the ſtagnated Water in them, occaſioned a putrid and malignant Air, replete with noxious Vapours. To theſe Obſtructions in the Courſe of the Waters, he addeth, as contributing to the ſame peſtilential Effects, the frequent Floods, which overflowing the neighbouring Plains, ſpread a ſlimy and viſcous Matter upon them, which there

being nothing to carry off, did neceſſarily putrify and corrupt; ſo that the Rivers about *Oxford* had a very different Effect from the Waters of the *Nile*; inſtead of ſecundating, they accidentally contributed to render the adjacent Soil ſterile and fruitleſs, and ſo not only deſtroyed the Growth of Fruits, but what was ſtill more peculiar to its Situation, of Learning and Arts. Under theſe unhappy Circumſtances, the Univerſity applied to the Biſhops of *Wincheſter*, *Durham*, and *Lincoln*, as well as to the Cardinal and other Perſons of Condition, that they would be pleaſed to interpoſe their good Offices, towards applying ſome Method for opening the Sluices, and keeping them free and clear. It does not particularly appear what Effect their Letters had with the two latter Prelates, *Ruthal* and *Atwater*; But the Former, *Fox* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, that great Patron of Learning, and a Promoter of every Thing that was Good, contributed very much to the End deſired: Tho' he might ſooner, as the learned Hiſtorian *Wood* conjectures, be induced to encourage ſo good a Work, in reſpect to the State of his own College, which he had lately founded, the Contagion having diſperſed moſt of the Members of it; who did not return till the Year following, when the Diſtemper began to abate; tho' it ſtill continued in ſome Places, and particularly in *Canterbury College*.

14. The munificent Acts of the Cardinal for the Encouragement of Learning, concerning which I am to ſpeak more copiouſly in a diſtinct Chapter, were not confined to the Univerſity of *Oxford*. I have but mentioned them here incidentally, as one principal Cauſe of the Honours done to him by that learned Body; and hope it will not be thought an improper Excurſion, if I take this Opportunity of obſerving how much he was alſo honoured, as their Patron and Benefactor, by the other famous Seat of Learning in this Kingdom; particularly by the [m] Act of Submiſſion, for ſo I am authorized from ſeveral [n] Expreſſions in that Act to call it, which was made to him in a full Congregation, towards granting him an [o] abſolute Power of reforming, methodizing, and if he ſhould think proper, of changing, and even of deſtroying all their former Statutes. The Terms employed to expreſs theſe Powers appear ſtronger, more ſpecifick and diverſified in the

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[m] Coll. N° 22. Book II.

[n] Nos & unuſquiſque noſtrum — Leges ſuas ſcriptas ſive non ſcriptas, Statuta — Eidem ampliſſimo Patri ſubmittimus — Tum ut de noſtra Submiſſione — Illius ampliſſimi Patris juriſdictioni ſubmittentes.

[o] Abroget, deroget, obroget, mutet, reformet, interpretur, ſuppleat, adjuvet, corroboret, & omnem in partem verſet & tractet; Leges ſi videatur antiquitas reponat, diſſuetudine obſcuratas illuminet, minus abſolutas redintegret, atque expunctis, deletis, & etiam mutatis iis omnibus, novas excogitet & ponat, idque ſemel aut etiam ſepius, quoties ei videbitur.

Original, to which I have therefore referred. They ſeem indeed, if that had been poſſible, and ſo far as the Force of Words could import, even in ſome reſpect, to be more extenſive than thoſe, wherein the former Decree of the other Univerſity is drawn up. Yet to ſhew further, how much they deſired to augment the Cardinal's Authority, and to render it, if ſuch a Suppoſition might be made, ſtill more [p] Deſpotick, they complain as if they wanted Words to denote the Powers, wherewith, they moved, he might be inveſted, and the abſolute Conveyance of their Rights and Privileges as an incorporable Body to him, but with a Reſervation of ſuch diſtinct [q] Rights and Privileges, as were proper to the ſeveral Colleges.

15. The Grounds upon which the Univerſity of *Cambridge* proceed in this Addreſs to the Cardinal, are ſtill more glorious to him. They deſire their [r] Statutes may be modelled by his Judgement, as by a true and ſettled Standard. They conſider him as one ſent by a [ſ] ſpecial divine Providence from Heaven for the publick Benefit of Mankind, and, particularly, to the End they might be favoured with his Patronage and Protection. They ſalute him by a Title, which even appears ſuperior to that of Majeſty from the other Univerſity, but the proper Force of [t] which cannot, I believe, be expreſſed by any Word of the Language wherein I write. Though an Extract of ſeveral other Paſſages might be made from this Submiſſion, which diſcover the profound Deference and Eſteem which that Univerſity then entertained of the Cardinal; yet ſince I have publiſhed it at large in the Collections, I ſhall only obſerve, that the Powers here veſted in him, were not limited to any determinate Time, or ſuch whereby himſelf, when he had once executed them, ſhould be concluded, but they are granted for [u] Term of Life, and under ſuch expreſs Conditions, that he might exerciſe them as often, in what manner, and according to what different Sanctions he might think moſt [x] expedient.

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[p] Ut verbis videatur moderata poteſtas — ut nihil nobis reſervare videamur — & ſup. In hanc jam ſuam effectam Rempublicam.

[q] Privilegiis & Statutis particularium Collegiorum ſemper ſalvis.

[r] Ad probum alicujus judicium veluti ad normam quandam exiguntur.

[ſ] Cum habeamus velut delapſum a Cælo ampliſſimum in Chriſto Patrem *Thomam* — Virum cum ad inſtaurandas Reſpublicas divina quadam providentia natum, tum vero noſtrum etiam peculiariter Patronum.

[t] Non poſſumus committere, ut tam male de hac noſtra Republica meriti videamur, ut hujus tam præſentis in Legum Reſtitutione Numinis opem omnibus precibus non imploremus; ad hanc juſtitiæ Aram, ad hoc juris Aſylum non confugiamus.

[u] Ad vitæ ejus ſpacium, nec a nobis, nec a ſacceſſoribus noſtris quovis modo revocetur. & Sup. idque ſemel aut etiam ſepius quoties ei videbitur.

[x] *A Copy of this Submiſſion was communicated by my very worthy and learned Friend Mr.* Harbin, *which he found among ſeveral original Papers in the Poſſeſſion of Mr.* Hale *of* Alderley *in* Glouceſterſhire; *it is on Vellum, having the Cardinal's Arms with his Cap painted at the Top.*

Having mentioned the very high and honorary Truſt repoſed in the Cardinal by the Univerſity of *Cambridge* on this Occaſion, that I may preſent to the Reader in one View, an Account of certain Memorials which have been imparted to me relating to that ancient Seat of Learning, and to the preſent Head, I ſhall here proceed to give an Abſtract of them.

In the Year 1520 that Univerſity, principally in Honour, as I preſume, to the Cardinal, who was then preſent, [y] incorporated Dr. *Taylor*; and admitted certain other Perſons to the Doctorate, in the Canon Law; their Admiſſions being freely and fully accepted, as if they had performed the uſual Exerciſes pre-required to that Degree.

In 1521 his Eminence attended the [z] Queen in her Progreſs to *Cambridge*; at which time I find certain Expences charged to the Univerſity, as in the Year preceeding, upon his [a] particular Account; and a Fabrick erected by them for his more ſplendid Reception; but of what Kind, or in what Place, the moſt learned and obliging Perſon, who communicated theſe Notices from the Univerſity-Regiſter to me, has not ſpecified. At the ſame time an Oration was ſpoken by one [b] *Roo*, Maſter of Arts of *Queen's College*, a Copy of which may be conſulted in the very valuable Collection of Manuſcripts to which I refer.

But having in a ſeparate *Eſſay towards a Vindication of Cardinal* Wolſey *from certain popular Imputations*, cited a publick [c] Speech of Dr. *Bullock* in that Univerſity, and obliged my ſelf by Promiſe to publiſh it at length in the Collections, as being very ſcarce, and tranſcribed from one of the firſt Pieces printed at *Cambridge* in the Year 1521, in a fair and large Character, I could not diſpenſe with my ſelf in the Breach of that Promiſe; eſpecially conſidering how many great Things are ſaid, and how many hiſtorical Facts obſerved in it to the Cardinal's Advantage, before a moſt ſplendid and numerous Audience, in which the Imperial Ambaſſadors were preſent.

Neither were the Honours, which Cardinal *Wolſey* received from that Univerſity, merely verbal. They acquaint him by Letter,

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[y] Anno 1520, Doctores admiſſi & Incorporati. Quo Tempore venerit Dominus Cardinalis. Dr. *Tayler* incorporatus in Jure canonico. Dr. *Sampſon* [*Ric*] admiſſus in Jure canonico. Dr. *Burbank* admiſſus in Jure canonico. Quorum admiſſiones ſunt acceptæ *gratis* pro completa Inceptione. *Clariſſ. Baker ex Regr. Accad.*

[z] Anno 1521, Regina venit *Cantabrigiam*, Expenſæ in Adventu Reginæ 9 *lb. id.*

[a] Expenſæ circa Cardinalem 10 *lb.* 10 *s.* aderat Epiſcopus *Elienſis.* id Ann. 1520. Pro Emundatione Platearum in Adventu Cardinalis 13 *d.* 1521. It. Hiis, qui erexerunt Fabricam in Adventu Cardinalis, id Ann. 1521.

[b] Oratio habita eſt a M'ro *Roo* Ex Coll. Regali cum illuc venerat Cardinalis, MS. C.C.C. Miſcell. P. id.

[c] Coll. N° 22. Book II.

That in regard to the many Favours he had conferred on them, they propoſe to appoint yearly and perpetual [d] Obſequies to be performed for him, which ſhould be celebrated by all [e] Graduates with the greateſt Solemnity, and with every proper Mark of Honour, Piety, or Religion, which either himſelf ſhould direct, or the Univerſity judge moſt requiſite.

I find another remarkable Inſtance of the great Deference which that Univerſity paid to the Judgement and Authority of the Cardinal, with reſpect to [f] Dr. *Clyffe*, Chancellor to the Biſhop of *Ely*, who excommunicated one of their Members for a Crime of Incontinency, committed, as he alledged, without the Bounds of their Juriſdiction. *Clyffe* being convened on this Account, before the Vice-Chancellor Dr. *Edmonds* and his Aſſeſſors, pretended to juſtify himſelf upon the Conſtruction of a certain Law produced by him; but his Plea was fully anſwered and over-ruled by *Thyrlby* Doctor of Law, and Council for the Univerſity. After ſome Diſpute the Deciſion of the Matter was referred to the Cardinal, who ordered *Clyffe* to ſubmit himſelf in a proper Manner to the Univerſity, that he might receive Abſolution; and thereupon *Clyffe* was reſtored by the Cardinal, at the Inſtance of certain Friends, to his Place and Degrees in the Univerſity.

Upon this Occaſion the Univerſity wrote a [g] Letter of Thanks and Acknowledgement to the Cardinal, expreſſing their great Joy for his juſt and authoritative Admonition to their common Enemy, which he had expreſſed in theſe Words. “ [h] Know you not, “ Sir, that the whole Authority of the Univerſity is by their vo- “ luntary Act conferred to us? And if you know it to be ſo transferred, How come you to be ſo audacious as to infringe or op- “ poſe our Authority? You ſhall return to *Cambridge*, there to be “ abſolved from the Sentence of Excommunication.”

But their Joy was much diminiſhed by the Contempt *Clyffe* had ſhewed to the Cardinal's Orders, and the bad Influence which the Example of one, who profeſſed and was ſuppoſed to underſtand the Laws, might have upon others. Afterwards they addreſs their Thanks to his Eminency for the eaſy and favourable Acceſs he had been pleaſed to grant to them in this Cauſe; but hope ſtill greater

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[d] Exequias & Parentalia, Quæ quotannis & perpetuo, poſtquam ſupremam claudere Diem contigerit, auguſtiſſimo apud nos Loco celebranda; illo omni Honore, Religione, Apparatu, & Ritibus, Quæ vel tua Celſitudo nobis præſcribere, vel ipſi nos excogitare poſſumus. Maſt. Coll.

[e] Gradu aliquo Scholaſtico inſignitis.

[f] Collect. N° 23. Book II. *from Dr.* Baker.

[g] Coll. N° 24. Book II. *from the ſame Hand.*

[h] Tun' neſcis Academiam & totam & volentem in noſtra eſſe poteſtate? aut ſi ſcias, Tun' audes nobis creditam invadere & oppugnare. Redibis *Cantabrigiam* illic Anathematis nexu ſolvendus.

Things from his Goodneſs, provided they ſhould make it their Endeavour to ſuppreſs all thoſe Errors, which at that time as they repreſent, greatly diſturbed the World. Among other Remedies, to this End, they apprehend it would be of great Uſe if three Bookſellers, Men of Reputation and Gravity, but Foreigners, for which they aſſign a Reaſon, might be allowed in *Cambridge* by the King, at his Interceſſion; who ſhould be obliged upon Oath, and under ſtrict Penalties not to ſell any Book, before it had been firſt approved by the Cenſors of Books, to be appointed by the Univerſity. But I ſhall no longer detain the Reader from a Peruſal of the Letter itſelf, than while I obſerve, that the [i] Titles of the Cardinal in this Letter, and in the Oration next referred to, are not inferior to thoſe concerning which I have taken diſtinct Notice before from the Univerſity of *Oxford*.

Dr. *Buckmaſter* ſucceeded Dr. *Edmunds* as Vice-Chancellor in the Year 1529, and continued the Proceſs againſt *Clyffe*, and there being ſome Account of this Affair in an [k] Oration which he ſpoke to the Senate, I have thought proper to exhibit a Copy of it in the Collections, and alſo to add That of *Clyffe*'s [l] Excommunication.

What particular Benefactions the Cardinal conferred on that Univerſity, or ſeparately on any of the Colleges, I have not been able to inform my ſelf: But I find that in the Year 1728, if the Authority of Mr. *Maſter* in his elaborate [m] Collections may be depended upon, the Fellows of King's College wrote to his Eminency, that upon his Recommendation, and as he had ſignified how dear Dr. *Fox* was to him, they had elected him their Provoſt.

Had thoſe high Marks of Eſteem and Veneration, which the Univerſity of *Cambridge* ſhewed to the Cardinal, been wholly owing to his Character as ſuch, or to his other Characters of Legate, Chancellor, or Archbiſhop, they had been leſs honorary to him. But it may be well inferred from a [n] Letter written to him by that learned Body, when he was then only Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and newly advanced to that Charge, that they conſidered him as having an extraordinary Share of perſonal Merit. For in that Letter, the Preſident, ſo he is ſtiled, with the Reſt of that learned Univerſity, propoſe, on Account of his many great and generous Qualities, which they elegantly celebrate, to chuſe him their Chancellor, and earneſtly requeſt him to accept that Office, tho' inferior to his high Deſerts, which yet (and it may be conſidered as one Inſtance of his Moderation) he humbly declined. Upon which Occaſion [o] *Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter* gives him a Title, which has ſince been appropriated, if it were not ſo then, to thoſe who have been promoted, at leaſt, to the Archiepiſcopal Dignity.

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[i] Celſitudo & ſublimitas paſſim in hac Epiſt. Literæ veſtræ ejuſdem Reverendiſſimi Majeſtati acceptæ. Benigniſſima ejus Majeſtas. In Orat. *It appears by this Oration, that the Biſhop of* Ely *himſelf had been alſo excommunicated.*

[k] Coll. N° 25. Book II.

[l] Coll. N° 26. Book II.

[m] Maſt. Coll. *p.* 406.

[n] Coll. N° 27. Book II.

The Cardinal, in [p] anſwer to the Univerſity, whoſe Letters had been delivered to him by a ſpecial Deputation, acquaints them, that nothing could have been more grateful or engaging to him, than ſo ſignal a Teſtimony of their Favour, which he had neither ſought after, nor done any thing to merit: But he is ſo ſenſible of the great Honour deſigned to him, that he will make it his Endeavour to ſhew his Gratitude, by doing the Univerſity in general, and the ſeveral Members of it, the beſt Services in his Power. He excuſes himſelf for not writing in ſo copious a Manner as he propoſed, from the Multiplicity of publick Affairs wherewith he was taken up, and therefore refers them to the Magiſtrates deputed by the Univerſity to wait on him, for a more particular Anſwer; wherein I preſume he apologized for his declining the great Offer made to him of a Title and Truſt, with which Perſons of the greateſt Quality, Fortune, and Merit, have thought themſelves ſtill more eminently diſtinguiſhed.

16. As to honourable Teſtimonies to the Cardinal's Advantage by private Perſons, I ſhall principally confine my ſelf to thoſe which have occurred to me in reading the Epiſtles of *Eraſmus*, who was very well acquainted at that time with the Affairs and Characters of the *Engliſh* Court; a Name of very great Authority, one of the [q] Greateſt, ſays Mr. *Bayle*, without Diſpute, that was ever known in the Republick of Letters, and to whom, as [r] *Moreri* has juſtly obſerved, the Re-eſtabliſhment of polite Literature was principally owing.

This extraordinary Perſon has ſaid ſeveral fine Things in Praiſe of Cardinal *Wolſey*'s ſuperior Talents, and his generous ſocial Qualities, with ſome things (which I ſhall not diſſemble) to his Diſadvantage; but thoſe, after he was in Diſgrace.

The principal Virtues for which he is celebrated by *Eraſmus*, for it would be endleſs to deſcend to every Sketch of his Character drawn by that great Maſter, were his extraordinary Humanity and

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[o] Sed Reverendiſſimus (ſunt verba *Roffenſis* in altera Epiſtola) noluit accipere. *Baker.*

[p] Coll. N° 28. Book II.

[q] Il ſeroit ſuperflu de remarquer que c'etoit un de plus grans Hommes qu'on ait jamais dans la Republique des Lettres. C'eſt un verite peu conteſtee. *Dict.*

[r] C'eſt a lui qu'on doit principalement le Retabliſſement des belles Lettres, *&c. Le Grand. Dict.*

Moderation, his Beneficence and Zeal for the Reformation of Manners, and the Advancement of Learning; as his Abilities were repreſented to conſiſt in the Wiſdom and Rectitude of his Adminiſtration.

I am ſenſible, as to the Firſt of theſe moral Characters, the Cardinal is placed by moſt Writers in a very different View; and the general Opinion of the World hath been, that he was a Man of a haughty and aſſuming Temper, who affected to keep his Inferiors at a Diſtance, and did not diſcover a very humble or ſubmiſſive Temper towards other Perſons in general. I ſhall not reſume what I have ſaid before, towards obviating this common Tradition, from a natural Dignity of Manner and Aſpect, which I aſcrib'd to the Cardinal. My Buſineſs is only at preſent to remind the Reader, that I am not here forming any Judgement concerning his Character in this or other Reſpects, but only making a Report from the Teſtimony of *Eraſmus*, who, particularly in ſeveral of his Epiſtles, deſcribes him as a Perſon of a moſt humane, condeſcending, and affable Temper. He ſaith, in a Letter to his Eminency, "[s] A very great and ſplendid Fortune, is uſually "invidious; but the wonderful Facility of your Manners, con"ſpicuous and known to all Perſons, ſo diſarms Envy itſelf, that "they do not ſo much conſider the Greatneſs of your Fortune, "as the native Goodneſs of your Diſpoſition." He had addreſſed himſelf [t] before in the ſame Letter, as he does, on another Occaſion, to the Cardinal in [u] Terms of the like Import. And as to his own Particular, or ſo far as he perſonally ſhared in the Effects of the Cardinal's Humanity, at the ſame time he repreſents him to a Friend by a bold [x] Expreſſion, (which he therefore endeavours to qualify) as in a Manner of equal Authority with the King: He yet extols him for the ſingular Goodneſs and Condeſcention which his Eminency had ſhewed towards himſelf.

If theſe were the real Sentiments of *Eraſmus*, and nothing appears more inconſiſtent with ſo great a Character, than the little and ſordid Arts of Flattery, they are yet contradicted, not only, as I obſerved before, by common Fame, but by a [y] Letter written by a Clergyman to *George Talbot* the firſt Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Original whereof is in the *Herald's Office*. And as I would not ſuppreſs any Evidence, or Facts competently atteſted, tho' to the Cardinal's Diſadvantage, the Reader may, if he pleaſes, conſult this Letter in the Collections, and make his own Inferences, as to the Article under Conſideration, from it: Let him judge for himſelf, how far a Miniſter, who has not only the principal [z] Direction of Affairs in the Court and Dominions of his Maſter, but a powerful Influence over all the Motions in the other Courts of *Europe*, can yet be at leiſure to attend the ſeveral Applications made to him by private Perſons, upon private Affairs? And whether from the Difficulty of Acceſs to ſuch a Miniſter, or from his anſwering to any importunate Sollicitors, "* If ye be not content to tar-" ry my Leiſure, depart when you will," is it juſt to conclude, that he is therefore deficient in the common Offices of Candor and Humanity.

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[s] Eximiæ Felicitatis Invidia comes eſſe ſolet, at mira morum tuorum Facilitas omnibus Expoſita obviaque ſic prorſus Invidiam omnem excludit, ut Homines non minus ament naturæ tuæ Bonitatem, quam Fortunæ magnitudinem ſuſpiciunt. Eraſm. Cardinali. *Sep.* 9, 1517.

[t] Rara quædam & inaudita Comitas.

[u] Non minus humanum quam magnum, hoc eſt non minus amandum, quam reverendum, *p.* 750.

[x] Rex ultro me mira complexus eſt Humanitate, atque item Cardinalis, Rex alter, ut ita loquar. Eraſ. Bilibaldo.

[y] Coll. N° 30. Book II.

The Beneficence of the Cardinal, for which *Eraſmus* takes ſo many Occaſions of applauding him, was a Vertue ſo eminently conſpicuous throughout the whole Courſe of his Life, from the Time he became capable of exerting it, that here his greateſt Enemies have been obliged to do him Juſtice; and particularly with Reſpect to his moſt ample and magnificent Contributions towards the Advancement of Learning, and the Reformation of Manners. " The [a] Cardinal of *York*, ſaith *Eraſmus*, to whom I now confine " my ſelf upon theſe Heads, hath ſettled every Thing in the Re-" publick of Letters upon a better Foot; encouraging all Perſons " by his Liberality, to be ſtudious; and the ſame laudable Deſign " is proſecuted by Cardinal *Campejus*, one of the beſt, as well as " one of the moſt learned Men, with equal Vigour." I ſhall take the Liberty of adding what follows, it being an Obſervation very much for the Honour of the *Engliſh* Court at that time, and which probably could never have been ſo juſtly made before that Time, or ſince: " [b] The King's Court, *ſaith he*, is repleniſhed with a " greater Number of learned Men, than any Univerſity." *Eraſmus* in another Letter written the ſame Year to Sir *Henry Guildeford* Maſter of the Horſe, propounds this Queſtion: " [c] *Where is the* " *School, or Monaſtery, that hath at any time produced ſo great a* " *Number of Men, eminent for their Probity and Learning, as the*

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[z] Favent Epiſcopi — tum cæteri ferme omnes tum præcipue Dunelmenſis, qui Regi eſt à ſecretis, item *Roffenſis* vir Pietate Doctrinaque ſingulari. Ad hæc Archiepiſcopus *Eboracenſis* cujus nunc eſt incredibilis apud Regem tum gratia tum Authoritas, nam Regiis Curis adeſt ut maxima pars negotiorum in ejus reclinet Humeros. Eraſm. Ep. 168, Raphaeli Cardinali Sancti *Georgii*.

* *The Words of the Cardinal in the Letter, to which I refer.*

[a] Cardinalis *Eboracenſis* omnia ſtudia in melius reſtituit; ſuaque Benignitate omnes invitat ad Amorem ſtudiorum. Nec aliud agit Cardinalis *Campegius*, vir omnium & optimus & doctiſſimus. Eraſm. Jac. Baniſio, 21 *Jun.* 1519.

[b] Aula Regis plus habet Hominum Eruditione præſtantium, quam ulla Academia, *id.*

[c] Quæ Schola, quod Monaſterium uſquam tam multos habet inſigni probitate Doctrinaque preditos, quam veſtra habet Aula? *id.*

“ *preſent Court of* England?” Mr. [d] *Strype* has cited theſe two laſt Paſſages from *Eraſmus*, except that he has omitted what relates to the Character of Cardinal *Campejus*: Tho' I will not be ſo injurious to him as to ſuppoſe, this was done out of Regard to the Memory of Biſhop *Burnet*; who has been ſo far from repreſenting that Cardinal, with *Eraſmus*, as one of the Beſt of Men, that, according to his Account, he was one of the moſt vile, lewd, and profligate Libertines of the Age wherein he lived. But whatever Eſteem is due to the learned Author who wrote the Hiſtory of the Reformation in *England*, I cannot think my ſelf excuſable in omitting any good Teſtimony, which may be of uſe to vindicate the Honour of an abuſed Perſon, as Cardinal *Campejus* is ſufficiently proved to have been by that Prelate, [e] in another Place, and by other Teſtimonies beſides that of *Eraſmus*. And here I cannot but obſerve that Mr. *Strype*, tho' leſs favourable to Cardinal *Wolſey* on other Occaſions, yet has done him a memorable Act of Juſtice, with reſpect to his Beneficence and Endeavours towards the Advancement of Learning. He obſerves, “ [f] That the Nation at that Time was noted abroad for the Learning and learned Men, wherewith it was repleniſhed; as was the Council alſo, and the King himſelf, renowned not only for that Accompliſhment, but for his ſharp Wit and Parts likewiſe, which muſt be attributed chiefly to the Cardinal's Influence and Encouragement, and furtherance of good Studies.”

It might not be unacceptable to the Reader, ſhould I here enumerate the ſeveral Names of Diſtinction in the Commonwealth of Learning, at this Time in *England*: But to avoid Prolixity, I ſhall reſtrain my ſelf to ſuch of them, of whom I find *Eraſmus* makes honourable mention; tho' there might be a great Number of other learned Men, whom he had no occaſion to mention, or to whoſe Characters perhaps he was altogether a Stranger. Among the Former are that of the [g] King, and even of the [h] Queen, of Cardinal *Wolſey*, of *Warham* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, of *Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, [i] *Tonſtall* Biſhop of *Durham*, *Fox* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, [k] Sir *Thomas More* Privy Counſellor, [l] *Linacre* Phyſician to the King, [m] *Colet* Chaplain to the King, [n] *Pace* chief Secretary, *Lily* firſt Schoolmaſter of St. *Paul's* School, [o] *Montjoy* Steward of the Queen's Houſehold, [p] *Stokeſley* Chaplain to the King, Sir *Henry Guildeford*, *Grocyn*.

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[d] Memor. Eccleſ. *p.* 34.

[e] *Eſſay towards a Vindication*, &c.

[f] Eccleſ. Memor. *p.* 34.

[g] Rex doctus & acerrimi Ingenii.

[h] Regina egregie docta.

[i] A Scriniis.

[k] A Secretioribus Conſiliis.

[l] A Cura Valetudinis.

[m] A Sacris concionibus.

[n] Primus ab Epiſtolis.

[o] Homo eruditus.

[p] A Sacris Theologiis Scholaſticus, trium Linguarum peritus.

I ſhall conclude this Article relating to the State of Learning with a Paſſage from *Eraſmus*, wherein he forms a Compariſon between the Foundation in *Oxford* by Biſhop *Fox*, and that by the Cardinal[q]. He acknowledgeth himſelf very ſenſibly affected with the Magnificence of the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, in erecting and amply endowing a College at his proper Expence. But he is wholly captivated with Admiration at the vaſt and truly heroick Deſign formed by Cardinal *Wolſey*, who has with the greateſt Wiſdom conſtituted a learned Society, not only for the Improvement of Knowledge in every Language and every Science, but for a ſuitable Regulation of Manners. And *Eraſmus* indeed has not omitted to do him Juſtice on other Occaſions, with Reſpect to the great Care he took towards introducing a more ſtrict [r]Diſcipline and Morality, eſpecially in the Monaſteries, and among the Clergy of every Denomination.

What *Eraſmus* has ſaid concerning the Cardinal's great Abilities, in reſpect to the Wiſdom and Rectitude of his Adminiſtration, is very much alſo for his Honour. He does not only diſcover the Force of his Eloquence, but is ſo copious on this Head, that I muſt ſatisfy my ſelf among the numerous Paſſages which might here be cited, with referring to two or three of them. "[ſ]Your " Highneſs, *ſaith he*, in the happy Adminiſtration of the moſt " flouriſhing Kingdom upon Earth, are not leſs neceſſary to the " King your Maſter, than *Theſeus* was formerly to *Hercules*, and " *Achates* to *Æneas*." He attributes it to the Cardinal's Conduct and Influence that a ſtrict [t] League among the moſt potent Monarchs in *Europe*, was at laſt perfected, and when the Sovereign Pontiff himſelf, with all his Authority and Inſtances to that End, had not been able to effect it. On Occaſion of the Cardinal's Embaſſy to *Bruges*, where *Eraſmus* reports he was accompanied by *Tonſtall*, *More*, and *Montjoy*, the Emperor received him, as I have obſerved in another [u]Place, with all the [x] Honours that could well have been paid to a Crowned Head: The [y] Deſign of that Embaſſy was to adjuſt certain Differences between the *Imperial* and the *French* Court, as *Eraſmus* obſerves, on Occaſion of his mentioning *Luther*'s Book of the *Babyloniſh Captivity*, concerning which he affirms, he did not know of its being written, till he ſaw a printed Copy of it in that Place. He had been charged, it ſeems, more than once, with favouring *Luther*'s Doctrines: And in another of his Letters, I find, he was even ſuſpected to have had a Hand in compoſing the Books which paſſed under *Luther*'s Name. But to remove this Suſpicion, he profeſſes he was not ſo much as known to *Luther*, nor had he at that time ever read above two or three Pages of his Books. He gives, at the ſame time, a Teſtimony concerning *Luther*, which I ſhould be unjuſt to the Memory of that Reformer in ſuppreſſing. He ſaith, " [z] *Luther*'s Manner of " Life is approved by general Conſent, and it contributes not a " little to prepoſſeſs People in his Favour, That his moral Beha- " viour is ſuch, that even his Enemies cannot find any thing juſtly " blameable in it." This Teſtimony is more conſiderable, as *Eraſmus* was then in the good Graces of the Court of *Rome*, and particularly of Pope *Leo*; to whom, in a Letter to the Cardinal, he [a] profeſſeth the greateſt and moſt inviolable Attachment, as he does at the ſame time to the Doctrine of the *Romiſh* Church in general, confirming the Truth of what he ſays by a ſolemn Imprecation.

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[q] *Deamo Richardum* Epiſcopum *Wintonienſem*. Qui magnificentiſſimum Collegium ſuo ſumptu proprie dicavit. Magis autem oſculor egregium ac prorſus heroicum Animum *Thomæ* Cardinalis *Eboracenſis*. Cujus prudentia Schola *Oxonienſis* non ſolum omni Linguarum & Studiorum genere, verum & moribus, quæ deceant optima Studia, Condecorabitur. Eras. Gul. Montjoio. Antwerp 1519.

[r] Monaſteria paſſim veteri Religionis Diſciplinæ reſtituis. Clerum omnem ad laurdatiorem vitæ Formam revocas. Eraſ. Card. Ebor.

[ſ] Porro tua Reverenda ſublimitas Regiæ Majeſtati regnum multò omnium florentiſſimum longe feliciſſime Adminiſtranti hoc ipſum eſt quod olim *Herculi Theſeus*, quod *Achates Æneæ*. Antwerp *Sept*. 9, 1715. Eraſ. Cardinali.

[t] Inter tot precipuos Orbis Monarchas jam olim optatam pacem arctiſſimis Fœderibus conglutinaſti; cum *Leo* Pontifex Maximus Pacis alioqui cupientiſſimus de Quinquennibus Induciis duntaxat ageret.

[u] *See Eſſay towards a Vindication*, &c.

[x] Quem Legatione fungentem *Carolus* regia quadam munificentia excepit. Eraſm. Budeo 1521, T. 679.

Had *Eraſmus* made the Dedication, which he propoſes to addreſs to the Cardinal, and concerning which, he ſpeaks with too great an Air of that [b] Vanity, which is ſomething obſervable in very good Authors, we might have had a full and finiſhed Character drawn at once by that excellent and maſterly Hand, inſtead of theſe few Strictures which I have, and others which I might have gathered from him. Tho' I do not find, however he appeared to wait a proper Occaſion for it, that he ever made any formal Addreſs of this Kind to the Cardinal: He wiſhed [c] indeed, he might have had the Honour of Addreſſing to him his Paraphraſe of the Epiſtles of St. *Paul*, but excuſeth himſelf, on Account of his having compoſed this Paraphraſe at different Times, and inſcribed it to different Perſons. But this, by the Way, is not the only Inſtance of a Weakneſs common to *Eraſmus*, with ſome other great Names of Diſtinction in the learned World; we have too flagrant an [d] Inſtance of it upon his intended Edition of the *New Teſtament*; but to which I ſhall barely refer.

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[y] Non prius reſcivi Scriptum eſſe quam vidi excuſum, idque *Brugis*, cum illic Cardinalis *Eboracenſis* ageret de Rebus componendis inter *Cæſarem* & *Gallum*. Feb. 1, 1523. fol. 762.

[z] Hominis Vita magno omnium conſenſu probatur. Id non leve prejudicium tantam eſſe morum Integritatem, ut nec Hoſtes reperiant, quod Calumnientur.

[a] — Experietur Celſitudo veſtra *Eraſmum* toto pectore ſervientem Dogmati ſedis *Romanæ*, preſertim *Leonis* decimi. Ex Antwer. Maij 18, 1518.

[b] Aliud opus æque victurum. Lovain, 1 Feb. 1519, Cardinali Ebor.

[c] Ibid.

Tho' ſuch Letters as were written to *Eraſmus* by other Perſons, and are collected among his own, cannot properly be cited under his Name; yet there are two conſiderable Teſtimonies from his great Friends Sir *Thomas More*, and *Ammonius*, relating to the Cardinal's wiſe and equitable Conduct, as Chancellor of *England*, that may be here not inconveniently cited: And eſpecially as they tend to remove a Prejudice, which has been entertained againſt the Cardinal, as if he had uſed ſome indirect Methods towards ſuperſeding Archbiſhop *Warham* in that high Office. [e] Sir *Thomas More* expreſsly aſſerts, *that* Archbiſhop really deſired to lay it down; nay, that he had for ſome Years made preſſing Inſtances for a Permiſſion to reſign, wherein he at laſt ſucceeded, to the End he might enjoy an agreeable Receſs from the publick Cares, which attended it, ſweetned by the Reflection of his having ſo well and honourably diſcharged the Duties of it. What follows is very much for the Advantage of the Cardinal his Succeſſor, "[f] Whoſe Conduct, ſaith Sir *Thomas*, hath even ever far ſurpaſſed the publick Expectation, great as it was, on Account of his other eminent Qualities: So that he has had the Happineſs, which is not commonly or eaſily attained, of being approved and even of *pleaſing*, after a moſt excellent Predeceſſor."

[g] *Ammonius* writes to *Eraſmus* to the ſame Effect, in Regard to both the foregoing Articles; but withal, makes a handſome Inſinuation, as if the Cardinal were ſo far from ſeeking or ſolliciting the Chancellorſhip, that Entreaties were uſed to oblige him to accept it.

But after all the advantagious Things ſpoken by *Eraſmus* of the Cardinal, did he not at laſt expoſe him to the View of the World in a new, and perhaps much truer Light, as being no longer under the Awe of his great Power and Promiſes? or as having nothing either now to fear or to hope from him? This is an Exception which may be here naturally made, and I am willing to give it all the Force I can: But at the ſame time recommend it to be conſidered, how far a Change of Fortune in our Patrons or Friends is commonly apt, tho' that is an Effect which ought not to follow in generous Minds, to cauſe a Change both in our Sentiments and our Behaviour towards them: And eſpecially if we have thought our ſelves much neglected, or very ill uſed by them.

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[d] Cui quidem Operi certum eſt immori aut ita tractare, ut tum mihi tum *Leoni* P. M. nunquam Intermoriturum Famæ Decus ſit. Non recuſo quo minus hoc a me arroganter Dictum videatur, niſi Re præſtitero, quod polliceor. F. 263. Eraſm. Cardinali.

[e] Archiepiſcopus *Cantuarienſis*, Officio Cancellarii, cujus opus, jam aliquot, ut ſcis, Annos, mirum quam laborabat excutere, tandem exſolutus eſt. Et deſideratum jam diu ſecretum nactus gratiſſimo inter Literas otio, & negotiorum bene a ſe geſtorum Recordatione fruitur.

[f] Princeps ei Cardinalem ſuffecit *Eboracenſem*. Qui ita ſe gerit ut ſpem quoque omnium, quanquam pro reliquis Ejus virtutibus maximam, longe tamen exuperat. Et (quod eſt difficillimum) etiam poſt optimum predeceſſorem valde probetur ac placeat. Morus Eraſmo, F. 221.

[g] Tuus *Cantuarienſis* cum bona Regis venia, magiſtratu ſe abdicavit. Quem *Eboracenſis* impendio rogatus ſuſcepit & pulcherrime gerit. Andreus Ammonius Eraſm. 17 Feb 1517.

Now this, it may be pretended, was the Caſe of *Eraſmus*. The Cardinal had made him Promiſes, wherein probably he might apprehend himſelf much intereſted, both in Regard to his Reputation and Fortune in the World, which Promiſes yet were not made good to him. Tho' there was nothing ſingular in ſuch a Conduct, even if we conſider the Cardinal as an Eccleſiaſtick of the firſt Diſtinction; yet, had he really been chargeable with it, nothing can be ſaid, I do not ſay in his Juſtification, but in his Excuſe. He had deſerved, for ſo injurious and diſhonourable a Treatment of *Eraſmus*, as ſevere an Animadverſion from the fine Pen of that Writer, as could have been made with Decency.

A promiſſory Lye is not merely to be conſidered, as an Argument of a little vulgar and ſordid Mind, and as attended with that Infamy, which in the common Judgement of Mankind, is due to *Lying* in general; but withal may and does often prove in the Conſequence an Act of the higheſt and moſt irreparable Injuſtice, by engaging ſuch who have depended on it, to purſue very different Meaſures from thoſe which Prudence would otherwiſe have obliged them to take.

But however *Eraſmus* might reſent ſuch Uſage, if he had really been ſo uſed, he ought to have confined himſelf to that Subject, which, to a Perſon of his Wit, had certainly afforded ſufficient Matter of it ſelf for a generous Revenge. He had no Occaſion, in order to gratify that Paſſion, to contradict his former Elogies upon the Cardinal, or to aſcribe to him what was not only irreconcileable to his own Teſtimony, but to Truth: Much leſs did it become him to take an Opportunity of inſulting a great Man under Circumſtances of Diſtreſs.

I ſhould have been very willing, out of the high Regard which I bear to the general Character of *Eraſmus*, to have ſuppreſſed theſe Reflections, had not the Love of Truth, of Juſtice, and Honour, in a Manner, forcibly extorted them from me. But let us conſider the Remarks which himſelf made, on Occaſion of the Cardinal's Diſgrace.

" [b] This, *ſaith he*, is the Play of *Fortune*; from being a School-

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[b] Hic eſt Fortunæ Ludus. Ex Ludimagiſtro ſubvectus eſt in Regnum. Nam plane regnabat verius quam ipſe Rex: metuebatur ab omnibus, amabatur a paucis, ne dicam a nemine. Eraſm. Vergaræ 1530.

" maſter He was in a Manner advanced to the Royal Dignity, " for he might more truly be ſaid to reign, than the King him-" ſelf. He was feared by all Perſons, beloved by few, if by any " Body." Having cenſured him afterwards for the Impriſonment of Secretary *Pace*, and his threatning the good Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, he applies to him the Aphoriſm of *Solomon*, That *a haughty Spirit* goeth *before a Fall*; not recollecting that the Cardinal's great Affability and Moderation, had been ſome of the Vertues which himſelf had formerly employed his Eloquence in celebrating. What he ſays too concerning the Cardinal's being removed from the [i] Chancellorſhip to the Joy of all good Men, appears at leaſt very improbable; for ſcarce any Man, by the Conceſſion of his greateſt Adverſaries, ever acquitted himſelf in that Station with more Integrity or Honour. Now it is very unaccountable, how a faithful and honourable Diſcharge of a publick Truſt, by any Perſon, ſhould be a Means of occaſioning a publick Satisfaction at his Removeal from it.

It does not, after all, appear, that the Cardinal could be ſaid to falſify his Promiſe to *Eraſmus*. *Demolendinus* indeed, in a [k] Letter to that great Man, charges the Cardinal with Breach of Promiſe on his Account, which he obſerves as a Thing peculiar to Courtiers. And he pretends the Cardinal had actually given Expectation to *Eraſmus* of a *Canonry* of *Tournay*, where himſelf was Canon: Adding, that Lord *Montjoy* going to *England*, had promiſed to uſe his Intereſt there in *Eraſmus* his Favour. But then we may obſerve, from a [l] Letter of Sir *Thomas More* in Relation to this very Canonry, it was agreeable both to the Sentiments of Sir *Thomas More* and his own, that he ſhould not accept it: And one Reaſon ſpecified by Sir *Thomas*, for his declining it, was, That unleſs he ſhould be reſident on the Place, it would be of no Benefit to him.

17. After ſo great a Name as that of *Eraſmus*, I know not whether I ought to mention one [m] *Whittington*, who has inſcribed under a pompous Title, four ſmall Eſſays of his Wit to the Cardinal: One an Epigram, another an Epiſtolary Addreſs; a Third, concerning the Difficulty of a juſt Adminiſtration of the Commonwealth; and the Fourth, a Panegyrick upon the Four Cardinal Vertues. In the Laſt particularly, he has ſaid many

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[i] Morus magno omnium Applauſu, nec minori bonorum omnium Lætitia ſubvectus, quam dejectus Cardinalis. *ibid.*

[k] Demolendinus Eraſmo.

[l] Morus Eraſmo 1516. Fol. 221.

[m] Bibl. Bodl.

Things, if juſtly applied, to the Cardinal's Honour. If we may credit what has been reported, concerning certain Liberties taken by the Cardinal, *Whittington* ſeems to have been under the greateſt Difficulty upon the Subject of Temperance; having obſerved it is this Vertue, whereby we moderate all our irregular Appetites and Deſires, ſubjecting them to the Empire of Reaſon, and eſpecially to the Laws of *Purity* and Continence; he repreſents the Cardinal as eminently exemplifying the Power of this Vertue, by his being placed amidſt the ſtrongeſt Allurements to Pleaſure and Luxury, yet at the ſame time as preſerving his Innocence, and having a perfect Command over all his Paſſions; on which Account he makes him ſuperior to *Hercules*, who overcame cruel and horrid Monſters, but diſcovered his Weakneſs in ſuffering himſelf to be ſhamefully captivated by a Woman.

I am ſenſible, that great Allowances are to be made to Addreſſes of this Kind; and would not lay any Weight upon what is here recited, more than it will naturally bear. I ſhall only obſerve, that if the Cardinal's Life had really been as irregular, as ſome learned Hiſtorians have reprepreſented, this Panegyrick, as it is called, would have been a moſt ſevere Satyr upon him.

18. I ſhall conclude this Chapter with obſerving, that in the *Harleyan* Library, there is a Copy of *Latin* Verſes inſcribed to the Cardinal, under a large enumeration of his Titles, by *John Voſſius*; but who does not ſeem to have had all the great Talents for which ſeveral other learned Men of that Name have been juſtly celebrated.

CHAP. XII.

1. *Concerning the Cardinal's Penſions.* 2. *One from the King of* France. 3. *Two from the King of* Caſtile. 4. *A Letter from himſelf concerning the Latter.* 5. *That from the Duke of* Venice *is ſpecified before.* 6. *Of new Powers conferred on the Cardinal.* 7. *The Occaſion of certain Bulls from the Pope.* 8. *One to the Cardinal, wherein* Campejus *is appointed his Collegue.* 9. *A ſubſequent Bull wherein their Powers are enlarged.* 10. *The Arrival of* Campejus *in* England, *and how he was received.* 11. *In what Reſpect he is ſuperſeded by Cardinal* Wolſey. 12. *The Occaſions of Offence taken at the Conduct of the Latter.* 13. *Complaints in particular againſt the* Legatine Court *from Lord* Herbert. 14. *Whether ſupported by good Teſtimony.* 15. *The Powers granted to the Legates of remitting Sins, when they celebrated Maſs.* 16. *General Reflections upon the Sacerdotal Power of Abſolution.* 17. *Powers of a Civil Nature granted to Cardinal* Wolſey *by the King.*

1. IN ſpeaking upon the Head of the Cardinal's Penſions, I ſhall ſatisfy my ſelf with a bare Recital of them, and of the Conſiderations, upon which they were conſigned to him; from which the Reader may draw what Concluſions he ſhall judge moſt proper. I would only obſerve to him tranſiently, that by the Inſtruments of their Conveyance, it appeareth, they were not made over in that fraudulent clandeſtine Way, which is found neceſſary to cover infamous and diſhoneſt Contracts; but by certain open and authentick Inſtruments, which are yet to be ſeen in our publick Offices. So that if he had really been chargeable with the Crime of Bribery, under this Head, it was ſuch a Crime as no publick Mark of Infamy or Suſpicion of Infidelity did then attend; ſeeing the King his Maſter was or might have been at any time perfectly acquainted with the true Conditions of it. 1517. 1518.

2. The *French* King in 1518, made him a [n] Grant, during the Space of his natural Life, of a Penſion to the Value of Twelve thouſand Pounds *Turnoiſe*, which he was to receive annually by two equal Payments. We are at liberty to conjecture, if we pleaſe, that there might be Reaſons of Intereſt, or Reſpect to ſome ſecret Service to be performed for this Penſion. But the Laws of Equity will rather oblige us to enquire, whether it might not be an Equivalent for ſome Service which the Cardinal had performed al-

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[n] Coll. N° 31. Book II.

ready for that Prince, without any Prejudice to the Rights or Honour of his Maſter? or for ſome Ceſſion he had made of a Right to which himſelf pretended, and wherein he was greatly intereſted. This latter Conſideration is, in a very particular Manner, ſpecified in the Grant, where the *French* King recites, that in Regard the Cardinal had been content at his Inſtance, and to gratify him, totally to relinquiſh all his Claim and Title to the Biſhoprick of *Tournay*, and to the Adminiſtration and Profits of it, he hath aſſigned to him this Penſion.

3. In 1517 *Charles*, King of *Caſtile*, had granted him a [o] Penſion of Three thouſand Livers yearly, as well in Regard of the great Amity and Conſideration which that Prince had for him, as of the good Offices and effectual Pains he had taken in negotiating a Peace between the ſaid King of *Caſtile*, and his Maſter the King of *England*. The ſame Prince, in 1520, being then Emperor-Elect, made a yearly Grant to him, out of the [p] Revenues of two Biſhopricks in *Spain*, to the Value of Seven thouſand Ducats yearly; for Two thouſand of which, payable out of the Biſhoprick of *Palencia*, he had, in *July* following, a corroborating Bull from the Pope; if it was not rather properly in the Pope's Diſpoſition, and at the Inſtance of the King *Catholick* to his Holineſs granted to the Cardinal; tho' the Pope, in his Bull to that End, declareth, he is [q] induced to make this Grant, not at the Requeſt of the Cardinal, or of any other Perſon, but purely from his own voluntary Motion, in reſpect to the Cardinal's extraordinary Merits, and for the better Support of his Dignity. The Condition of making this Payment, was not only impoſed upon *Peter* then Biſhop of *Palencia*, in the Kingdom of *Leon*, and under the Archbiſhoprick of *Toledo*, now under that of *Burgos*, but, proviſionally, upon his Succeſſors, ſo long as the Cardinal ſhould live, by Advice of the Conclave, and under Pain of an Interdict, in caſe punctual Payment ſhould not be made at the Times ſpecified in the Bull. There appeareth to be no other Way of reconciling this Declaration of the Pope, with the Promiſe which *Charles* made to the Cardinal, that he would move his Holineſs to make this Aſſignment, than, by ſaying, that the Words from his own voluntary Motion, excluſive of all foreign Inſtances, are to be underſtood merely as Terms of Form, and common Ceremony. Notwithſtanding the ſtrict Charge for making exact Payment to the Cardinal according to the Tenor of this Bull, he complaineth

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[o] Coll. N° 32. Book II.

[p] Coll. N° 33. Book II.

[q] Vid. Rym. T. 13. 1520.

ſome Years after, in a Letter to *Edward Lee* the King's Almoner, afterwards Archbiſhop of *York*, that the Emperor was much in Arrears to him, both in regard to the Aſſignment out of the Biſhoprick of *Palencia*, and that which it ſeemeth was afterwards made to him out of the Archbiſhoprick of *Toledo*. I ſhall here tranſcribe this [ſ] Letter, as giving a more diſtinct Light into the State of the Cardinal's Penſions in *Spain*, at that Time, tho' the Year when it was written, is not ſpecified in the Date.

4. " Maſter Almoner, after my moſt hearty Commendations, " theſe ſhall be moſt hartely to praye you, to ſee ſuch Penſions as " be due to me of *Palaunce* and *Toledo*, to be paid unto me ac- " cording to ſuch Conſignation, as is made thereof by the Pope's " Bulles upon the ſaid Biſhopricks, for ſurely ye may ſay unto " them, that if they lenger tracte, or put over the ſayd Payment, " I will not fayle to have out Executorials for the attayning of my " ſaid pencions. And much it is to be marveyled, that they, " contrary to ther Othes, deteyne and withold the ſaid pencions. " For your better Aſſiſtence in this Matier, ye ſhall take to you " Maſter *John Almayn*, whom I have deputed to be oon of my " Commiſſaries jointly and ſeverally with you, like as ye ſhall " more amply perceyve by the Commiſſion, that I ſend unto you " herewith for that purpoſe.

" And whereas the ſaid Pencions amounteth yearly to the Sum " of $\overset{m}{\text{vii}}$ $\overset{c}{\text{v}}$ Ducats, I am contented ſoo that I may be ſurely paid " from tyme to tyme of my ſaid pencions, to geve yearly unto " the ſaid Maſter *John Almayn* $\overset{c}{\text{v}}$ Ducats, which I ſuppoſe will " make him erneſt, diligent, and benevolent, in aſſiſting you in " levying the reſt, with the Arrerages of the ſame.

" I have alſo themperor's Graunt of $\overset{m}{\text{ix}}$ Crownes ſoled to be yearly " payd during my Life, for the Recompenſe of my Biſhoprick " and [t] Abbey of St. *Martyns* in *Turney*, the Copy whereof I ſend " unto you herewith, whiche reſtithe unpayde now by the ſpace " of four years, ſo that themperor owith me, for the Arrerages of " the ſame, $\overset{m}{\text{xxxvi}}$ Crownes ſoled. I ſhall pray you with the Ayd " of the ſaid Maſter *John Almayn* to ſollicit for the payment of the " hole or at the leſt ſome good part thereof. And if Maſter *John* " *Almayn* cannot find the Means, that I may attain the hole, I " ſhall be contented to geve unto him for his Gratitude and payne

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[ſ] *Communicated to me by* Brown Willis, *Eſq;*
[t] *One of his Preferments not ſeparately mentioned before.*

“ two thouſand Crowns, and yerely of the ix^{m}. v^{c}. Ducats, ſo that
“ in the hole, he ſhall have by the Year a thouſand Ducats, which
“ is an honeſt pencion, and I ſuppoſe through your Labour, wiſe
“ and diligent handelynge will cauſe him effectually to ſollicite the
“ Premiſſes, like as I pray you to doe for your part, whoſe Labours
“ and paynes I ſhall ſo requite, that ye ſhall have cauſe to think
“ the ſame well employed; and ſuch Money as ſhall be receyved
“ for the premiſſes, ye may cauſe to be ſent hither by way of Ex-
“ change, the ſame to be made either with *Engliſhemen* or *Spaniards*,
“ as ye ſhall think moſt beneficial unto me. And as you ſhall have
“ need you may take part thereof for your Diets, which upon
“ your Certificate may be repayde unto me by Maſter *Wyat*.

“ I have good Truſt that themperor being a virtuous Prince,
“ will ſee his promiſe performed according to the purport of his
“ Letters patents thereupon to me made. and thus committing
“ my matiers to your wiſe faithfull and friendly handelyng I bid
“ you hartely farewell. at my Maner of the *More* the xxix day of
“ *September*.

Your lovyng Friende

T. Card. Ebor.

To my lovynge Friende, Maſter Edward
Lee *the King's Almoner, and his*
Grace's Ambaſſador reſident with
the Emperor.

5. Having taken notice before, concerning the Penſion from the Duke of *Venice*, and the Inſtrument relating to that Penſion being referred to in the Collections, I ſhall but here barely mention it.

6. The Augmentation of the Cardinal's Powers about this time was another Article, concerning which, I propoſed to ſay ſomething more diſtinctly.

7. The *Turk* by his late Victories againſt the Soldan of *Egypt*, whoſe Dominions he had ſeized and annexed to his Own, being now become very formidable to the Princes of *Europe*, having united two large and powerful Empires under his ſole Government; they were apprehenſive, leaſt being elated with his Succeſs, and at the Head of a numerous and well appointed Army, furniſhed with all the proper Means and Inſtruments of Action, he might attempt to make an Irruption into the Chriſtian Pale, and convert all his Fury to diſturb the Peace, and, if that might be poſſible, to extirpate the ſeveral Powers of it.

The Pope conſidering himſelf as the common Father of Chriſtians, but more eſpecially awakened at the Senſe of a Danger, from which his own Territories did not lie very remote, thought it more nearly concerned him to obviate, ſo far as he was able, any Deſigns which *Selim* might have of extending his Conqueſts towards the Weſt, or, upon any Pretence, of diſturbing the Repoſe of *Europe*. With this View he ſollicits, by his Bulls, the European Princes to unite againſt the common Enemy, and ſends Cardinals of the greateſt Authority to their reſpective Courts, to adviſe and recommend a general Confederacy againſt him. The Overtures of his Holineſs were for the moſt Part well received at firſt, and there was great Appearance that the Chriſtian Powers would readily give into them. But when they conſider'd, upon farther Reflection, that the Danger was remote and uncertain, and the Deſign itſelf attended with great Difficulties, but above all (as it frequently happens in general Confederacies) when every one began to conſult his private Intereſt, more than that of the common Cauſe, their firſt Ardour was obſerved gradually to abate, the Buſineſs was ſlightly followed, and in Shew only, till the Death of *Selim* finally put a Period to it.

8. While *Leo* the Tenth was projecting this Affair, he ſent one of his Bulls to the Cardinal, wherein [t] *Campejus*, a Man of approved Prudence, as well as Experience in tranſacting publick Affairs, is joined in Commiſſion with him, towards procuring a Truce among Chriſtian Princes for five Years: For notwithſtanding the Confidence which the Pope had in the Abilities and Conduct of this Legate, he ſignifieth to the [u] Cardinal, that as nothing ought to be omitted on his Part towards effecting the good End propoſed, knowing the Cardinal's great Weight and Authority at Court, and that he was able effectually to adviſe or diſſuade any thing, he had eſpecially required his Aſſiſtance in order to conduct and facilitate the Negotiation on Foot, and therefore conſtituted and deputed him as an [x] Angel of Peace, to tranſact it with an equal Share of Power and Authority.

9. Afterwards a [y] Bull with more ample Powers to the two Legates is expedited, towards authorizing them to treat directly of a Confederacy againſt the *Turk*, and giving Aſſurances, that what-

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[t] Virum ſane prudentem & rebus gerendis expertum.

[u] Coll. Nº 35. Book II. C. 12.

[x] Circumſpectionem ipſam tuam tanquam pacis Angelum Creamus atq; deputamus. — & ambos pari Authoritate. —

[y] Vid. Rym. Hono. T. 13.

ever Meaſures and Conditions in order to it, ſhall be propoſed by them, or whatever Conventions they may think fit to make, his Holineſs will be obliged to ratify them. There was alſo another Bull, wherein *Campejus* was veſted with a Legatine Power of viſiting Monaſteries: But being come ſo far on his Way to *England* as *Calais*, and having been at that time ſolely commiſſioned to this End, he was deſired by Cardinal *Wolſey* not to proceed any further 'till he might procure from *Rome*, that they both ſhould be joined in the ſame Commiſſion. This * Lord *Herbert* reports upon the Authority of *Hall*, and Archbiſhop *Parker*. But his Lordſhip ſeemeth to prefer that of our Records and *Polydore*, and to be of Opinion, this Legate was retarded in his Journey, in order to ſollicit that the Biſhoprick of *Bath* to be voided by the Deprivation of *Adrian*, convict of the Crime beforementioned, might be conferred on the Cardinal. * P. 79.

10. *Campejus*, after three Months Stay at *Calais*, that he might bring with him the Bulls in Favour of the Cardinal which he had continued there to ſollicit and expedite, was received upon his Arrival in *England* with great Pomp and Teſtimonies of Reſpect, being met at *Black-Heath* with the Duke of *Norfolk*, and a great Number of Prelates, Knights, and Gentlemen, and conducted by them into a rich Tent of Cloth of Gold, where he ſhifted his Habit, and put on the Cardinal's Robes edged with Ermine, and ſo rode in much State to *London*. But the Cardinal underſtanding that his Retinue at *Calais* was meanly cloathed, and did not make an Appearance ſuitable to the Dignity of his Station and Character, had ſent thither a conſiderable Quantity of ſcarlet Cloth, to do more Credit to his Embaſſy. Men, as they are differently affected to him, will judge of the Motives upon which he might be induced to this Expence. Some may ſuppoſe it was in pure Gratitude for the Services which *Campejus* had done for him, and which had detained him ſo long in his Way to *England*: Others may impute it to a magnificent Temper (for he had confeſſedly by his moſt virulent Adverſaries, a *Great Mind*) or a Deſire of doing Honour to the *Engliſh* Nation, by ſo handſome an Inſtance of Generoſity to a Stranger. Others may perhaps conjecture, that he had ſome private End of Vanity or Ambition to ſerve, in removing an Occaſion of Contempt or Diſreſpect to One who bore the ſame Character, as a *Prince* of the Church, with himſelf, and was joined in the ſame Commiſſion. It is ſo eaſy indeed for Perſons, who will give themſelves a Scope that Way, to aſcribe indifferent or good Actions to bad Motives, that if ſuch a Liberty might arbitrarily be uſed, the Character of no Perſon would be ſafe

in any Inſtance of his Conduct. It was probably from the ſame Motive, whatever it might be, that the Night before this Legate made his Entry into *London*, having but eight Mules of his own, the Cardinal, to make it more pompous, ſent him twelve more, with empty Coffers under a red Covering: But one of the Mules in *Cheapſide*, during the Proceſſion, being unruly, put others into ſuch a Diſorder, as cauſed ſeveral Carriages to be overturned, which breaking in the Fall, inſtead of the rich Furniture they were ſuppoſed to contain, expoſed to the View and Deriſion of the People a Collection of the moſt vile and homely Materials.

11. This Legate not finding the Clergy of *England* forward to comply with a Demand for a Tenth, for which he was commiſſioned by the Pope, gives him notice of their Incompliance, and proceeds to another Branch of his Commiſſion, That of viſiting Monaſteries. But the Cardinal thinking himſelf capable, without an Aſſociate, of diſchargeing that Office, while *Campejus* was yet in *England*, ſendeth *John Clark* Doctor of Laws to the Pope, to requeſt, That the whole Power, as to this Article, might be transferred upon himſelf. This was not done without the King's Privity, but rather, as * Lord *Herbert* expreſſeth it, by his Commandment. *Herb. p. 79. And *Clark* acquitted himſelf ſo well in the Buſineſs he was ſent to negotiate, that the Cardinal, *Campejus* being now revoked, obtained a Bull, whereby he was enabled to viſit not only Monaſteries, and all the Clergy of *England*, but to diſpenſe with the Laws of the Church for the Term of a Year, enſuing the Date of his Commiſſion.

12. This great Acceſſion of Power to the Cardinal gave much Offence, as being injurious to the ordinary Juriſdiction of the Biſhops; but, eſpecially, as one Suggeſtion, upon which the Cardinal endeavoured to procure it, highly reflected upon the Morals of the whole Body of the Clergy [z] as being given up to a reprobate Mind, and repreſented, under ſuch other infamous Characters, that Lord *Herbert*, out of his great Regard to the Hierarchy, and other religious Perſons, would not deſcend to ſpecify them.

13. But that whereby the Cardinal ſeemeth to have given the greateſt and moſt general Diſguſt, was his erecting the Legate's Court, and employing a Perſon as Judge in it, charged with much Rapine and Extortion. " For making Inquiry into the Life of " every Body, no Offence eſcaped Cenſure and Puniſhment, un-

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[z] Dati in reprobum ſenſum.

“ leſs privately they gave Money, of which they found two Commodities; One, that it coſt Leſs; the Other, that it exempted them from Shame. Thus as the Rules of Conſcience are in many Caſes of greater Extent than thoſe of the Law, ſo he found Means to ſearch into their ſecreteſt Corners. Beſides, under this Colour he arrogated Power to call in Queſtion the Executors of Wills and the Like. He ſummoned alſo all religious Perſons of what Sort ſoever before him, who caſting themſelves at his Feet were grievouſly chidden, and terrified with Expulſion till they had compounded. Beſides, all ſpiritual Livings that fell were conferred on his Creatures. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* underſtanding how all Orders were thus ranſacked by the Cardinal, goes to the King and acquaints him with it: The King replies, *That he ſhould not have heard thereof but by him*; adding, *That no Man is ſo blind any where as in his own Houſe. Therefore I pray you,* ſays he, *Father, go to* Wolſey, *and tell him, if any Thing be amiſs, that he amend it.* This grave Perſon hereupon admoniſhes him, and afterwards particularly told him, that in medling with the laſt Wills and Teſtaments of the Dead, he aſſumed a Power not ſo much as claimed by the Pope himſelf; and for diſpoſing ſome Benefices in the Gift of the Nobility, and other great Perſons, he thought he took too much upon him. All the Uſe *Wolſey* made thereof, was to hate the Archbiſhop, with whom he was formerly offended, only becauſe, as *Polydore* hath it, he ſtiled himſelf in the Subſcription of his Letter, *Frater Gulielmus Cantuarienſis.* Yet leaſt the Archbiſhop ſhould do him ill Offices, he tempered his Speech for the Time. But ſhortly after his Agent *John Allen*, being accuſed by one *John London*, a Prieſt, it appeared ſufficiently that all the former Allegations againſt *Wolſey* were true, which made our King rebuke the Cardinal ſo ſharply, that after that time he became if not better, yet more wary than before.”

14. I have tranſcribed this Charge againſt the Cardinal literally from Lord *Herbert*; but it being ſupported by no Teſtimony but that of *Polydore*, an ingenuous Reader may not perhaps think it of ſufficient Force to compel his Aſſent. In the Execution of great and extenſive Powers, where ſeveral Perſons are to be entruſted, it is difficult to avoid all Occaſions of Offence or Complaint. However, if this *Allen* was really a Perſon of that Character, under which he is here repreſented, and was known, or might have been known to the Cardinal, to commit thoſe Abuſes in executing his Truſt, wherewith he is here charged, the Cardinal could no longer employ him, without being directly involved in the Guilt of thoſe

Diſorders himſelf. Tho' he was ſtill more culpable, if they were committed by his connivance; but above all, if by his Direction, or after Complaint made of them. Nothing can be ſaid to excuſe the Abuſe of Power, eſpecially of judicial Power, the higheſt Truſt under Heaven which God has committed to Men.

15. Another ſpecial [p] Commiſſion granted to the Cardinal, and his Collegue *Campejus*, was, That when either of them celebrated Maſs, before the King or Queen, they had Power to declare plenary Remiſſion of Sins to all Perſons of both Sexes that were penitent or had confeſſed, or however who were in a true and ſincere Diſpoſition to confeſs, provided they were preſent at the Solemnity, at leaſt when the Benediction ſhould be pronounced. This being ſuch an Indulgence, as implieth the Condition, upon which God doth pardon the Sinner, and ratify the Sentence of the Prieſt; the principal Deſign of it ſeemeth to have been to create a greater perſonal Veneration for the two Legates, by whoſe Mouth the Abſolution was pronounced. And here probably an Objection may ariſe, which I ſhall endeavour, for Controverſy is not the Buſineſs of an Hiſtorian, to obviate in few Words. It may be queſtioned, what could the Declaration of a Truth, by any Perſon or Perſons, ſignify, which would certainly have its Effect, whether it was declared or not? If Man be, by any Means, internally aſſured that he is reconciled to God, what needeth he any further Witneſs? or of what real Importance is it, that he ſhould be told by Man, more fallible than himſelf in judgeing concerning the State of his Soul, that his Pardon is ſealed?

16. I have given all the Force I could to this popular Argument againſt the ſacerdotal Power of abſolving Sinners, upon Condition of their true Repentance: And in Anſwer to it, ſhall barely propoſe the following Particulars to be conſidered. 1. That our Lord has expreſly given to the Paſtors of his Church, a Power of remitting and retaining Sins. If this Power import no more, than that they may declare the Conditions upon which God will forgive Sins, there is nothing peculiar to the Paſtors of the Church in it; nothing, but what is common to every Chriſtian, and indeed to every Heathen; for all Perſons indifferently have a Right to declare the Truth. And yet, this is one of the great and diſtinguiſhing Privileges, which our Lord bequeathed to the Paſtors of his Church, the better to ſupport and fortify them in the Adminiſtration of it. But if he intended no more, than what the Enemies of the ſacer-

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[p] Coll. Nº 33. Book II.

dotal Powers would infer from this Grant, that they are only commiſſioned in it to declare, that God will pardon true Penitents, there is nothing in it new, nothing peculiar to them: I do not ſay as Apoſtles or Prieſts, but as Chriſtians, or rather, as they may be conſidered in common, as Men. It is a Grant therefore, conferred in the moſt ſolemn Manner, without any ſpecial Donation or Privilege; and the Powers whereof they had antecedently a Right to exerciſe before it was made. 2. We allow God alone can pardon Sins: But we aſſert at the ſame time, he may convey the Pardon of them in his own Way, or upon ſuch Conditions, as he thinks fit to appoint. True Repentance is very proper in the Nature of it to recommend Sinners to the pardoning Grace of God; but we dare not ſay God is obliged, by the ſole Virtue of the Sinner's Repentance to pardon him; and therefore, if he hath particularly empowered any Men, or Diſtinction of Men, effectually to declare his Pardons, who has a Right to diſpute the Wiſdom or Authority of his Appointment? or who can be aſſured, he ſhall be pardoned in a voluntary Neglect or Contempt of ſuch Appointment, or in any other Way, where Recourſe may be had to it? For tho' we acknowledge, that the Remiſſion of Sins in general is abſolutely promiſed in the Goſpel to true Repentance, yet we ſay no Perſon, who knowingly neglects any divine Inſtitution, or Means, whereby God has determined to confer his Grace, can be conſidered as truly penitent, as being one who will not ſue for Pardon according to the Method which God has preſcribed. The King only has a Power of Pardoning publick Delinquents, but his Pardon has no Effect, nor is intended to have any, 'till produced or pleaded in the proper Form, what Evidences ſoever ſuch a Delinquent may give of his Repentance. *Laſtly*, Tho' Men are ſenſible that true Repentance is the main Condition upon which God is pleaſed to pardon their Sins, yet the Lips of the Prieſt ſpeaking to them in the Name of God, and by ſpecial Authority derived from him, and ſealing their Pardon to them by a formal and viſible Act, cannot but give them at once ſtill greater Impreſſions of God's Goodneſs, a more confirmed Aſſurance of their Reconciliation to him, and a higher Regard for ſo holy and ſalutary an Ordinance.

17. The Cardinal in Regard to his civil Adminiſtration, had two [b] Grants of Power made to him by the King, both of them in the ſame Patent, and which appear to have been of an extraordinary Extent. " He is empowered by the Former to grant Let-

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[b] *May* 6, 1518. Pat. 10 *H.* 8. p. 2. *m.* 30.

“ ters Patents of Denizin, to be made out under the Great Seal “ from time to time, to ſuch Perſon or Perſons, as ſhould at any “ time ſue to him for the ſame; without any other Warrant to be “ directed to him in that Part.” In the Other he is authoriſed, “ To make out the King's Letters Patents under the Great Seal, “ from Time to Time, of all *Conge de Eſlires*, Royal Aſſents, and “ Reſtitutions of Temporalities, as well of Archbiſhopricks, Bi“ ſhopricks, Monaſteries, Abbeys, and Priories, as of all other “ Houſes of Religion, within the King's Realm of *England* and “ *Wales*, and the Marches of the Same, unto ſuch Perſon or Per“ ſons as ſhould afterwards in due Form ſue for the Same. Alſo, “ That by Virtue of the ſaid Powers from Time to Time, the “ Cardinal ſhould cauſe to be made out Commiſſions and Writs “ of *Dedimus Poteſtatem* to ſuch as he ſhould think convenient, to “ take the Homages and Fealty of all Manner of Perſons, as well “ Archbiſhops, Biſhops, as others, due unto *the Crown for the ſaid* “ *Temporalities*.

CHAP. XIII.

1. *Of the Cardinal's beneficent Temper.* 2. *His Benefactions more particularly to the Univerſity of* Oxford, *in founding certain Lectures.* 3. *Of Theology.* 4. *Of Civil Law.* 5. *Of Medicine.* 6. *Of Philoſophy.* 7. *Of Mathematicks.* 8. *Of Greek.* 9. *Of Rhetorick and Humanity.* 10. *An occaſional Reflection.* 11. *Concerning the College of Phyſicians in* London, *founded more eſpecially upon the Cardinal's Advice.*

1. THE Uſe which the Cardinal made of his great Powers, and other Advantages before recited, was truly laudable, and worthy of a great Mind: And if we may judge concerning the Motives, upon which he appeared ſo deſirous of accumulating Riches and Honours, from the Ends for which he employed them, Hiſtory affordeth us very few equal, but ſcarce any ſuperior Characters. He had a generous Contempt of thoſe narrow and ſelfiſh Views, whereby we frequently ſee Men act in the Methods they take to enrich themſelves, to raiſe or aggrandize a Family at any Rate. I will not be ſo partial as to confine this Obſervation to Perſons of ſecular Occupations. It cannot be diſſembled, That the Revenues of the Church, and the Powers and Privileges annexed to them, are not always employed for the Service of the Church; That private and domeſtick Conſiderations are frequently of more Weight than the publick Honour and Service of God;

That the Uſe which has been ſometimes made of the greateſt Dignities in the Church, has not been to favour and ſupport Men of Piety and Learning; but ſometimes to confer the proper Rewards of Piety and Learning on ignorant, and, in all other reſpects, very undeſerving Perſons; upon the ſole Merit perhaps of a diſtant and not very reputable Relation, if not with a View of ſerving ſome ſecular and ſiniſter Deſign, altogether foreign to the Buſineſs of Religion. What is ſtill more unaccountable, ſuch Perſons will not ſcruple ſometimes to talk of Religion, as if they really had the Intereſts of it above all Things at Heart; or as if there were nothing really ſcandalous or blameable in acting ſo notoriouſly contrary to the high Truſt repoſed in them, and to the proper Ends for which the Piety of our Forefathers originally endowed the Church, with proper Powers and Emoluments. Whatever the perſonal Failures of Cardinal *Wolſey* might have been in other Reſpects, his Liberality and Greatneſs of Mind, the Neglect he ſhewed, as ſome perhaps may term it, of his [c] private Family, to the End he might wholly employ his immenſe Fortune towards the publick Advancement of every Thing that was laudable and praiſeworthy; and his Encouragement to Men of any ſuperior Abilities, wherever he could find them, will ever tranſmit his Name with Honour to Poſterity; and be an excellent Precedent, whereby, they, who are inveſted with the ſame Powers in the Church, may be taught to regulate the Uſe and Application of them. A remarkable Example of his Munificence, in the latter Reſpect, may be taken from the [d] Choice he made of ſeveral learned Men from the other Univerſity, to ſupply the Vacancies in his new College, notwithſtanding his nearer Alliance to *Oxford*, the Place of his Education, which had put itſelf in the Manner we have hear'd, abſolutely under his Protection, and whereof he was the avowed and perpetual Patron.

2. But at preſent I ſhall only conſider the Acts of his Munificence reſpecting that Univerſity, in founding ſeven [e] Lectures, at his own Expence, reſerving, what it may be proper to obſerve as to the Foundation of his two Colleges, to another Place. That

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[c] *There is ſomething here ſo applicable in one of the Characters of M.* de la Bruyere, *that I cannot think a Tranſcript of it will be unacceptable to the Reader.* " There has appeared in the World " from Time to Time, ſome admirable extraordinary Men, whoſe Vertue and eminent Qua- " lities have caſt a prodigious Luſtre, like thoſe unuſual Stars in the Heavens, the Cauſes of " which we are ignorant of, and know as little what becomes of them after they diſap- " pear. *Theſe Men neither have Anceſtors, nor Poſterity: They alone, compoſe their whole Race,* " p. 35.

[d] *Among ſeveral others* Cranmer *and* Parker *were invited with* Skip, *to remove thither, but thoſe three declined the Offer.* Cajus de Antiq. Acad. Cant.

[e] *Six of them only were founded at the ſame time,* E. M. Bod. Arch. A. 166. to 32. Ep. 66.

learned and ſedulous Antiquary [f] Mr. *Wood* obſerveth, that his Lectures were not all founded at the ſame Time; yet, excepting one of them, they certainly were; however that learned Author expreſſeth himſelf after a Manner, which may occaſion a Doubt, whether ſo many, or the greater Part of them were then founded. Whereas in a Letter written that very [g] Year, the Univerſity acknowledgeth to the Cardinal, among other extraordinary Favours, the Foundation of ſix publick Lectures. Tho' it does not indeed appear, and this perhaps might be one Reaſon of what our Hiſtorian has advanced, that the Readers of them were at this time appointed; they were originally read in the Hall of *Corpus Chriſti* College, before the Cardinal had founded his own.

3. The Firſt of them mentioned by *Wood*, and I ſhall obſerve the ſame Order of Time with him, in mentioning them, was That of *Theology*, whereof one *Brynknell*, an excellent Divine, ſometime Commoner of *Lincoln*-College, afterwards of *Univerſity*-College, and who had lately taken his Degree of Doctor in Divinity, was nominated the firſt Lecturer. Honourable Mention is made of him in an [h] Epiſtle from the Univerſity to the Cardinal; where they acquaint his Eminency, that they are not able to expreſs the great Benefit as of his Lectures in general, ſo particularly of his theological Lecture; the Charge of which was committed to *Brynknell*; for whom the Cardinal had ſo great an Eſteem, that afterwards upon his Eminency's Recommendation, among all the other learned Men in the Univerſity, the King particularly appointed him by Name to write againſt *Luther*. Tho' others too had their Pens employed in the ſame Cauſe, and not altogether without Direction, and particularly *Kidderminſter*, concerning whom, mention is made in a Letter from the Univerſity to the King in theſe Words. "The " good Father the Abbot of *Winchelcomb*, has written upon the Sub- " ject of Indulgences, with that Gravity, Erudition, and Piety, that " his Equal will ſcarce any where be found, much leſs his Superior " in the Argument." They afterwards deſcend to ſpecify the Names of ſeveral others who had engaged in the ſame Controverſy, and to whoſe Performances they aſcribe due Praiſe, but give the Preference to That of Dr. *Powel*, as having eſtabliſhed the Doctrine, he aſſerteth, after a more clear, ſolid, and diſtinct Manner.

4. The Lecture of [i] *Civil Law*. Mr. *Wood* profeſſeth he could

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[f] Hiſt. l. 2. p. 34.

[g] Noſtram de te Opinionem longe ſuperaſti, cum preter Sex-Lectiones publicas quas tuis Sumptibus nobis paraſti. Ep. 66. E. MS. 1. Arch. A. 166. f. 32.

[h] Vid. Ep. 74.

[i] *This ſeems to be the Lecture which the Cardinal founded after the Reſt.*

not certainly determine who was the firſt Perſon that read this Lecture; but he ſuppoſeth, it might, upon credible Grounds, be affirmed, that he was *Ludovicus Vives*: Tho' he ſaith, there is no Mention of this Lecture till after the Foundation of the Cardinal's College. That *Ludovicus Vives* was Lecturer of Rhetorick in 1519, we are aſſured from an Epiſtle of the Univerſity to the Cardinal, wherein they ſpeak of him under that [k] Character; and thanking the Cardinal for recommending ſo eloquent a Perſon as that learned *Spaniard* for the Charge, congratulate themſelves on Account of their having committed the intire Diſpoſition of every thing that concerned them, to a Father of ſo great Authority and Goodneſs, that there was nothing which they could aſk in Juſtice or Decency, but what they might hope to obtain from him.

5. The Lecture of *Medicine*. The firſt who diſcharged this Province, was *Thomas Muſgrave* Maſter of Arts, and Licentiate in that Faculty; who read his Lectures in the Year 1522; but whether he read before that time is uncertain. He was Fellow of *Merton-College*, and, in Regard to his Merit, the Cardinal appointed him to read this Lecture in *Corpus Chriſti College*. It may not be unuſeful to obſerve, from what occurreth in our [l] learned Hiſtorian concerning this Lecturer, how cautious the Univerſity then was in granting publick Diſpenſations for Degrees. For notwithſtanding the perſonal Merit of the Man, at that time Commiſſary of the Univerſity, and in known Favour with the Cardinal, it was not without ſome Difficulty, and upon Condition of performing certain Exerciſes, that he obtained what he deſired. On the 11th of *March*, that Year, he ſupplicated the venerable Congregation of Regents that he might be diſpenſed with from circuiting, and certain previous Exerciſes, in caſe he ſhould be admitted to read the Sentences. He alledged that he was Commiſſary, and that it did not become a Doctor to circuit for an inferior Degree. This Supplication was granted conditionally, that he ſhould preach a Sermon in the Church of St. *Peter in the Eaſt*. Afterwards his Exerciſes being all performed, when he had twice anſwered in the Schools, and preached four times in the Church of St. *Mary* in the Space of one Year, he was admitted to read the Sentences; that is, to the Degree of Batchelor in Divinity, by Dr. *John Young* Biſhop of *Callipolis* and Warden of *New-College*, in the Preſence of eight Doctors of Divinity.

6. A *Philoſophical* Lecture. We know nothing more concer-

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[k] Ep. 74.

[l] Faſt. Ox. 664.

ning the Perſon who was firſt appointed to read this Lecture, than that the initial Letters of his Name were *L. B.* as we find them in the following Extract, from an Epiſtle of the Univerſity to the Cardinal. "When we underſtood that *L. B.* was preparing to "go to your Majeſty, we thought it neceſſarily incumbent on "us, as we would not be ſuſpected of neglecting our Duty, to "write to your Grace; we ſhould be the moſt Ungrateful of "Men, in ſuffering ſo opportune a Meſſenger, a Profeſſor who "has highly merited of all our young Students in Philoſophy, to "wait on your Lordſhip, without being charged with any Letters from us."

7. The *Mathematical* Lecture. One *Nicholas Crutcher*, but whoſe Name is variouſly written, was the firſt Reader of it. He is applauded in the following Apograph for his Morals and Learning in theſe Words. "He is a Perſon of ſo great Probity and Goodneſs, that he deſerves a better Fortune than is common to Mathematicians: And ſo great a Maſter of his Art, that he merits "to be called ſo by Way of Eminence, and peculiar Diſtinction." He was a native of *Holland*, and educated in the Univerſities of *Cologn* and *Wittemburg*, till he commenced Batchelor of Arts; afterwards coming into *England*, and being known to that great Patron of Learning *Fox* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, he was by him made a Fellow of his College, and admitted to his Fellowſhip on the 4th of *July* 1517; about which time he read Aſtronomy in the Univerſity by command of *Henry* the Eighth; and ſoon after, when the Cardinal founded his Lectures, was conſtituted his Mathematical Reader; In *Feb.* 1522, he was incorporated Batchelor of Arts, as he had ſtood at *Colen* and *Wittenberg*, and in the ſame Month was licenſed to proceed in Arts, and ſo compleated his Degree in an Act kept on the Twenty-third of *March* following: There are two Manuſcripts in the Library of *Corpus Chriſti College* aſcribed to him; there is no Diſpute as to his being the Author of that entitled, *Canones Horopti*; the other concerning the Conſtruction of Dials, which bears the Title, *De Conſtructione Horologiorum*, is generally ſuppoſed to be his; and we may with great probability conclude it to be ſo, from the Annotation at the End of it. He made the old Dial, which formerly ſtood in the Garden, with that ſtanding upon a Pillar in St. *Mary*'s Church-yard, in the High-ſtreet of *Oxford*, upon which, ſhortly after, the Condemnation of *Luther*'s Doctrine, by the Univerſity, was ordered to be hung. For when the *Lutheran* Hereſy, as it was then called, began to ſpread it ſelf, and ſeveral Perſons inflamed with Zeal for the Propagation of it, induſtriouſly diſperſed his Books and Doctrine throughout the Uni-

verſity, the Cardinal deſirous to put a Stop to the Progreſs of it, required by his Letters to the Univerſity, that they ſhould depute ſome proper Perſons to be ſent to *London*, there to examine and refute ſuch Opinions of *Luther*, as ſhould appear to militate againſt the Catholick Doctrine. In obedience to his Order, the Univerſity delegated [m] four Doctors of Divinity, who repairing to *London*, celebrated among other learned Men, and ſeveral Prelates, a formal Synod, in the Cardinal's Houſe, and condemned *Luther*'s Doctrine as moſt repugnant to the Chriſtian Faith. A Copy of which Cenſure was ſhortly after tranſmitted to *Oxford*, and publickly expoſed on the Dial erected by *Crutcher* in the Southern Part of St. *Mary*'s Church-yard, a Work of great Curioſity: And that even the Share which *Eaſt* the Stone-cutter had in it, ſhould not be wholly pretermitted, *Leland* took care to celebrate it by an Eſſay of his Muſe, in a Book written by him, concerning the Praiſes due to illuſtrious Perſons. The Books of *Luther* were not long after publickly committed to the Flames, in both the Univerſities. How long this learned and famous Mathematician read, does not certainly appear; or whether any other Perſon was ſubſtituted in his Place before the Death of his Patron, the Cardinal, in whoſe Favour and Eſteem he ſeems to have had a more than ordinary Intereſt. He was living in the Year 1550, and after his Death, which our learned Antiquary ſuppoſeth to have ſoon followed, many of his Books came into the Hands of that eminent Mathematician Dr. *John Dee*.

8. The *Greek* Lecture. One *Culphurnius*, a native of *Greece*, was firſt appointed by the Cardinal to this Province, who firſt taught the Pronunciation of that Language in *Oxford*, as it is now uſed. It is not certain, tho' *Grocyn* had rendered himſelf by his Study and Travels abroad, a great Maſter of the *Greek* Tongue, having been inſtructed in it by *Demetrius*, *Calchondile*, and *Politian*, that yet he was ever employed by the Cardinal to read this Lecture. Yet he certainly taught *Greek* in the Univerſity, where he became a familiar Friend, or rather as our Antiquary ſuppoſeth, a Tutor to *Eraſmus*. But what Service he had done in that Kind, was the Effect of a free and generous Choice, and without any Stipend or ſpecial Appointment. However, his new Method of Teaching, and different Pronunciation from what had been formerly uſed, gave great Diſguſt to ſeveral Perſons; the principal Grounds whereof proceeded either from their Ignorance, or the

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[m] Thomas Brynknell, John Kinton, John Roper, *and* John de Coloribus, *a Foreigner*. Wood'*s Hiſt.*

Want of due Application; yet afterwards, the Advice of Sir *Thomas Moore*, in an Epiſtle to them, and eſpecially the Authority of the Cardinal, very much contributed to remove the Prejudices of ſeveral Scholars; to whom, it is ſaid, certain *Cantabrigians* being then in *Oxford*, joining themſelves, were ſo violent, that they openly inſulted ſuch as had applied themſelves to the Study of the *Greek* Tongue: And to the End they might divert them from that Study, not only treated them with opprobrious Language, but aſſaulted them in their Perſons. *More*'s Letter to the Univerſity on the Occaſion, was to this Effect; That he had heard many times in *London*, how ſeveral of their Members, either in contempt of the Literature of the *Greeks*, or from ſome ill Impreſſions they had received, or (which he rather thinks was the true Cauſe) out of Idleneſs, and a falſe Taſte for vain and trifling Amuſements, had conſpired to form a diſtinct Body, which ſhould be called by the Name of *Trojans*: He who was the Captain aſſumed the Name of *Priam*, as a Second did of *Hector*, a Third of *Paris*, and others ſuch like *Trojan* Names as they beſt approved, but principally with Deſign, to make a Party in a jocular Way, which ſhould outbrave and ridicule thoſe who addicted themſelves to the Study of *Greek*; by which means it came to paſs, that no one, who had any Knowledge of that Tongue, or employed his Time in learning it, could be free at home or abroad from the Inſults or Raillery of the adverſe Party, but was marked out, by one appointed Signal or other for the Subject of their Diverſion. After Sir *Thomas Moore* came with the King to *Abingdon*, he underſtood, that this pueril and fooliſh Humour ſtill continued among them, and even encreaſed to a great Degree of Outrage and Diſorder; inſomuch that a certain Perſon unknown to him, or whom he does not think fit to name, but who had a good Opinion of himſelf, did not only in the holy Time of *Lent*, declaim publickly from the Pulpit againſt the Literature both of the *Greeks* and *Latins*, but inveigh with great Freedom againſt the liberal Arts in general. His Friends indeed endeavoured to excuſe him as a Man naturally loquacious and very free in his Thoughts and Expreſſions; but others, who conſidered Things more maturely, were rather inclined to think him under ſome Diſorder of Mind.

What principally put a Stop to the Inſolencies of theſe Men, and made Way towards the Culture of the *Greek* Learning, was, that the Cardinal not only diſcountenanced and uſed his Authority to ſuppreſs them, but gave open Encouragement to thoſe of the other Side: So that in a ſhort time, the Progreſs which was made in the Knowledge of the *Greek* Tongue throughout the Univerſity, was very conſiderable. And ſoon after, the Study of that Tongue was much encouraged in the other Univerſity, to which they were ſtill more perſuaded by the Arguments and Eloquence of their publick Orator *Richard Croke,* and out of an Ambition to follow the Example of their Chancellor at that time, a learned Biſhop, and one who well underſtood that Tongue. But tho' the Cardinal ought to be mentioned as the principal Cauſe of encourageing the Study of *Greek,* it ought not to be omitted, that ſeveral other Perſons had a Share in the Honour of ſo good and neceſſary a Work, particularly *Grocyn* by his Piety, and a Manner, that created great Veneration; *Lynacre* by his extenſive Knowledge, and fine Wit; *Tunſtal* by his eaſy and familiar Eloquence; and *Stopley* by his general Skill in the Tongues; to which *Wood,* from whom I here collect, addeth, the engageing and facetious Temper of *More,* with the polite Literature and great Humanity of *Pace.* With theſe acceſſory Helps the Cardinal cauſed the liberal Arts to revive, and by ſenſible Degrees to flouriſh, and produce a plentiful Harveſt. So that foreign Nations entertained the greateſt Eſteem for our Univerſity, and ſent many of their Youth to be educated in it. But after the unhappy and ever to be lamented Diſgrace of the Cardinal, the Demolition of Monaſteries, and the Changes which happened, tho' on Occaſion of introducing the *Reformed Religion,* to the Republick of Letters, our learned Antiquary ſeemeth to doubt, whether we did not relapſe into a State of Ignorance, (he terms it *Barbariſm,*) more deplorable than that wherein we had been in former Ages. *Calphurnius* was ſucceeded in this Lecture by *John Clement,* who before had been deputed to read the Lecture, which I am to mention in the laſt Place.

9. That of *Rhetorick and Humanity.* Concerning this *Clement,* Sir *Thomas More* writeth, his Audience, when he read, exceeded that of any before him. He had Chambers in *Corpus Chriſti College,* and for ſome time read his Lectures in the publick Hall there. He was ſucceeded by *Thomas Lupſet,* concerning whom *More* writeth to his Friend *Eraſmus,* that he read in both Tongues, with the greateſt Reputation, but with no leſs Benefit to his Audience, which was very numerous; "for he ſucceeded, *ſaith that learned Knight,* " my Friend *John Clement,* who applyed himſelf wholly afterwards " to the Study of Phyſick." In the Reign of *Edward* the Sixth, being one of the College of Phyſitians, he left his native Country on Account of the Innovations which were then made in Religion; and returning in the Reign of Queen *Mary,* practiſed Phyſick with good Succeſs in *Eſſex,* near *London*; but upon the Acceſſion of Queen *Elizabeth* to the Crown, and the Reformation which followed, he left *England* once more, and ſpent the Re-

mainder of his Life beyond Seas. This Lecture was opened in the Year 1519; for in the Beginning of *March* that Year, the Regent-Maſters preferred a Supplication, that they might not be obliged to read above half an Hour; to the End, they might have Time to be preſent at the Cardinal's Philological Lectures. *Clement* was ſucceeded by *Lupſet*, tho' only at that time Batchelor of Arts, who in the Hall of *Corpus Chriſti College*, explicated *Cicero*'s *Phillippics*. His pregnant Parts, improved by an extraordinary Progreſs in the Sciences, acquired him a great Reputation both in *Oxford*, and foreign Seminaries of Learning. The Univerſity, in a Letter to *Lynacre* in 1521, have left this honourable Teſtimony concerning him. " This Seat of Learning is highly indebted for your " excellent Verſion of *Proclus* his Sphere into *Latin*, upon which " *Lupſet* readeth in a moſt numerous Audience, with the greateſt " Reputation: And we cannot, in Point of Gratitude, acquit our " ſelves, without acknowledgeing, how much we owe this extra- " ordinary Perſon to your Favour." In another Epiſtle from the Univerſity to the Cardinal, they make this Acknowledgement to his Eminency, in Commendation of *Lupſet*. " We place it in " the Number of your immortal Benefits, that your exuberant " Goodneſs towards the common Advancement of Learning, hath " vouchſafed to ſend *Lupſet* among us; for whom, though we al- " ways had a very great perſonal Regard; yet it is highly augment- " ed by the [o] Recommendation with which you have been pleaſed " to honour him, after ſo affectionate and diſtinguiſhing a Man- " ner." [p] Dr. *Kaye*, in his Hiſtory of *Cambridge*, but without mentioning his Authority, ſaith, that *Lupſet* was originally educated in *Pembroke-Hall* of that Univerſity: concerning which Article both *Bale* and *Pits* are ſilent; and our learned Antiquary expreſſeth himſelf doubtful, whether this Author went from *Lily*'s School, where he had his Education, to this Univerſity, or That of *Cambridge*. But he affirmeth, with an Aſſurance, from which nothing but Conviction to the contrary would oblige him to depart, That he took his Degree of Batchelor of Arts in *Paris*; and coming afterwards into *England*, ſettled in the Univerſity of *Oxford*; particularly in *Corpus Chriſti College* about the Year 1519, when he ſucceeded *John Clement* in the Lecture, of which I am now ſpeaking. He proceeded to the Degree of Maſter of Arts in 1521, and ſome time after, as *Wood* is of Opinion, was alſo made *Greek*-Lecturer in the Place of the ſaid *Clement*. His Succeſſor in this Lecture was *Ludovicus Vives*, who on the Fourth of *July* 1517, was made Fellow of *Corpus Chriſti College* by the Founder Biſhop *Fox*, tho' he was then ſo far diſtant as *Louvain*. He was in great Reputation for his Learning, but his Fame ſpread the more in *England*, on Account of the peculiar Reſpect which Queen *Catherine* was known to entertain for him. *Wood* ſaith, He was invited into *England* by Cardinal *Wolſey*, as it ſeemeth in the Year 1523, and coming to *Oxford* in *Auguſt* or *September*, did read the Cardinal's Lectures of Humanity in the Hall of the ſaid College, and *that* (as it was ſaid) of the *Civil Law*, before the Members of the Univerſity. But this muſt be a Miſtake of that learned Antiquary, occaſioned by his not conſulting the Memoirs he made uſe of with his uſual Accuracy and Diligence: For in a Letter * forecited from the Univerſity to the Cardinal in the Year 1519, mention is made of him as then Reader of *Rhetorick*, and that by the Cardinal's Appointment. In 1523 indeed the King and Queen, with the principal Perſons of the Court, who then attended them in their Progreſs, to do this learned *Spaniard* the greater Honour, or to ſatisfy a laudable Curioſity, graced his Auditory with their Preſence. He was ſo much admired by the Members of the Univerſity for his Learning and Eloquence, and more particularly becauſe at that time they in general addicted themſelves to the Study of Humanity, that they cauſed the Degrees of *Grammar*, *Rhetorick*, and *Poetry*, which had been much neglected among them, to be revived. For to his extenſive Erudition in other Reſpects, he added that in Philology, whereof he was one of the brighteſt Ornaments, and, both by his Example, and Inſtructions, very much contributed to introduce into the Univerſity the Study of the politer Arts.

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[o] A tua Majeſtate tam amanter commendatum.

[p] *In Hiſt.* Cantab. *p.* 59.

* Ep. 74.

10. Theſe were the munificent Acts of the Cardinal to the Univerſity, before the Foundation of his College, for the greater Advancement of Learning among them. And it will be natural for the Reader to enquire, what is become of theſe noble and truly praiſe-worthy Foundations? They are now alaſs! no where to be found; nor ſo much as the Ruins or any ſcattered Remains of them, unleſs in the Hands of thoſe Perſons, for whom the Profits of them were leaſt intended by the Founder: They were ſwallowed up in the Ruins of that Great Man, and in the Devaſtation which, after his Fall, was made of Things appropriated to pious Uſes. Not ſo much as the Revenues of the Church eſcaped the common ſacrilegious Invaſions. *Whitehall*, the ancient Seat of the Archbiſhops of *York*, and the Patrimony of that See, was transferred to the Crown, upon a Pretence of the Crimes wherewith he was charged, at leaſt by Occaſion of them; tho' no perſonal Forfeiture of his could transfer a Right, which ought to have devolved on

his Succeſſors. The Act, which reciteth the Reaſons of this Alienation, and wherein we are told, *Whitehall* was annexed to the Crown for the King's ſpecial [q] *Pleaſure* and *Paſtime*, does not ſeem to give any great Satisfaction to thoſe, who would examine this Point by the Rules of Conſcience and Religion.

11. I ſhall not here repeat what I have ſaid before concerning the other Univerſity, but only obſerve, That the good and munificent Acts of the Cardinal, at this time, were not confined to theſe ancient Seats of Learning. The [r] College of Phyſicians in *London*, founded in 1518 by *Henry the Eighth*, owe a grateful Acknowledgement to his Memory. In the Preamble to the original Charter, where the King reciteth the Motives, upon which he was induced to grant it; he mentions the Cardinal in particular, and after a diſtinguiſhing Manner, among other Perſons, by whoſe Advice, or at whoſe Inſtance he had been incited to ſo good a Work. This is ſo full and honorary a Teſtimony to the Character of the Cardinal, in that Part of it which I am conſidering, that I ſhould not only have been unjuſt to his Memory in omitting it; but wanting in the Reſpect, which I owe to that very learned Society, and to ſeveral worthy and learned Members of it in particular.

CHAP. XIV.

1. *Negotiations concerning the Surrender of* Tournay. 2. *Principally introductory to a ſubſequent Treaty.* 3. *The Payment to which the* French *King was obliged, upon the Surrender.* 4. *Inſtructions by the Cardinal relating to it.* 5. *Advice from* Sampſon, *the Cardinal's Agent and Collector there.*

1. I SHALL now proceed to a Conſideration of the Negotiations and Treaties, wherein the Cardinal was more eſpecially concerned during this Period. I begin with That on Occaſion of which, ſeveral Conventions were held for the Reſtitution of *Tournay*. I ſhall not recite the political Reaſons beforementioned, upon which the Cardinal was induced to adviſe it, as more advantagious to *England* upon the Terms propoſed by *France*, than it would have been to keep that Place: Neither ſhall I recount the preliminary Steps which had been made on both Sides, towards an Accommodation, eſpecially, on the Part of *France*, wherein there

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[q] *See Stat. at large.*

[r] Coll. N° 38. Book II.

appeared a greater Forwardneſs, than might be thought to conſiſt with the niceſt Maxims of Policy; but ſhall directly proceed to obſerve, That ſo ſoon as the King had conſented, the Embaſſadors of *France* ſhould come over to treat concerning Peace; and the Cardinal had before, in a Manner, privately ſettled the Preliminaries to it with the *French* Reſident here, *Nicholas de Villeroy*; the Embaſſadors of *France*, accompanied with an extraordinary Retinue, to the Number of Twelve-hundred, came to *Greenwich*, yet did not think fit to open the Matter at once wherewith they were principally charged: But their firſt Overture was, That the Chriſtian Princes ſhould unite in a League againſt the *Turk*, according to the Plan, which the Pope had projected of it, in the Year preceeding; and that the two Kings of *England* and *France* ſhould be the Authors of it: yet the Pope, Emperor, and King of *Spain*, might within a Time prefixed, be, at their Deſire, comprehended in it as principal Contractors. A League was accordingly concluded Ann. 1518. on the ſecond Day of *October*: Lord *Herbert*, for the excellent Form and Conditions of it, has given an Abſtract, propoſing it as a Precedent in future Times to Princes; and obſerving, That King *Henry the Eighth*, for many Years after, appeared to regulate his Treaties by the Tenor of it. The Articles were, That there ſhould for ever ſubſiſt a perfect Friendſhip and Amity between the two Kings, their Succeſſors, their Subjects, and their Allies, by Way of Comprehenſion, both by Sea and by Land; That their ſeveral Friends and Enemies ſhould on both Sides be conſidered and treated as ſuch; ſo that if the Dominions reſpectively then belonging to the ſaid Confederates, ſhould be in a hoſtile Manner invaded by any of them, or by any other Power whatever, the Party invaded ſhould admoniſh the Aggreſſor to deſiſt, and to make Reparation; which if he refuſed to do, (within the Space of a Month) the Reſt of the Confederacy might declare themſelves his Enemies, and in two Months after, at an equal Expence, make War upon him both by Sea and Land; That they ſhould to this End, allow to the Troops of each other, free Paſſage through their ſeveral Dominions; but, if in any of them, Civil Wars ſhould ariſe, none of the Confederates might interpoſe, unleſs ſuch Wars ſhould be fomented or maintained by ſome foreign Power; That none of the Confederates ſhould permit their Subjects to bear Arms againſt the Other, or ſhould retain any Forces of Strangers, to ſerve againſt the ſaid Confederates, on Pain of being interpreted to violate the League, which yet ſhould continue in full Force among the Reſt; That none of the ſaid Confederates ſhould take the Vaſſal or Subject of any other Confederate, under Protection, unleſs by Conſent of the Prince, to whom his Obedience was before owing;

That no Rebel, Traitor, or Perſon ſuſpected of High Treaſon, or Fugitive, ſhould be received, entertained, or favoured, in any of the Dominions of the ſaid Confederacy; but ſhould, twenty Days after they were remanded, be delivered up; That the Articles of this League ſhould be laid before the Pope, yet upon Condition that if he accepted them within four Months after, he ſhould be eſteemed a principal Contractor in the League, and have a Power of nominating his Allies; That all the Princes, whoſe Names are ſpecified in it, ſhould, within the Space of four Months, if they deſired it, be admitted as principal Contractors; but otherwiſe, not without Notification, and Requeſt to the Kings of *England* and *France*; That any other King, Potentate, or chief Lord, might, upon his Suit, be entitled to the Benefit of this Confederacy, but not as a principal Contractor: Laſtly, That however other Princes might accept or obſerve this Treaty, yet it ſhould continue firm and inviolable between the two Crowns.

2. But after all, the principal Deſign of this Treaty was to prepare the Way towards introducing another, which might facilitate the Reddition of *Tournay*, and at the ſame time eſtabliſh and cement an Alliance between the two Crowns by a Contract of Marriage. At preſent, I would only obſerve, the Conditions of the ſubſequent Treaty which they made, ſo far as it reſpected the Reſtitution of *Tournay*; which were, that the *French* King ſhould pardon, and receive to favour, all the Inhabitants of the ſaid City, and of the Places adjacent, reſerving to them all their former Privileges, and that the King of *England* ſhould thereupon diſcharge them from their Oaths of Fidelity to him: That whereas [ſ] Twenty three thouſand Livres were yet owing to King *Henry* from the Citizens of *Tournay*, which the *French* King had ſtipulated to pay, he ſhould, by virtue of the requiſite Powers to be granted by King *Henry* to that End, receive that Sum again from the ſaid Citizens: That the King might cauſe all the Artillery, Ammunition, and Inſtruments of War, offenſive or defenſive, to be removed, without any Oppoſition or Impediment; with all Sorts of Proviſion, and whatever Materials had been prepared and repoſited there, for the Safety and Defence of the Town, or for any other Cauſe? ſo that there was nothing omitted in the Conditions of the Surrender, which might oblige the *French* to

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[ſ] *This I cite from the Authority of Lord* Herbert, *but in the original Treaty it is only ſaid, That the King of* France *makes himſelf a Debtor for the remaining Sum due from the Citizens of* Tournay *to King* Henry, *without mentioning any Powers to be granted by him to that End.* " Dictus " *Francorum* Rex de Reſiduo dictæ ſummæ nondum ſolutæ ſe Debitorem dicto Regi *Angliæ* " ejuſque Heredibus, & ſucceſſoribus conſtituit, *&c.* Rymer Conv. Tom. 13. p. 644, b. Ex " Autogr.

ſubmit to an intire Evacuation of the Place; which yet in Caſe the Marriage intended ſhould not take Effect, by the Default of *Francis*, ſhould be reſtored again to *Henry* or his Heirs, together with the mean Profits, without any Deduction to be made on Account of the Charge which *Francis* might have ſuſtained, in order to fortify or repair it; and, that the Inhabitants of it ſhould be diſcharged from all Allegiance performed, or in any manner acknowledged to the *French* King; yet upon Condition, that the King of *England* ſhould reſtore to the *French* King the Sum of Six hundred thouſand Crowns, or ſo much as he ſhould have received of that Sum: But if the Occaſion, why the Marriage ſhould not take Effect, might happen to ariſe on the Part of King *Henry*, then *Tournay* ſhould remain in the Hands of the *French* King, upon Payment made by him of the intire Sum of Six hundred thouſand Crowns. But before this Treaty could be fully perfected, many Conſultations were held in both Courts, and ſeveral Meſſages paſſed between them; what Inſtructions were given to our Embaſſadors in the Court of *France*, and how they conducted themſelves in relation to it, we may learn in general from a [p] Letter of the Cardinal to them, wherein he approveth their Diligence and Addreſs in expediting the Matters committed to their Charge; and taketh notice, how conformable the *French* King had ſhewed himſelf to the Sentiments of his Maſter, in relation to them, and how forward to promote them; not only expreſſing a Deſire to perfect the Treaties, in order to which Conventions had been made, but to remove all Manner of Impediments, that might obſtruct the Operation or Progreſs of them: As he had not only declared, in ample manner, by the Inſtructions given to Lord *Ligny*, but by other authentick and corroborating Facts, becoming a virtuous Prince. Upon which, the Cardinal acquaints them, that his Maſter, ſenſible of the good Diſpoſition, that the *French* King was in, and of the very favourable Reception and handſome Treatment our Miniſters found at his Court, had by Letters to that King, given him his moſt ſpecial and hearty Thanks. A Copy of which Letters is tranſmitted at the ſame Time to the Ambaſſadors, who are aſſured by the Cardinal, that the King had not only highly applauded their Zeal for his Service, and their prudent Conduct on ſo important an Occaſion, but after a moſt ſpecial Manner, expreſſed his complacency on Account of thoſe Proofs the *French* King had been pleaſed to give him of his Friendſhip and Regard; grounding aſſured Hopes from ſo auſpicious a Beginning, that the Treaty of Peace and Alliance to be concluded between them, would in the Progreſs of it be ſtill more and more fortunate, till at length they ſhould attain the deſired End, to the general Good and Tranquillity of *Europe*. Concerning certain Difficulties intimated in their former Letters, and the Quality of the Hoſtages to be ſent to *England*, the Cardinal referreth them to the King's late Letters for their more full and particular Inſtruction, not doubting but they will take care, that the beſt Hoſtages, they may be able to procure, ſhould be delivered; or, however, that the King's ultimate Reſolution in the ſaid Letters, ſhould not be fruſtrated. He inſiſteth, with ſome Degree of Warmth, upon a Point, to which all Princes have a ſpecial Regard; and upon which, not only the Security of Conventions dependeth, but the Suppreſſion of falſe Reports, to the Spreading of which, inſufficient Hoſtages frequently give Occaſion; ſo that he conſidereth this as a Matter of greater Imporance, than *Tournay* it ſelf, with all its Dependencies. The remaining Part of the Letter, is concerning the Enterview propoſed between the two Kings (of which I am to ſpeak in a ſeparate Chapter) and certain Wages to be paid to the Soldiers of *Tournay* at *Dover*, after their Diſcharge from that Service.

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[p] Coll. Nº 39. Book II.

3. The *French* King obliged himſelf, upon Surrender of this Town, to pay to the King of *England* [u] Six hundred thouſand Crowns of Gold, each Crown being equivalent in *French* Money to Five and thirty Shillings *Turnois*. What Equivalent was to be made to the Cardinal, in Conſideration of his reſigning the Biſhoprick of this Place, has been obſerved above.

4. The Cardinal, before the [x] Surrender of *Tournay*, was not wanting in his uſual Vigilance for the Intereſts of his Maſter, but gave the neceſſary Inſtructions to the Officers there, for the Evacuation of it, in ſuch a Manner, as might be moſt for his Service. He charged them to act the Part of good and provident Agents for the King, to expoſe all the Proviſions and Materials to Sale which they found there, for the King's Buildings: To which End, *Jernegan*, the King's Deputy, received Letters from him to the following Effect, That it was the King's Pleaſure, he ſhould not

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[u] Ad ſummam Sex centarum millium Coronarum Auri, boni Auri & juſti ponderis eſtimatam unaquaque Corona valente in pecunia Gallica triginta quinque Solidos *Turonenſes*.

Mr. Strype *quoteth for this the Authority of one of our Hiſtorians* (Summary of Chron.) *but Mr.*Rymer *has recited from the Original, the Treaty for the Reddition of* Tournay *at large, wherein this and other Conditions upon which it was rendered, may be conſulted,* Tom. 13. p. 642, a. *That Author ſaith, the King of* England *was to have another great Sum for the Citadel which he built there: But I do not find any ſuch Article ſpecified in the Treaty, which appeareth to be drawn up with much Caution and Exactneſs, and therefore it is not probable ſo very important a Condition, had it really ſubſiſted, would have been omitted,* Vid. Mem. Eccl. *H.* 8. p. 22.

[x] *Which I find* Charles *Earl of* Worceſter, *Lord* Herbert, *and great Chamberlain to the King, was empowered to make, with others ſpecified in the ſame Commiſſion, See* Collect. N° 40. Book II.

only uſe the proper Means and Precautions, to the End all the Proviſions which had been made for the Supplying and Victualling of the Citadel of *Tournay*, ſhould be ſold to the beſt Advantage, but likewiſe that all the Timber, Lime, Stone, and other Materials appointed for the Building of it. He further required him, to put all Things in ſo good Order, and make ſo ready and commodious a Diſpoſition for the Delivery of the Place, that when the *French* Commiſſioners to that End, ſhould arrive, it might be put into their Hands without any Difficulty, or Suſpicion of indirect Dealing, according to the true Conditions ſtipulated and agreed to. Laſtly, he directeth, That all the Vagabonds or other idle Perſons, who had no certain Occupation or Settlement, ſhould be put out of the Town, and every Man be obliged to diſcharge his Debts; that when the Lord Chamberlain ſhould come, there might be no Obſtructions, or as few as poſſible, to the Surrender.

5. The private Intereſts of the Cardinal being concerned, on this Occaſion, as well as thoſe of his Maſter, and of the Kingdom in general, his faithful and diligent Official *Sampſon* was employed in collecting the Profits and Arrears due to him, out of the Revenues belonging to the Biſhoprick, and particularly the Sum contracted to be paid, by the *French* Biſhop, for quiet Poſſeſſion. *Sampſon* in a Letter to the Cardinal upon theſe Affairs, informeth him, that he had thought proper to pay the Money received by him, unto the King's Treaſurer at *Tournay*, for the King's Uſe there, the Value whereof the Cardinal might receive in *England*; becauſe the Money, if brought into *England*, would ſuffer great Diminution in the Value, for which it was firſt received. Beſides, not One-half of it was then current in *England*, and if it were changed into Gold, it would only go at ſuch a Price, that in every Piece there would be a ſenſible Loſs. He proceedeth to acquaint the Cardinal, that the Farmers of the Lands and Revenues belonging to the Biſhoprick, were very backward in making Payment; tho' the Time when they had bound themſelves by expreſs Agreement to make it, was now expired: That as to the *French* Biſhop, he had lately been adviſed by Letter from him, concerning his Intention to come with the *French* Embaſſadors to *Tournay*; and then he engaged his Faith to conform to the Determinations of the King's Ambaſſadors in all Things relating to the Intereſts of his Grace: In the mean time he would endeavour to gather up what he could, tho' he was apprehenſive his Collection would be very inſignificant. The Concluſion of his Letter is in *Latin*, diſcovering how much the People were diſpoſed, as is uſual with the Populace, in any

Change of the publick Adminiſtration, to favour the new Biſhop, and render themſelves acceptable to him; and that they would ſtill be more prejudiced againſt the *Engliſh*, to whom they were before ſo little favourable: Neither could any compulſive Methods be employed to cauſe them to make Payment before the Time limited; That a Coadjutor to the Abbot of St. *Martin*'s had been appointed, a Man void of good Manners and of all moral Honeſty, and who rather deſerved to be expelled the Monaſtery, than to aſſiſt the Abbot in that Capacity. In the Concluſion of the Letter, the Project and Accompliſhment of a Peace ſo much deſired, is not only aſcribed after a peculiar Manner to the Cardinal, but he is repreſented in general as the [y] Father of his Country! A Country moſt happy in the Birth and Education of ſuch a Son!

CHAP. XV.

1. *Concerning a Treaty of Marriage negotiated by the Cardinal.* 2. *The chief Conditions of it.* 3. *It prepared the Way for an Enterview.* 4. *An Inſtance of the Cardinal's wiſe Precaution.* 5. *Umbrage taken by the King of* Caſtile *at the propoſed Enterview: With the Methods uſed by the Cardinal towards removing his Suſpicions.* 6. Francis *would prevent an Enterview between King* Henry *and the King of* Caſtile. 7. *The weak Artifices ſometimes employed by great Princes and their Miniſters.* 8. *What Uſe the Cardinal made of his full Powers towards preventing a Miſunderſtanding between the two Kings.* 9. *A remarkable Circumſtance which had given ſome Occaſion to it.*

1. THE Treaty of Marriage between the Dauphin, only Son of *Francis*, and Princeſs *Mary* of *England*, was perfected and ſigned the ſame Day, with that for the Surrender of *Tournay*. This Treaty was both originally owing to the Cardinal's Advice, and in the Progreſs of it principally conducted by him: For during the Time of the Embaſſy from *France* beforementioned, the Biſhop of *Paris*, being one of the Ambaſſadors, had conference with the Cardinal concerning the Means of corroborating the Amity between the two Kings their Maſters, and particularly deſired to know the Cardinal's Sentiments upon that Head. To whom his Eminency anſwered, That if the *French* Queen, who was then great with Child, ſhould have a Son, the beſt and ſtrongeſt Ce- 1518.

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[y] Optime pater tum pacis optatiſſimæ, tum ipſius Patriæ, que talem ſibi Alumnum educavit, feliciſſimæ.

ment of the Amity propoſed, would be a Marriage between him and the Princeſs *Mary*, who was yet her ſelf but an Infant of two Years old. Reaſons of State frequently oblige Princes to officiate Contracts of Marriage for their Children, while yet in the firſt Years of their Infancy: But, which is not a uſual Caſe, here was a Marriage projected for a young Prince before he was born, and while it was unknown whether a Prince ſhould be born; tho' after his Birth indeed, the Conditions of it were actually ſtipulated and ſigned in Form; which, notwithſtanding, (ſo deficient is the Wiſdom of Man in putting future and remote Caſes) never took Effect. The Biſhop of *Paris*, in his Inſtructions to *John Gobelin* his Secretary, concerning Buſineſs to be negotiated with the Cardinal at our Court, directed him farther to acquaint his Grace, that he had a Deſign, tho' he was prevented in it, to write to his Grace, upon the Subject of the Match, ſo ſoon as the Dauphin was born, and to deſire, he would interpoſe his good Offices in order to facilitate it; but now he renewed his Inſtances to that End, making a Tender to the Cardinal of the beſt Services, on his Part, towards effecting it: Intimating his Opinion, That the King of *France*, his Maſter, will be willing to accept the Cardinal as a Mediator, and to refer much to his good Offices therein. Full Powers were ſhortly after ſent to *Gouffier* Admiral of *France*, and *Stephen de Poncher* Biſhop of *Paris*, with the other Ambaſſadors from that Court, to treat and conclude upon this Affair: But I do not find, that the Cardinal was any where empowered by the King of *France* to act in it, as a Mediator, how much ſoever that Prince might be inclined, or expreſs himſelf inclined, to defer to his Honour and Wiſdom. But the King of *England*, on his own Part, ſolely and entirely committed the Negotiation to the Cardinal, authorizing him to act with the greateſt Plenitude of Power, and obliging himſelf to ratify and confirm, whatever this Miniſter ſhould think proper to do, or ſtipulate in it.

2. The principal Conditions of this Treaty were, That the King of *England* ſhould give to his Daughter in Dowry, Three hundred thirty three thouſand Crowns, and *Francis* on his Part ſettle as large a Jointure on her, as any of his Predeceſſors had ever ſettled before; That within four Months the Eſpouſals ſhould be made and celebrated, by the two Kings, in the Name of their Children; That in caſe of the Dauphin's Death before the Marriage ſhould be compleated, the next Son ſhould marry the Princeſs upon the ſame Conditions; and if the Princeſs ſhould happen to die firſt, the next Daughter to the King, proviſionally he might have any other Daughter, ſhould be comprehended under

the ſame Articles. In order ſtill to corroborate an Alliance, ſo much deſired, the King of *England* condeſcended to reſtore not only *Tournay*, but *Martaign* and *St. Amand*, with all their Dependencies, to the *French*; but under expreſs Condition, that no Prejudice was hereby intended to be done to the King of *Spain*, and that no Occaſion ſhould be taken, from theſe Conceſſions of *England*, to injure or inſult his neighbouring Subjects. The Surrender of theſe Places was to be made upon the Payment of Six hundred thouſand [z] Crowns, for Security of which, Hoſtages were to be given by the *French* King; concerning the Number and Quality of which, there afterwards happened to be ſome Diſpute. For in a [a] Letter to the Cardinal, our Miniſters at *Paris* write, That concerning the Hoſtages, they met with much Difficulty; for the *French* refuſed to deliver more than Four, and affirm'd, a greater Number had never been ſpecified; adding, an expreſs Proviſion had been made, that it ſhould not be known, they were ſent to *England* in Quality of Hoſtages, but only as Servants to the Queen. And now, ſay they, ſince it is otherwiſe underſtood here, ſeveral of the Nobility, ſome of which they deſcend to Name, are much diſſatisfied. Our Miniſters anſwered, That there was no ſpecifick Mention made in the Treaty, as to the Number of Hoſtages; but only in general, "That ſuch Hoſtages ſhould be "given, wherewith the King of *England* might be contented." Which, tho' it was a good Anſwer to the *French*, with reſpect to the Difficulties they raiſed concerning the Number of Hoſtages, does not ſeem fully to account for what they objected, concerning the other ſecret Article. The Treaty notwithſtanding, was not long after finally concluded, and reſpectively ratified in Form by both Courts.

3. The friendly Offices which the two Kings exchanged while this Treaty was depending; and the mutual Amity and Confidence eſtabliſhed between them by the Concluſion of it, prepared the Way for the Conventions, which were ſhortly after made towards an *Enterview*. And upon this Occaſion, indeed, the King of *France* ſhewed by a very ſenſible and demonſtrative Proof, how much he eſteemed the Cardinal, and what great Truſt and Confidence he repoſed in his Integrity and Honour: For after it had been agreed and concluded by the Commiſſioners on both Sides in *London*, that there ſhould be an Enterview of the two Kings, the King of *France* entirely referred the Regulation of it, with reſpect

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[z] *Out of which Sum* Francis *might yet detain Three hundred thirty three thouſand Crowns for the foreſaid Dowry of the Princeſs* Mary, *in caſe ſhe did not inherit the Crown of* England. *Herb.* 77.
[a] December 15, 1518.

to the Time, Manner, and Place of the Congreſs, or other requiſite Circumſtances depending on it, to the Cardinal's Direction, and ſent him a [b] Commiſſion containing moſt full and ample Powers to that End; only with a reſerved Condition concerning the [c] Honour and Safety of his Perſon, obliging himſelf to approve and ratify whatever the Cardinal ſhould think proper or neceſſary in ſo important an Affair, as if himſelf had perſonally made the ſame Diſpoſitions, with him, relating to it.

4. After the Cardinal had received this Commiſſion, he refuſed to act by Virtue of the Powers granted to him in it, as importing a Charge of the moſt nice and difficult Nature, 'till he might have the King's Conſent and Licenſe for that purpoſe: And the King interpreting this Refuſal of the Cardinal, as an Inſtance of that ſingular Fidelity and Obſervance which he bore to his Majeſty, and deſirous that nothing might be omitted on his Part towards attaining theſe publick and great Advantages, which were propoſed from the [d] Congreſs, not only [e] authoriſed the Cardinal to accept that Commiſſion from the *French* King, but empowered him to act in as full and ample a Manner, to the ſame Effect, by ſpecial Commiſſion from himſelf.

5. But whatever good Ends theſe two Princes might propoſe to themſelves by this Enterview, reſpecting their particular Intereſts, or what was pretended, [f] the common Welfare of Chriſtendom; the King of *Caſtile* took ſo great Umbrage at the Deſign of it, that he endeavoured what he could to prevent it, by certain Remonſtrances which he made by his Miniſters at our Court, and by other Agents, to Sir *Richard Wingfield*, then Deputy at *Calais*; the Import of which Sir *Richard* communicated to the Cardinal; and the Admiral of *England* being then alſo at *Calais*, apprehending thoſe Remonſtrances had ſome Weight, which might deſerve to be conſidered, gave an Account of them to Court. The Cardinal, in anſwer to him, that he might effectually remove all Jealouſies and ſuſpicious Reports, which ſhould ariſe from ſuch Repreſentations, declared the whole Truth of the Matter to him without Diſguiſe; and told him, what Steps had been taken by the King of *England* towards it, as well as by the *Flemiſh*

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[b] Coll. Nº 41. Book II.

[c] Salvis Honore & ſecuritate perſonæ noſtræ.

[d] *As it may tend to gratify the Curioſity of ſome Perſons, to know the Names of the principal Perſons then appointed to attend reſpectively on the two Kings, I have added a Tranſcript of them in the Collections,* Coll. Nº 42. Book II.

[e] Rym. T. 13. 709.

[f] Quanta ex eo bona toti Chriſtianæ Reipublicæ utilia provenire poterunt conſiderantes, v. Convent. pro mutuo Colloqu. Confirmat. T. 13. 709.

Ambaſſadors to obſtruct it; and how the King had hitherto conducted himſelf, and was reſolved to proceed in it: So that, he ſaith, thoſe Embaſſadors ought, both in Reaſon and Honour, to have been ſatisfied with the Meaſures, which the King had hereupon taken. The Cardinal wrote to the ſame Effect to [g] Sir *Richard Wingfield*, and in his Letter to him incloſed One to the Admiral: In That to Sir *Richard*, the Cardinal acquaints him, That, as he apprehended, he had not only given a ſufficient Anſwer to the Admiral and other Perſons, but expreſſed himſelf in ſuch a Manner, that they would be more cautious for the Future, how they ſhould give Credit to fugitive and idle Reports, only grounded upon Appearances, but really contrived and propagated, to create Animoſity and Diſtruſt between the two Kings. He further repreſented, “[h] That it did not conſiſt either with the Rules of Honour or Reaſon, that a Prince ſhould be under any Reſtraint from treating with the Embaſſadors of his ancient Friends or Allies, or that any Jealouſy or Suſpicions could be juſtly entertained by Occaſion of any Conventions to that End. For a Prince would viſibly run the Hazard of loſing his beſt Friends, if they once apprehended themſelves treated with Indifference or Neglect. [h] He propoſeth a Caſe, which indeed afterwards happened, and perhaps he had then in view; That if the King of *Caſtile*, in his Return to *Flanders*, ſhould deſign to land at *Sandwich*, in order to make a Viſit to the King and Queen, and the King being in thoſe Parts ſhould decline to receive it, the King of *Caſtile* might well conclude from ſuch Refuſal, that he had very little Share in the Eſteem or Affection of his Uncle, and that ſo publick a Slight might be a Means of loſing that Prince for ever: That the *French* King, if he have really that Regard for the King of *England*, which the Cardinal ſuppoſeth him to have, would not adviſe him to ſuch a Refuſal; ſeeing by a perſonal Meeting with his Couſin and Ally, on ſuch an Occaſion, no Prejudice or Diſhonour could ariſe to the *French* King; tho' it ſhould happen, which probably it might not; and therefore the King of *France* could have no juſt Grounds of Diſtaſte or Complaint on that Account: eſpecially, ſince the King of *England* was determined punctually to make Good all the Conventions between them.” He concludeth, “That yet, neither the King, nor himſelf, nor any of his Counſel, could believe the *French* King capable of be-

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[g] *The Subſtance of this Letter we have from Mr.* Strype, *from the Minutes drawn up by the Cardinal's own Hand.* Mem. Eccleſ. p. 26.

[h] *In Anſwer to what was ſaid, That it might create a Jealouſy in the* French *King, ſhould the King of* England *give an Enterview to the King of* Caſtile. Vid. Herbert, *p.* 87. *concerning the King of* Caſtile's *Landing.*

" ing influenced by any ſuch groundleſs and unreaſonable Suſpi-
" cions, conſidering the many demonſtrative Proofs of the frater-
" nal Love, and firm Alliance between them.

6. Yet it appeared afterwards, the Cardinal was miſtaken in his Calculation: That the *French* King oppoſed, ſo much as he could, an Enterview between our King and his Nephew, the Emperor-Elect. And therefore cauſed it to be repreſented to our Miniſters at his Court, how it had been agreed and promiſed by both Kings, that neither of them ſhould ſpeak with the Emperor-Elect, before they had ſeen each other: And that a Meeting between the Emperor and our King, might tend to alienate *Francis*. The Anſwer, which our Miniſters made, was by putting the Caſe, That if *Charles* ſhould, by Streſs of Weather, or any other Accident, be caſt upon the Coaſt of *England*, then the King could not in Honour or Decency refuſe to entertain him. The Cardinal found himſelf obliged, on this Occaſion, to write to one of the *French* King's Council, and to aſſure him, That it was the King's Intention to keep his Promiſe, both in obſerving the Time of the Enterview with him, and by not admitting any Enterview with the Elect King of the *Romans*: But the ſaid Emperor-Elect having, lately by his Ambaſſador, propoſed in the Way of Queſtion to the King, If his Maſter, being upon the Coaſts of *England*, ſhould happen to ſail near thoſe Parts, where the King might deſign to embark, whether then his Highneſs would not be pleaſed, either to ſee him upon the Sea, or, in caſe of his landing, to permit, that he might both ſee his Grace and the Queen his Aunt? To this Demand, the King, conſidering the Alliance and ancient Amity between *England* and *Burgundy*, and *Spain*, could not but ſhew himſelf conformable; yet would by no means, by occaſion of the Enterview with his Nephew, if it ſhould happen, ſuffer his Journey into *France*, on *May* following, to be retarded; tho' he added, ſuch an accidental Meeting between him and the King of the *Romans*, could not, in a ſtrict Acceptation, be an Enterview: However, if it might not happen, he ſhould yet be obliged (for certain Reaſons) to have a formal Enterview with him between *Calais* and *Graveling*, after that with the King of *France* was over.

7. We may probably infer from the Premiſſes; from the Expectation, the Surmiſe at leaſt, on both Sides, that the King of the *Romans* would land in *England*, and more particularly from the Queſtion moved by the *French* Embaſſador to our King, that the Viſit, which this Prince made to him in *England*, was not purely accidental; tho', to ſave Appearances, and avoid the Occaſion

of giving Umbrage to the *French*, it was thought convenient to pretend, there was no formed or direct Deſign of making it. Such are the refined Arts of Princes, and of great Men acting by Direction from them, or perhaps directing them in their political Conduct. They deceive, and ſuffer themſelves to be deceived knowingly; and, in certain Caſes, without Diſguiſe; that is, without any Diſguiſe, but through which they are as plainly ſeen and diſcovered, as if they had entirely thrown it off: And yet they affect to hide and conceal themſelves, as if thoſe with whom they are concerned, either would not ſee, or had no Power of opening their Eyes.

8. I ſhall only obſerve further, That the Jealouſies between the King of the *Romans* and the *French* King, might have proved the Occaſion of preventing this Enterview, had it not been for the full Powers veſted in the Cardinal, by both Kings, to that End. For the *French* King now beginning to make certain Fortifications towards *Ardres*, upon an Apprehenſion, that the King of *Caſtile* might have a Deſign to fall upon him in thoſe Parts, the Cardinal was much diſſatisfied with this Proceeding, as tending to impair the Freedom of the *Engliſh* Pale. And the Report of it made ſuch an Impreſſion upon the King, that for ſome time it diverted him from the Thoughts of the Enterview. But the Cardinal having obtained a Promiſe, that theſe Fortifications ſhould be diſcontinued, repreſented to the *French* King, by *Jernegan*, how much, if he ſhould proceed in them, it would tend to his Diſgrace, and the Diminution of that Eſteem, which the King of *England* had for him. This Miniſter is further required to acquaint *Francis*, That if notwithſtanding, he is determined to proceed, the King will be obliged to raiſe Counter-fortifications on his Side. There was another Circumſtance, tho' conſidered in itſelf of no extraordinary Importance, which yet gave ſome Grounds of Suſpicion to *Francis*, that King *Henry* was not altogether to be depended on in the Affair relating to the Enterview; which ſhould indeed have been celebrated the Year before, but ſome Affairs happened contrary to his Intention, which obſtructed it at that time, on the Part of our King. However, to ſatisfy his Brother of *France*, that he was fully determined to meet him in [i] *May* following, he made a Reſolution not

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[i] *The Enterview having been appointed to begin the laſt Day of* May, *King* Henry *would, upon divers Pretences, as that the Houſe for Entertainment was not ready, have prorogued it, which* Francis *would not condeſcend to but for three or four Days only, pretending that his Queen was ſo great with Child, that ſhe could not be preſent at the Meeting if it were not quickly. Theſe were the Pretences; but the true Cauſes, which are generally concealed in political Negotiations, were, that* Charles *the Emperor-Elect had now intended to land in* England, *and that our King had a Deſire to ſee and entertain him, which* Francis *would prevent.* Maſt. p. 98.

to cut off his Beard till that time, which when Sir *Thomas Bolein* had told to *Francis*, he devoted his own Beard, in the like manner. This was a Ratification of the Agreement made between theſe two Kings, by a ſenſible, and (ſo the *French* conſidered it) a ſolemn and religious Token: But one of the Hoſtages being permitted to return out of *England* to *France*, and making a Report there, that our King had cut off his Beard, great Diſtaſte was thereupon taken by the *French*; who repreſented to Sir *Thomas*, that it was looked upon as a Declaration, the King had no real Deſign the Enterview ſhould take Effect. Sir *Thomas* excuſed this Exciſion of the King's Beard, as well as he could, without particular Inſtructions, and ſuppoſed it was done in complaiſance to the Queen; who, upon his knowledge, had formerly made preſſing Inſtances to his Majeſty, when his Beard grew long and incommodious, that, to oblige her, he would cut it off. He added Aſſurances, that it was not done with any Deſign of fruſtrating the Enterview, and that the King's Mind and Affection were ſtill the ſame. But this did not give intire Satisfaction to the *French* King, or perfectly remove the Grounds of his Jealouſy and Reſentment, as appeared from the Manner of his Reply: For, laying his Hand upon his Breaſt, he declared by the Faith of a Gentleman, Had it not been for the Truſt which he repoſed in the Aſſurances given to him by King *Henry* of this Enterview, he would have been at *Milan*, before that time.

CHAP. XVI.

1. *Concerning the Death of* Maximilian, *and the Election of a Succeſſor to the Empire.* 2. *Reaſons reſpecting the Intereſts of* France, *why it was not in general agreeable to the Subjects of the* French *King, that he ſhould be elected.* 3. *Removals of ſeveral Perſons from the Court of* England. 4. *The Sentence paſſed upon them.* 5. *Secretary* Pace *ſent into* Germany, *and upon what Account.* 6. *His private Inſtructions.* 7. *More concerning them.* 8. *The King of* Caſtile *choſen Emperor.* 9. *The Author incapable of accounting for the Conduct of our Court, and of the Cardinal in particular, on this Occaſion, from the common Principles of Morality.* 10. *To what the Diſappointment of the King of* England *ſeems principally owing.* 11. *Secretary* Pace *not being able to ſucceed, finds good Reaſons why he ought not to have ſucceeded, with a memorable Artifice of that Miniſter.*

1519. 1. I HAVE reſerved to the laſt Place, the great Negotiation, wherein the Cardinal was at this time concerned, relating to the Election of an Emperor. No ſooner had King *Henry* received Advice concerning the Death of *Maximilian*, but he imparted it to the King of *France*, and repreſented to him by Sir *Thomas Bolein*, how highly it imported all Chriſtian Princes to conſider, who might be a proper Perſon to ſucceed to the Empire, deſiring to know the real Sentiments and Deſigns of that Prince on the Occaſion, as he ſhould freely communicate to him his own: So that they might entirely concur in their Counſels and Intereſts toward the Choice to be made. Upon which, the *French* King told Sir *Thomas*, in confidence, that ſeveral of the Electors being his Friends and Kinſmen, conſidering the Weakneſs of the late Emperor, and his Unwillingneſs that the *Catholick* King ſhould ſucceed him, had ſeveral times adviſed him, in caſe of *Maximilian*'s Death, to concert proper Meaſures towards attaining the Empire himſelf, but that he had been very negligent in purſuing their Advice; notwithſtanding, out of Six of the Electors, which, he ſaith, then compoſed the whole Electoral-College, he had the Promiſe of Four, under their Hands and Seals, and he is applying to the other Two, the Electors of *Cologn* and *Treves*, in the beſt and moſt effectual Manner he can propoſe: For he will ſpare no Pains or Expence, in order to promote and accompliſh his Deſign; and is extremely rejoiced, that the King of *England*, having no View that Way himſelf, had been pleaſed to promiſe him his Aſſiſtance, as he underſtood by his Embaſſadors at the *Engliſh* Court. And in *March* following, our King confirmed his Promiſe to him by Letter: In Return of which, *Francis* moſt affectionately thanks him, deſiring the Continuance of reciprocal Amity; which he hopes will ſhortly be corroborated by the Enterview. The Cardinal in ſo momentous an Affair, when his Influence at home, and in foreign Courts, rendered his Advice and Aſſiſtance neceſſary, was by no means to be neglected: And therefore *Francis*, conſidering the Paſſion which was ſuppoſed moſt predominant in him, took care to addreſs to it in a Way moſt likely to ſucceed. He offereth him, without Diſguiſe, and in direct Terms, his Aſſiſtance towards attaining the Popedome, deſiring Sir *Thomas Bolein* to write to the Cardinal upon that Subject, and to aſſure him in his Name, that fourteen Cardinals, and the whole Houſe of *Urſini*, would eſpouſe his Intereſts; inſinuating, withal, that ſince the King of *England* and himſelf are ſo ſtrictly allied and united, they may make either Emperor or Pope as they ſhall think fit; tho' were it not in regard to the great Affiance, which he hath in the King of *England*, he ſhould be unwilling that any *Engliſhman* ſhould be inveſted with the papal Authority.

2. Yet the *French* King afterwards grew ſomewhat more cool, in a Deſire, with which he appeared at firſt to be violently poſſeſſed; and his Efforts towards attaining the Empire, began by ſenſible Degrees to abate. Whether it were, that he apprehended the ſuperior Intereſt of *Charles* would carry it againſt him; or, that he was diverted by any Repreſentation of his Miniſters, or Subjects in general, who might apprehend, that upon his Advancement to the Empire, *France* would either be rendered little more than a Province to it, or be exhauſted of its Treaſure and Blood, when obliged to follow the Emperor in all his Wars, or to aſſert all his Rights and Pretenſions, however foreign to her own Intereſts. Whatever Reaſons might incline him to purſue this Affair with leſs Ardour, his Council began to be uneaſy at it, and openly to expreſs their Diſcontent, by laying it to the Charge of the Ducheſs of *Angouleſm* the King's Mother, that the King had diſcovered ſo great an Ambition of ſucceeding to the Empire. They ſuſpected, as Sir *Thomas Bolein* writeth from *France*, that his Succeſs might be a Means not only of reducing his native and hereditary Kingdom to great Diſtreſs, but alſo of alienating from him the *Swiſs*, the *Almains*, and almoſt all the Princes about them; and that if the *Swiſs* in particular, ſhould become their Enemy, the Loſs of *Milan* would be a Conſequence, of which there was great Reaſon to be apprehenſive.

3. In another Diſpatch from Sir *Thomas Bolein* the ſame Month to the Cardinal, he acquainteth him, That Advice had been ſent to the *French* Court, concerning the Removal which the King of *England* had cauſed to be made of ſeveral Perſons from Court; who had ſo far abuſed his Majeſty's Favour, that they behaved themſelves after an audacious Manner, highly derogatory to his Honour and Dignity. The Cardinal, on this Occaſion, gave the King a ſenſible Proof of the Zeal wherewith he was animated for the Support of his Majeſty's juſt and royal Authority; and, at the ſame time, had an Opportunity of doing an Action very popular in Regard to himſelf, and which highly tended to eſtabliſh the King's Empire in the Hearts of his Subjects; there being nothing more grateful at any time to the People, than when ſuch Perſons are taken away from the Throne, who make uſe of the royal Acts of Grace and Favour, whereby they are diſtinguiſhed, to diſhonour the Author of them, or to cover any illegal Practices whatever: And indeed, the Perſon of the Prince being ſacred and inviolable, the only Method of Redreſs, which ſeems left to the People oppreſſed by any Male-Adminiſtration, is by the Diſ-

grace or the condign Puniſhment of thoſe, by whom the Prince is known to be miſled, or ill adviſed.

4. When the Reſolution was taken to remove thoſe [k] Perſons from the King's Preſence, they were ordered to appear before the Cardinal and Council, that they might, in a more formal and exemplary Manner, receive the Sentence of their Diſgrace, which was, "That having taken upon them, as had been publickly re-" "ported, to govern the King after their Appetite, which was not" "Honourable, they ſhould therefore come no more to Court."

5. While the Election of a King of the *Romans* was yet depending, Secretary *Pace* was ſent by the King into *Germany*, to purſue his Inſtructions with the Electors in Relation to it; and to prevent all Umbrage which might be taken by the Court of *France*, on Occaſion of his being ſent, Sir *Thomas Bolein* is ordered to acquaint them, that the Buſineſs of this Secretary was to recommend the *French* King's Intereſt to the Electors. But if the Electors, on Account of the preſſing Inſtances that were made in Favour of *Charles* King of *Caſtile*, ſhould appear averſe to it, then the ſaid Ambaſſador was to move and perſuade the Electoral Princes, that they might make ſuch Choice of any other Perſon, as might be thought moſt conducive to the general Tranquillity and Repoſe of *Europe*. *Francis* thanked the King of *England* for an Anſwer, from which yet he could not infer very much for his own Advantage. But there are ſometimes political Reaſons, why Princes ſhould at leaſt appear ſatisfied with general and even viſibly equivocal Expreſſions from which nothing certain can be concluded.

6. It appeareth indeed from ſeveral Circumſtances, as well as from the Inſtructions given to *Pace*, when he was ſent to negotiate this Affair with the Electors, that he was privately to inform himſelf how they ſtood affected towards the Choice of his Maſter the King of *England*, and to try, if he could open any Way for it. The Motives, upon which the King of *England* proceeded, were theſe following: Firſt, That the Emperor *Maximilian*, when he was in the Field with the King, and at other times ſince, had promiſed him he would uſe his utmoſt Efforts and Authority, to the End, he might cauſe him to be elected King of the *Romans*, and accordingly the Archbiſhop of *Triers* had confeſſed to *Pace*, that the Emperor had endeavoured to diſcharge this Promiſe. Secondly,

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[k] *The Perſons removed were* Carew, Bryan, Nevel, Guildeford, Peche, *and* Points. Weſton, Kingſton, *and* Jerningham, *were three of thoſe ſubſtituted in their Places.*

The Suſpenſe and Perplexity, which the Electoral Princes were in, concerning the Choice to be made; for they would not have a *French* Emperor, and yet were afraid to chuſe the King of *Arragon*, leaſt he might make uſe of his great Power to oppreſs them. Thirdly, The great Competition between the King's of *France* and *Spain* for the Imperial Dignity, which he thought might be a Means of facilitating the Acceſſion of a third Power to it. Laſtly, The Promiſe which was made to him of the Pope's Favour and Aſſiſtance; who, to the Intent he might more eaſily accompliſh his Deſign, had engaged, that he would for ſome time cauſe the Election to be deferred.

7. *Pace*, according to his Inſtructions in the Cardinal's Minutes, was to go to the Electors ſeverally, and by all politick Means to feel and diſcover their Inclinations, and ſo to comport himſelf in general, and reſpectively, towards them, that the King might not be known to favour or aſſiſt with his Intereſt one of the contending Powers more than the other. But to the *French*, he ſhould appear to favour their Maſter, and to the *Spaniards* the *Catholick* King. As to the Pope's Legate, he might declare himſelf more openly, according to the Tenure of ſuch Letters as the Biſhop of *Worceſter* had lately written to the Cardinal by Order of his Holineſs. And he was therefore directed to join with the Legate in theſe Particulars, by endeavouring to diſappoint the Kings of *France* and *Caſtile*; and if the Meaſures they ſhould take to that End, were found practicable, either to caſt the Election to the King of *England*, allied to the *German* Nation, or elſe to chuſe from among themſelves a Native of *Germany*, and not diſhonourably to ſuffer the Empire, after Seven hundred Years, to devolve to a ſtrange Nation. If *Pace* found the Electors diſpoſed to a Compliance, he was to offer them Money, but to be paid under this Condition only, that the Matter ſhould be firſt effected, and the King actually choſen. The Cardinal of *Mentz*, one of the Electors, writeth to Cardinal *Wolſey* that the King of *England* had offered a Guard, in order to preſerve and ſecure the Freedom of the Election, wherein he acknowledgeth, [l] That the free and generous Promiſe which the moſt Potent and moſt Chriſtian King (ſo he ſtiles him) had made to this End, affected him with much Joy and Conſolation.

8. The Conteſt between the two Kings of *Caſtile* and *France*, grew, by Degrees, very warm. The *French*, in Hatred or Con-

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[l] Jam Regis autem potentiſſimi ac *Chriſtianiſſimi* ultra oblata nobis eam ad rem, opis & preſidii pollicitatio, multum nos & alacriter afficit.

tempt of the *German* Nation, and perhaps with a Deſign of ſome ſecret Inſinuation to the Diſadvantage of his Rival, repreſented their King, as a Prince of the greateſt Accompliſhments, and moſt conſummate Wiſdom, in the World. But the Oppoſition of the *Germans* and the *Swiſs*, with the Appearance of a numerous Army in the Circle of *Suabia*, reſolved to defend the Honour of their Nation to the Utmoſt, were too ſtrong for the fineſt or moſt eloquent Harangue. So that the Electors, either awed by ſome Apprehenſions, on that Account, or deſirous to extricate themſelves out of the Difficulties they were under; or perhaps influenced by proper Diſpoſitions of a large Sum of Money, which the King of *Caſtile* had remitted into thoſe Parts, proceeded on the Twenty-eighth of *June*, to chuſe him Emperor. And it appears from the Sequel of this Negotiation, what Aſſurances ſoever were at firſt given by our King of Favour and Aſſiſtance to *Francis*, yet our Ambaſſadors ſecretly encouraged the King of *Caſtile* to hope for their Maſter's Friendſhip. For it was an Instruction of the King for an Anſwer to be given, by the Cardinal, to the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors, " That tho' his Majeſty had himſelf Pretenſions to the Em-" pire, yet having Knowledge of the King of *Spain*'s Intentions " towards obtaining that Dignity, he would decline all Practices " that Way, and aſſiſt him the beſt he could." And in caſe the Electors ſhould be more inclined to chuſe *Ferdinand*, becauſe *Charles* might not ſo commodiouſly reſide among them, his Grace's Deſire was, " That he might have the Government of *Flanders*, " which he would diligently take care of and adminiſter, as if it " had been his own, for the Love which he bore to the King his " Nephew." It appeareth alſo from one of the Letters of Sir *Thomas Bolein*, the Admiral of *France* had told him, That, when he was employed in *Germany* to negotiate for his Maſter, during the Election, ſtanding behind a Tapet in the Palace of the Marqueſs of *Brandenburgh*, he heard Secretary *Pace*, whom our King ſent, as was pretended to eſpouſe the Intereſt of his Maſter, ſpeaking to the ſaid Marqueſs in Behalf of the *Catholick* King, at leaſt of ſome Native of *Germany*, or one who was of *German* Extraction.

9. How to reconcile the Conduct of our Court, and particularly of the Cardinal, in this Affair, with the ſtrict Maxims of Truth, Sincerity, and Honour, is what I am neither qualified, nor concerned to undertake. The Buſineſs of an Hiſtorian, is to write Facts, as he findeth them, without thinking himſelf obliged to advance nothing, but what may be demonſtrated to be juſt, and honourable. Such, who are verſed in the profound Arts and Myſteries of State, may have Maxims, whereby they govern them-

ſelves, and account for Difficulties of this Kind, very different from thoſe, whereby Divines and Moraliſts are either to form their own Judgements, or to direct the Conſciences of other Men.

10. It ſeemeth after all, That the Diſappointment of our King, in the View he had of the Imperial Crown, was owing to his Remiſſneſs, in not ſending the Moneys requiſite, in convenient Time: For *Pace* writeth to the Legate on the Twentieth of *June*, "Yeſterday the Cardinal of *Mentz*, by a Counſellor, informed me, "He was in great Perplexity, and wiſhed I had been ſent hither fifteen Days ſooner, for then I ſhould have obtained all "my Purpoſe: And yet that there was ſome Remedy, but not "without the ſame Sum of Money, Four hundred and twenty "thouſand Florins of Gold, which the King of *Caſtile* hath ready "at *Franckford*." I told him, "If his Maſter would effectually "procure the Thing to be done, he ſhould be rewarded after that "Rate. He ſeemed content, and wiſhed me to provide the Money. The Pope's Legate will do nothing in our Caſe, alledging he may not enter *Franckford*, which is true; but yet there "are other Ways, which he will not take, leaſt he ſhould offend "the *French*." In a Letter the Day following from the ſaid Miniſter, he addeth, "The Pope hath ſent hither a Bull to his Legate, with Authority to publiſh the *French* King Emperor, as "ſoon as the Legate ſhall have perfect Knowledge, that the ſaid "King ſhall have three of the Electors: This is for Fear of the "*French*, but againſt his Promiſe to our King." In a following Diſpatch two Days after, "The Pope hath ſent to his Legate "to proceed no further againſt the King of *Caſtile* in this Election."

Maſt. Coll.

11. This Miniſter, when he found all the Efforts he could make for his Maſter's Service were ineffectual, and that the Election would at length certainly determine in the Choice of the *Catholick* King, took a like Method, to which other People ordinarily have Recourſe, under the certain Apprehenſion of great Diſappointments: Which is to find Reaſons, why they ſhould be diſappointed. "It appeareth, *ſaith he*, by the Fury of this Nation, all in "Arms for the King of *Caſtile*, that at any time, when the King "of *England* ſhould be elected, I ſhould be ſlain. Beſides, if the "King's Grace ſhould obtain, his Realm is like to be undone, for "the Electors will oblige him to live here." There is ſcarce any Misfortune incident to Man, under which certain Topicks of Conſolation may not be drawn to ſupport him. It is pious to

ſuppoſe, this may proceed from a wiſe and good Diſpoſition of Providence; but it may ſometimes too be owing to the Pride of Man's Heart, who would find a Reaſon; a Reaſon if he can, favourable to himſelf, for every Thing.

As ſoon as the Electors underſtood, the Pope had eſpouſed the Intereſt of the *Catholick* King, they immediately proceeded to an Election, as I obſerved before, on the Twenty-eighth of *June*; but which coſt him in Ready-Money, a Million and Five thouſand Florins. *Pace,* when he went the Day after to congratulate the Miniſters of *Spain,* upon the Dignity conferred on their Maſter, ſo artfully repreſented his Conduct, that they were even perſuaded his Preſence in thoſe Parts had contributed much to facilitate the Election; for which, as himſelf writeth, he had received their ſpecial Thanks and Acknowledgements.

CHAP. XVII.

1. *Concerning the Progreſs of* Lutheraniſm: *And the Proceedings in Relation to* Luther. 2. *An Edict publiſhed againſt him, which makes him more reſolute.* 3. *Inſtances of his being inflamed by Oppoſition.* 4. *He finds himſelf favoured by almoſt all Diſtinctions of Men.* 5. *A Character of* Melancthon. 6. *The ſuppoſed Encouragement given to* Luther *by* Eraſmus. 7. *A Letter of* Tunſtal *from the Diet at* Wormes. 8. *The King writes againſt* Luther. 9. *His Book is preſented to the Pope; the Pope's Speech on that Occaſion.* 10. *The King's Title,* Defender of the Faith, *granted to him by the Pope's Bull.* 11. Clark's *Speech, when he delivered the King's Book mentioned, with a Citation from it.* 12. *The ſurpriſing Progreſs of the Reformation.*

1. THE Affairs and Events during the Courſe of theſe three Years, were very memorable. I ſhall begin with thoſe which relate to the Progreſs of *Lutheraniſm,* and the Methods taken to ſuppreſs it. During the late Election, and for ſome time after, *Luther* had a little Reſpite: But his Zeal for Reformation did not in the leaſt abate: So that *Charles* had not long received the Imperial Crown, according to the uſual Solemnities, at *Aix,* but being apprehenſive, that the Diſſentions of *Germany,* on Account of Religion, might affect the Peace and Civil Intereſts of the Empire, deſign'd to call a Diet at *Wormes* in order to compoſe them; or at leaſt to prevent the ill Effects, wherewith they ſeemed to threaten both the Civil and Eccleſiaſtical State. At this Diet 1519. 1520. 1521.

Luther was ſummoned to appear, the Emperor having granted him a Paſſport, and promiſed to his Patron, the Elector of *Saxony*, that he might freely go thither, and be heard. Under this Safe-conduct he came to the Diet in his Frier's Habit, and owned his Books, but required Time to conſider, whether he ſhould approve or retract them. The Day after he appeared again, and after a long Diſcourſe poſitively declared, he did not think himſelf obliged to retract any of them. The Pope, upon this Anſwer, ſignified his Reſolution in writing to the Diet, to proceed againſt him; yet he had Liberty of conferring with the Deputies of the Diet, who uſed their utmoſt Endeavours to bring him to a Retractation, and to ſubmit himſelf to the Judgement of ſome Tribunal, but their Arguments could make no Impreſſion: He would neither retract, nor knowledge any other Judge, but the Word of God; that is, as they underſtood him, the Word of God concerning the Senſe of which, he was to be the Judge and Interpreter himſelf. This was thought an undeniable Conſequence in reſpect to one, who was ſaid, excluſive of the Doctrines or Authority of the Church, to make his private Interpretations of Scripture the Rule of Faith. It ſeems impoſſible indeed, upon ſuch a Principle, that the Unity of the Church ſhould be preſerved, or that any Authority in it ſhould have a juſt and regular Power of cenſuring other Perſons, either as Heretical, or obſtinately Heretical: Becauſe every Man having the Rule of his Judgement before him, and an equal Right to judge for himſelf, and all Men being fallible, the Queſtion appeareth unanſwerable, Who art thou that judgeſt another? By what Authority doeſt thou judge? or, Who gave thee this Authority? So naturally do thoſe Principles, which tend to reſolve all the Grounds of Faith into a private Spirit, in Oppoſition to the Doctrine and Authority of the Church, ſet Men free from all manner of judicial Reſtraints in it, and open a direct Way to Confuſion, and every evil Work; or rather, ſo directly in ſuch a Way of Arguing, will Men, diffident of their Judgement, obſerving the different Senſes wherein the Scriptures are explained by learned Men, and the Difficulties which occur in them, be deſirous of having Recourſe to ſome certain Authority for the Explication of them. For nothing leſs than Certainty, ought to ſatisfy us in an Affair of infinite Concernment to us; at leaſt nothing leſs, than the higheſt Degree of Certainty to which we are here capable of attaining. Now there is in the natural Reaſon of the Thing, to all modeſt and ingenuous Perſons, leſs Danger of their miſtaking the Senſe of the Scriptures, when they regulate their Judgements of it, by the concurrent Senſe and Explications of the Church, than when they interpret them, according to their own private Opinions. Beſides

ſides that this appeareth to be the only Method, of avoiding the circular Way of Argumentation beforementioned; except we ſhould have Recourſe to a ſtanding, viſible, and infallible Authority; to which the Deſign of thoſe Men is naturally calculated to lead us, who exclude all Authority out of the Church of *Chriſt*, except that of private Judgement. *Luther*, being repreſented to the Emperor as contumacious, and incorrigible, was ordered by him to depart from *Wormes*, and retire to ſome Place of Safety: He left that Place on the Twenty-fourth of *April*, and was conducted by Favour of the Elector of *Saxony* to the Caſtle of *Wurtemberg*, where he lay concealed for nine Months. The Elector had projected this Retreat, to avoid certain Inconveniences, to which he might have been expoſed, had he ſuffered *Luther* to reſide in his own Dominions.

2. Before this Diet ſeparated, the Edict againſt *Luther*, by Direction of the Emperor, was drawn up in Form, and publiſhed on the Twenty-ſixth of *May*. By this Edict *Luther* is declared a Heretick and a Schiſmatick, and all Perſons without Diſtinction, upon Pain of being put in the Bann of the Empire, are charged neither to receive or protect him. And according to the Form, and Tenor of the Bann, when the twenty Days, allowed to him in his Paſſport, are expired, he is to be proceeded againſt whereever he ſhall be found, and there be kept under Confinement till the Emperor's Pleaſure, in relation to him, ſhould be known. By this Edict his Adherents, Friends, and Followers were condemned and proſcribed, and his Books ordered to be burned. But the Princes and chief Magiſtrates of *Germany* ſhewed very little Regard to the Emperor's Edict, but rather a Contempt of it; and *Luther* was ſtill more eſteemed by the People in general; ſo that returning to *Wittemberg*, and finding himſelf highly careſſed, and well ſupported, he openly declared againſt the Biſhops, and even againſt the ſecular Princes who adhered to the *Romiſh* Church, and particularly againſt *Henry the Eighth* King of *England*, who in Anſwer to his Book concerning the *Babyloniſh Captivity*, had publiſhed a learned Defence, as it was then generally eſteemed, of the Seven Sacraments. *Luther*, before the Publication of his Book, treated the Pope, and thoſe who were employed by his Holineſs to confer with him, with Decency and Reſpect: except perhaps that he uſed Cardinal *Cajetan*, Legate in *Germany*, when ſent to propoſe certain Conditions to him towards an Accommodation, and to abſolve him, if he recanted, with leſs Ceremony and Reſpect than were convenient, or thought due to his Character.

Tho' the Cardinal was afterwards blamed at *Rome*, becauſe he had not applied more gentle Methods towards the Recovery of *Luther*, and ſhewed more Addreſs and Condeſcenſion to a Perſon of his warm Temper, elated with the Succeſs of his Doctrine, and finding himſelf at that time ſo generally followed and careſſed. Another Miniſter from the Pope called *Miltitz*, was afterwards ſent into *Saxony*, on Pretence of carrying a golden Roſe to the Elector, with a Commiſſion to require him, that he would cauſe *Luther* to retract, or elſe withdraw his Protection from him. *Miltitz* finding *Luther*'s Credit ſo well eſtabliſhed, that there was no Proſpect of effecting any thing againſt him by Methods of Severity, thought proper to have a Conference with him, wherein he endeavoured to avoid the Error into which *Cajetan* had fallen, and diſcourſed to him with great Tenderneſs and Moderation; imputing the Troubles, which had been raiſed, to the indiſcreet Zeal of his Adverſaries, particularly of *Tetzel* a Dominican, Firſt-Commiſſioner for publiſhing Indulgences, and who had publiſhed Theſes in Oppoſition to thoſe of *Luther*, towards vindicating himſelf and his Collegues from the Reproaches caſt upon them. But notwithſtanding all the Inſinuations he could uſe to perſuade *Luther* to an Acknowledgement of ſome Errors relating to the Doctrine of Indulgences, *Luther* would not be induced to make any. All that *Miltitz* could obtain of him, was to write a Letter in reſpectful Terms to the Pope, wherein he declared, That it was never his Intention to attack the Power of the Church or of the Pope; That he acknowledged the Power of the Church was Supreme; and, as to the particular Queſtion concerning Indulgences, he would write no more upon that Subject, provided his Adverſaries would be ſilent on their Part and not provoke him to reſume it; That he would even write after a Manner which might create in others a greater Veneration for the Church of *Rome*; and to conclude, He would own that he had uſed too great Acrimony in his Expreſſions, and had been tranſported, in the Heat of his Zeal, to a blameable Exceſs.

3. By this and another [m] Letter of *Luther*'s, if he was ſincere in his Declarations, we may conclude, he did not at firſt deſign to puſh Things ſo far, as afterwards, being irritated by Oppoſition and ſevere Uſage, he proceeded to carry them: For when he wrote his Book concerning the *Babyloniſh Captivity*, his Sentiments were altogether different from what he had here propoſed by Way of

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[m] Coll. N° 43. Book II.

Submiſſion to the Pope. There he declareth himſelf intirely againſt the Church of *Rome*. He not only writeth againſt the Primacy of this Church which he called *Babylon*, and againſt Indulgences, but againſt the Number, and, in many reſpects, againſt the Doctrine of the Sacraments. And in Revenge to the Pope, who by a Bull had ſolemnly condemned Forty-One of his Propoſitions, and ſent a Brief to *Charles the Fifth*, praying him to cauſe that it might be executed, He being now more enraged than ever, wrote againſt the Pope's Decree, appealed from it to a general Council, cauſing It and the Decretals to be publickly burned at *Wittemberg*.

4. *Luther* was the more encouraged to adhere to his Doctrine, becauſe he found himſelf favoured, not only by the Princes and People of *Germany*, but by ſome Men of Diſtinction in the learned World at that Time. *Zwinglius* in *Switzerland* openly declared for his Doctrine, and imitating his Example, inveighed with great Warmth againſt the Perſon, who was appointed to publiſh the Indulgences in that Country: From declaiming againſt Indulgences, he proceeded to condemn the Invocation of Saints, the Sacrifice of the Maſs, Eccleſiaſtical Laws, Vows, Celibacy of Prieſts, and Abſtinency from Meats, yet without introducing any Change in the Outward-worſhip.

5. *Philip Melancthon* alſo, a grave and pious Man, of a moſt ſweet and excellent Diſpoſition, well verſed in humane and divine Literature, was *Luther*'s particular Friend, and when the Univerſity of *Paris* had condemned his Opinion, he wrote a Book in his Vindication againſt them, and accompanied him at *Leipſick*, where he had a Conference with *Eccius*, who deſired to begin the Diſpute upon the Article of the Pope's Authority, but *Luther* looking upon it as an enſnaring Propoſition, at that time declined it.

6. It hath been thought alſo, that *Luther* was much animated in his Zeal againſt the *Romiſh* Church, by what *Eraſmus* wrote to him; telling him, he had not only thoſe who favoured him in the *Low-Countries*, but ſome of the firſt Diſtinction in *England*; that yet he would do well to uſe Modeſty and Diſcretion, conforming himſelf to the Example of our Lord and his Apoſtles, who, in oppoſing the received Doctrines, kept themſelves in remote and allegorical Expreſſions, and by that means prepared the Way for a more eaſy Admiſſion of the Chriſtian Doctrine, in place of the legal Inſtitutions. Theſe Inſinuations of *Eraſmus* concerning *Luther*'s

ther's violent Temper, are agreeable to Mr. *Claud's* Character of him in the [n] Margin.

7. *Luther*'s Fame, and the Reputation he had with ſome learned Men, created him many Enemies; among whom he was made particularly ſenſible, how much he had provoked the Zeal and Animadverſion of the King of *England*. But before I give any Account of the Book, which this Prince condeſcended to write againſt *Luther*, it may not be improper to give an Account of a Letter which was written by *Tonſtall*, from the Diet of *Wormes*, ſent to aſſiſt there on the Part of our King. He writeth to the Cardinal, "That the *Germans* every where are ſo addicted to *Luther*, that rather than he ſhall be oppreſſed by the Pope's Authority, a hundred thouſand of the People will ſacrifice their Lives, who have repreſented to the Emperor, that beſides his Learning, he is a Man of Vertue and Probity. He offereth to make his Defence, and retract thoſe Opinions which he cannot defend, by Authority of the Holy Scriptures. After he perceived that he ſhould not be admitted to come to the [o] Diet, for which he had once Liberty and Safe-conduct granted, (tho' afterwards revoked at the Inſtance of the Pope's Orators) deſpairing to be heard in his own Defence, he did openly in the Town of *Wittenberg*, gather the People and the Univerſity together, and burn the [p] Decretals, *&c.* as Books erroneous, as he there declared, and the Declaration he cauſed to be printed in the *Dutch* Tongue, and diſperſed it about the Country, which hath been ſince tranſlated by ſome idle Perſon into *Latin*, a Copy whereof I ſend to your Grace incloſed, to the Intent your Grace may ſee it, and burn it when you have done. And alſo that your Grace may call before you the Printers and Bookſellers, and

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[n] *I confeſs it were to be wiſhed, that* Luther *had been more temperate in his Way of Writing, and that with his great and invincible Courage, with his ardent Zeal for the Truth, with the unſhaken Conſtancy he ever manifeſted, he had diſcovered a greater Reſerve and Moderation; but theſe Faults, which are moſt commonly complexional, prevent not our Eſteem of Men, when in other reſpects we perceive in them a good Fund of Piety, and Vertues perfectly heroick; ſuch as were ſeen to ſhine in* Luther. *We cannot refuſe to praiſe the Zeal of* Luther, *Biſhop of* Cagliari, *or to admire the great Qualities of St.* Jerom, *though we diſcover too much Keenneſs and Outrage in their Style. And perhaps too, there was ſome particular Neceſſity at the Time of the Reformation, to employ the ſtrongeſt Expreſſions, the better to awaken Men from that profound Slumber in which they had been ſo long: However, I grant* Luther *ought to have been more reſerved in his Writings.* "All this, *ſays* Bayl, is good and ſolid; yet a general Method of juſtifying People, that their ill Qualities were very proper, conſidering the Poſture of Affairs, to produce good Effects, is a Source of Deluſion. No-body doubts, Providence knoweth to chuſe the moſt effectual Means to arrive at its Ends; but as ill Qualities are at certain Seaſons more proper than the brighteſt Vertues, to execute God's Decrees, it would be very bad Reaſoning to conclude, that Violence and Force are commendable, upon Pretence, that the Corruption of the World, requires the harſheſt Treatment. The Wiſdom of God is eminent, I confeſs, in employing ſuch Inſtruments, but the Inſtruments for all that may be extremely vicious.

[o] *This muſt be underſtood of his Deſire to appear there a Second Time.*

[p] *This was* Dec. 10, 1520. *Sleid.*

“ give them a ſtrict Charge that they bring none of his Books into *England*, or tranſlate them into *Engliſh*.

“ Matters are puſhed ſo far, that Princes cannot put a Stop to them. The Original was the great Sum of Money (from which the People would have the Country diſcharged) that goeth every Year to *Rome* for Annates; And the Benefices conferred on worthleſs and illiterate Perſons, who ſerve the Pope in Quality of domeſtick Servants, and even ſuch as Cookes and Grooms; ſo that the eaſieſt Expedient, I can think of, is, that the Pope ſhould condeſcend to loſe the ſaid Annates, or appoint ſome other Diſpoſition of the Benefices. *Luther* hath written a Book ſince his Condemnation, of the *Babyloniſh Captivity*, wherein he holdeth, that four of the Sacraments are only of poſitive Inſtitution, or by the Pope's Ordinance, called, *Confirmation*, *Orders*, *Extreme Unction*, and *Matrimony*; and that *Baptiſm*, the *Euchariſt*, and *Pennance* are of evangelical and divine Right. They ſay, there are much more ſtrange Opinions in it, near to the Principles of the *Bohemians*; I pray God to keep that Book out of *England*.

“ At the Exequy of the Cardinal of *Croy*, in the Preſence of the Electors, the Emperor, the Pope's Ambaſſador, and the Cardinals, a *French* Preacher made a Sermon, and in the Beginning of it ſaid, The Pope was the Vicar of *Chriſt*, in Spirituals; and the Cardinals and Biſhops, Apoſtles. How he came to change his Note I cannot tell, but afterwards he concluded, when they do amiſs, the Emperor ſhould reform the Diſorders they are guilty of, and even have a Power to that End of depoſing them. Upon this, the Pope's Nuncio having Commiſſion againſt *Luther*, laid the Premiſſes to his Charge; but hath been openly threatned by ſeveral Gentlemen, not to meddle with him. In the ſaid Sermon he exhorted the Emperor, and all the Princes to go into *Italy*, which depends on the Empire, and to reform ſuch Abuſes, as ſhould be found there committed. To which Advice I underſtand many of the Princes are inclined, becauſe every one may propoſe thereby ſome private Advantage to himſelf. The ſaid Frier (but by whom I know not) is ordered to preach here, during the whole Seaſon of *Lent*.

“ *Luther* offereth, if the Emperor will go to *Rome*, to reform the Church, to bring him a hundred thouſand Men; whereunto the Emperor, as a virtuous Prince, will not hearken. The ſame

" *Luther* hath many great Clerks that hold with him, except in " ſome Points; in reſpect to which, he hath advanced more, " than he can, or will juſtify; to the Intent, that in the Sequel " he might be heard, and a Council called for Reformation; " whereof the Pope will not hear, but ſtandeth to his Sentence of " Condemnation.

8. The Sentiments of *Tonſtall*, in relation to the Conduct and Doctrine of *Luther*, were at that time highly agreeable to thoſe of our Court, and eſpecially of the King, whatever Reaſon he found afterwards to diſſent or vary from them. His Zeal for the received Doctrines was ſo much irritated by *Luther*'s Book, that he condeſcended to enter the Liſts with him in Quality of a Diſputant, and thought it not below his Royal Dignity, to appear as ſuch, againſt a poor Frier, in Defence of the Truth. I ſhall not pretend to give the Reader an Abſtract of his Book, whereof he may conſult the Original or the *Engliſh* Verſion, but only take notice of ſome Particulars in the Introductory Part of it addreſſed to the Pope. His Majeſty repreſents to his Holineſs, " he may " be ſurpriſed to find, that a Perſon bred up to War and the Affairs of State, ſhould take upon him a Province of this Kind, " and enter into Controverſy with one, the conſtant Employment " of whoſe Life has been the Study of Letters. But how unequal " ſoever the Conteſt might be, on that Account, the Danger, " which the Church was in, from the Growth of Hereſy and " Schiſm, had awakened and animated his Reſolution to the Combat. That it was time to fortify and advance againſt an Enemy, who had already taken the Field, and committed great Devaſtation. That in a Controverſy of this Nature, Neutrality " and Indifference are not to be admitted, and that his moderate " Abilities therefore could not excuſe his being a bare and indolent Spectator of it. Beſides, he was willing to improve the " Occaſion of ſhewing his Regard to the Holy See, as well as his " Concern for the Honour and Intereſts of Religion in general. " And tho' his Talents were but few and ſlender, he hopes the " Grace of God will ſupply his Defects, and aſſiſt him. Yet he " would not be thought altogether unprepared, or incapacitated for " the Charge: The Principles of Religion ſupplying the beſt Rules " of Civil Government, and upon which the Throne is moſt ſecurely eſtabliſhed, he had employed ſome time in the Study " of them, and had cultivated no Part of Learning with equal " Pleaſure or Satisfaction. And tho' he had not made any conſiderable Progreſs in it, yet he hoped, he was in ſome competent Meaſure qualified to inſtruct the Generality, and to de-

" tect the Fallacies in *Luther's* Method of Reaſoning. Suppor-
" ted with theſe Hopes, he had ingaged in the Diſpute, and to
" render his Performance of more general Uſe and Influence,
" had prefixed the Name of his Holineſs to it, who had already
" aſſerted his Authority, and diſcountenanced *Luther's* Hereſy by
" the Cenſures of the Church. So that if there were Perſons, who
" ſhould be ſtill infected with any Remains of it, they might be
" undeceived and convinced by the Reaſons oppoſed to it. That
" he was rather induced to take this Method in reſpect to a com-
" mon Inclination of Men, to whom it is more agreeable that we
" ſhould perſuade, than by any Means overawe, or compel their
" Aſſent. As to the Succeſs of his Deſign, he is not capable of
" determining any thing: The Deciſion, as to that Point, muſt
" be left to the Judgement of his Holineſs, to whoſe Cenſure and
" Correction every Thing, that he hath written, is ſubmitted.

9. This Book was preſented in full Conſiſtory by Dr. *John Clark* Dean of *Windſor*, who made an Oration upon the Delivery of it. And it was received with all imaginable Ceremony and Demonſtration of Reſpect. The Pope, in Token of the high Value which he ſet upon this royal and learned Preſent, gave the Embaſſador firſt his Foot, and afterwards his Cheek to kiſs; then receiving the Book richly bound, which Lord *Herbert* ſaith, he remembered to have ſeen in the *Vatican* Library, his Holineſs made the following Speech.

" Nothing could have been more acceptable to us, and to our
" venerable Brethren, than this Book, which we receive with
" great Joy in reſpect to the King the Author of it, that moſt po-
" tent, moſt wiſe, and truly chriſtian Prince; we are not able
" to determine, whether our Praiſe or Admiration be more ow-
" ing to him; he having firſt, with happy Succeſs, ſubdued and
" reduced the Enemies of the Church, by Force of Arms, who
" ſought to rend the Seamleſs-coat of Chriſt; by that means ha-
" ving reſtored Peace to the Church, and to this Holy See. But
" now, as he hath by writing this Book, diſcovered both an In-
" clination and Capacity to conflict with ſo horrid a Monſter,
" and given us equal Proofs of the Strength and the Penetration of
" his Mind, and the Elegancy of his Stile, we render our moſt
" humble Thanks to the Creator of all Things, for his Grace, in
" raiſing up ſuch a Prince for the Defence of his Church and the
" See-Apoſtolick; praying the ſame God to grant him a happy
" Life, and Succeſs to all his Deſires here, and hereafter to crown
" him with everlaſting Glory and Felicity, in his heavenly King-

"dom. And ſo far as our Prayers, or any Powers conferred on "us by God, may render us in any Kind inſtrumental to the "Good or Service of the ſaid moſt wiſe King, we ſhall never be "wanting in the due Uſe and Application of them."

10. The Pope, according to his Promiſe, conferred on his Majeſty the Title, *Defender of the Faith*: It had been under Conſideration before by the Cardinals, whether they ſhould pitch upon any of the following Titles, *Protector* or *Defender of the Romiſh Church*, or of the *Apoſtolical See*; or the *Apoſtolick*, or *Orthodox King*; but at laſt that of *Defender of the Faith* was preferred, for which a Bull was drawn up, and ſent under the Hands of the Pope and the College of Cardinals to the King; a Tranſcript of whoſe Atteſtation may at large be conſulted in Mr. *Rymer*. But becauſe the Bull itſelf giveth a good Light into the State of Religion in general at that time, and the Sentiments of the King particularly in Relation to it, I ſhall for the Sake of the *Engliſh* Reader, refer him to a Verſion of it in the [q] Collections.

[q] Coll. Nº 44. Book II.

11. How little our Court or the Kingdom in general was, at that time, in a Diſpoſition to receive the Doctrine of *Luther*, may be further collected from the Oration of *Clark* upon the Delivery of the King's Book: It is too long to be tranſcribed: I ſhall only exhibit a Paragraph of it relating to this Obſervation. Beſides, the Invectives in it againſt *Luther* are ſo ſtrong, and expreſſed in Terms, that appear ſo repugnant to the human and generous Temper of the *Engliſh* Nation, and indeed to the Rules, which all Perſons who would ſpeak or write politely, will preſcribe to themſelves, that I ſhould not, for this Reaſon, recite that Speech at large.

"Let others, *ſaith he*, talk of other Nations; certainly my "native Country *Brittany*, called *England* by our modern Coſmographers, ſituated in the utmoſt Part of the World, and ſeparated from the Continent by the Ocean, as it has not been "inferior either to *Spain*, *France*, *Italy*, or *Germany*, in the Expreſſions of a holy Zeal for the Worſhip of God, the true Chriſtian Faith, and due Obedience to the Church of *Rome*, I may "add, to *Rome* itſelf; ſo there is no Nation that doth more impugn this Monſter, and the Hereſies revived by him, and by "which they are more condemned and deteſted: But the firſt "and greateſt Share of this Praiſe is owing to him, whom I have "now had the Honour to mention, King *Henry*, the moſt devoted Son of your Holineſs; who ſo ſoon as he underſtood how "much the Dignity of that Government, wherewith you are in-

“ veſted, which is adorned by your Vertue, and aggrandiſed by
“ your Actions, had ſuffered ſo many bitter Invectives, together
“ with the univerſal Church, by this Son of Perdition, did not
“ only ingage perſonally in this pious Work, wherein the Errors
“ of that impious Man are learnedly confuted; But the moſt
“ learned Clergy alſo of the Realm, have, to the utmoſt of their
“ Power, endeavoured to diſſipate and remove out of the Minds
“ of the People, all Fears, Doubts, and Scruples, that might
“ any ways happen to poſſeſs or diſturb the Conſciences of the
“ weaker Sort. So that with us the Church of God is in profound
“ Tranquillity: No Differences, no Diſputes, no ambiguous
“ Words, Murmuring, or Complaints are heard among
“ the People; all Troubles of Mind, all Apprehenſions of ſtrange
“ Revolutions in the World, and of the Reign of Antichriſt, are
“ now vaniſhed.”

12. If this Speech wholly, or in great Part, repreſented the Diſpoſition of the Clergy and People, and the State of Religion in *England*, at that time; the Reformation which was ſhortly after here introduced, contrary to ſuch ſtrong Appearances againſt all Means of introducing it, was ſo much the more unaccountable in any human Way of calculating future Events, and can only be aſcribed to an extraordinary Interpoſition of Providence, which maketh *Things that are not*, or which do not ſeem to act with any proportional Force or Efficacy, *to bring to nought Things that are.*

CHAP. XVIII.

1. *More concerning the general State of the Controverſy about Religion at this time, and the Character of* Luther. 2. *The King's Book aſcribed by* Luther *to the Biſhop of* Rocheſter. 3. *Whether the Cardinal was concerned in it.* 4. *Conjectures why he might oppoſe all Innovations in reſpect to the eſtabliſhed Doctrines, Worſhip, and Government of the Church.* 5. *His Commiſſion to all the Biſhops in* England. 6. *Concerning a Bull of the Pope to him.* 7. *Certain Propoſitions of* Luther, *that do not appear altogether tenable.* 8. *A Reflection in particular upon One of them.* 9. *An offenſive Paſſage in his Book againſt the King.* 10. *The Cardinal paſſeth a Cenſure upon his Errors.*

1. THAT extraordinary, and in a Manner, ſubitaneous 1520.
Change in the Sentiments and Principles of Men, relating 1521.

ting to Religion, which afterwards ſpread it ſelf through all Parts of the Kingdom, was ſtill more ſurprizing, as in the Books which began to be written about the controverted Points at that Time, there did not appear to be on either Side, that Force, Strength, or Perſpicuity of Argument, which was ſufficient to produce in the Minds of Men a general Conviction or Change of Principle. And for a conſiderable Time, many learned Men, both among the Clergy and Laity, ſtill adhered to the received Doctrines. In *Germany*, where there ſeemed to be already a general Diſpoſition in the People for a Change in Religion, *Luther*, who was in a Manner idolized among them, had ſo great Authority, that very much depended upon his perſonal Conduct. The Princes who favoured him, did not do it ſo much in Oppoſition to the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, in the Communion of which they ſtill continued, as to the Eccleſiaſtical Polity, whereby the Pope and Court of *Rome* then conducted themſelves, and certainly aſſumed more in Matters of mere temporal Conſideration, than was juſt or reaſonable. They were glad however, to have their Remonſtrances againſt the papal Encroachments, ſupported by the Authority of *Luther*; a Man of a fluent Tongue and ready Wit; enterpriſing and magnanimous; of an aſſured Manner and Addreſs, with a competent Share of Learning: ſo that it highly concerned the Pope and his Collegues, to ſuppreſs ſo dangerous an Enemy; or if any practicable Means could be applied that Way, to make him a Friend. And therefore when *Leo* the Tenth aſſembled the Cardinals, to adviſe with them concerning the proper Methods of Proceeding againſt *Luther*, tho' all of them condemned his Conduct, yet it was wiſhed by ſome, that more Reſpect had been ſhewn to him, when, in humble and modeſt Terms, he ſubmitted himſelf to the Judgement of the Church. Others thought it a good Way to bring him over, if that could have been done handſomely, by making him an Offer of ſome conſiderable Eccleſiaſtical Preferment. But the Generality thought the Diſtemper was now grown too rageing and violent for Lenitives; and therefore adviſed the Application of more violent Methods; but which only ſerved the more to irritate *Luther*, and his Adherents, and put them upon ſuch Meaſures, and further Inquiries concerning the State of Religion, as occaſioned ſo general a Seceſſion of the Weſtern Church, from the Obedience, they had formerly profeſſed and paid to the See of *Rome*.

2. Some have thought, that the King's Book againſt *Luther* was principally compoſed under the Direction of *Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, if he was not properly the Author of it; and for this

Reaſon; they who took upon them to collect and publiſh the Works written by that learned and pious Prelate, have inſerted this Book among them. But tho' a Similitude of Stile has been pretended between that Book and other Parts of the Collection, confeſſedly his own, yet there doth not appear any ſufficient Reaſon to Doubt, but that the King had the chief Hand in the Compoſition of it; tho' *Fiſher* might perhaps be conſulted, while it was drawing up. We ought not to ſuſpect a crowned Head capable, in a ſolemn and deliberate Manner, of aſſerting a Fact which he knew to be falſe. Now in a ſubmiſſive Letter which *Luther* ſome time after wrote to the King, acknowledgeing his ill Behaviour, in the too warm and offenſive Animadverſions, that he had made on his Majeſty's Book, he is at the ſame time ſo little Maſter of Addreſs, that he wounds the King in a moſt tender and ſenſible Part; telling his Majeſty, He was credibly informed that the Book of the *Seven Sacraments*, which paſſed under his Name, was not his own Book, but the Book of ſome artful Sophiſt, who abuſing his Majeſty's Name, did not conſider the Danger he incurred by reflecting ſo great a Diſhonour upon it. In the Anſwer which the King condeſcended to make to this Letter, he ſolemnly declareth the Book of the *Seven Sacraments* to be his own. And he had indeed diſcovered ſo much Learning and Judgement, and acquired ſo much Applauſe by the Publication of this Book, that he had no Reaſon to diſclaim the Character of an Author, or his Title to it: Eſpecially, if the Judgement, which one of our learned Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians had made of it, be well [r] founded. "As to "the Performance, the King ſeemeth to have the Better of the "Controverſy, and generally ſpeaking, to be much the ſounder "Divine. Generally ſpeaking, I ſay, his Principles are more "Catholick and his Proofs more Cogent. He ſeemeth ſuperior "to his Adverſary in the Vigour and Propriety of his Stile, in "the Force of his Reaſoning, and the Learning of his Cita"tions."

3. It is not probable, that the Cardinal was altogether unconcerned in this Controverſy. There is rather Cauſe to think, that the King, who did nothing without him, would not engage without his Advice, at leaſt in a very nice and difficult Affair, whereby in the Sequel his Dignity and Reputation might be much affected. If what ſome have conjectured be true, that the King was more eſpecially provoked, out of his great Veneration for *Thomas* of *Aquin*, to write againſt *Luther*, who had ſpoken very diſ-

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[r] Coll. Eccleſ. Hiſt. *p.* 2, *p.* 17.

reſpectively of that great Schoolman, and even treated him with ſome Degree of Contempt; It is ſtill more probable that the Cardinal, who was ſo great an Admirer of the angelick Doctor, that he received a Denomination from ſ him, would be glad any way to contribute his Endeavours towards revenging the Diſhonour done to him.

ſ *Thomiſticus*

4. Others have thought the Cardinal was deſirous to engage the King in this Controverſy, that when heated with Diſpute, he might ſtill be poſſeſſed with ſtronger Prejudices againſt *Lutheraniſm*, ſeveral Books and Writings having been ſometime before brought over in order to diſſeminate the Principles of it in *England*. It appeareth ſufficiently evident, that the Cardinal was very averſe to any Innovation in Religion, with reſpect to Doctrine, Worſhip, or the Government of the Church then eſtabliſhed; though he uſed his beſt Efforts, in order to a Reformation of Manners, and eſpecially of all ſcandalous Diſorders, whether among the regular or ſecular Clergy. He ſecretly perhaps ſaw and lamented the Errors of the Church, in the Communion of which he lived, on all the other Accounts, and wiſhed a Regulation in a ſober, pious, and regular Way. But the tumultuous Proceedings, and ungovernable Licentiouſneſs of the Multitude formerly in *Bohemia* and now in *Germany*, on Occaſion of introducing a Change in the Eſtabliſhed Religion, might make him afraid that any Attempts of introducing it here, would not be better conducted than in other Parts, or on former Occaſions; or profeſſing Obedience to the Church of *Rome*, tho' he knew the Corruptions in it to be great, yet he apprehended greater might follow upon the Principles of thoſe, who pretended to reform, without any other Commiſſion, than that of a private Spirit, or againſt a ſuperior ſtanding Authority, and which he acknowledged to be ſo. He might poſſibly think, a Government, in many Reſpects defective, or irregular, yet was better than no Government. He might propoſe to himſelf the Example of our Lord, who lived in Communion of the *Jewiſh* Church, and never commanded his Apoſtles to ſeparate from it, notwithſtanding the Governours of it *taught for Doctrines, the Commandments of Men*, tho' he had certainly the moſt inconteſted Authority to that End, had he thought fit to exerciſe it. But he would not, ſay they, upon whoſe Principles I now argue, make uſe of a particular Priviledge, againſt a general Obligation, and in Breach of publick Order; the Violation of which, nothing but the laſt Extremity can excuſe, and ſcarce any thing can compenſate. As to the Pretence of the Reformation from the high Claims of the ſacerdotal Powers, and of the temporal Privileges

leges and Revenues annexed to the Clergy, he might ſuſpect, what indeed afterwards happened, that Reformers, in the Heat and Tranſport of their Zeal, are very apt to run from one Extreme to another: That the Noiſe, for Inſtance, and Clamour which had been raiſed againſt the Abuſe of the Epiſcopal Powers, might, in the Conſequence tend, as the Event afterwards proved in ſeveral Countries, to the utter Extinction of the Epiſcopal Order among them: That tho' very gteat Privileges and large Revenues were then appropriated to the Clergy, yet a Reformation on that Account, eſpecially under the Conduct of the ſecular Powers, according to *Luther*'s Propoſal, when he made an Offer of a Hundred thouſand Men to the Emperor, if he would lead them to the Gates of *Rome*, in order to *reform* the Pope, might poſſibly be carried ſo far as to deprive them of their juſt and indubitable Rights. And if this was his Calculation, the ſacrilegious Invaſions which were afterwards made in many Places, both upon the Rights and the Revenues of the Clergy, plainly demonſtrate, that he was not much miſtaken.

5. Whether theſe were the Cardinal's real Sentiments, upon which he oppoſed the Progreſs of *Luther*'s Doctrine, I ſhall not pretend to determine. It is ſufficient to my purpoſe, that in Fact, he did oppoſe it with much Vigour; I only mention theſe as probable Conjectures in reference to the Motives upon which he might be induced to do it: And to render his Endeavour to that End more effectual, being inveſted with the Legatine Authority, and animated with the late Title conferred on the King, he ſent a [t] Commiſſion to all the Biſhops of *England*, requiring them to order *Luther*'s Books and Writings to be brought in, and delivered up to them, in whoſe Hands ſoever they were, or might be found, and from them to be tranſmitted to himſelf, under Pain of Excommunication and the Cenſures due to Hereticks. After a pompous Recital of the Cardinal's Titles and Powers at the Head of this [u] Commiſſion, which is addreſſed to all and ſingular Provinces, Cities, and Places within the Kingdom, and other Places adjoining to it; He repreſenteth, That the moſt holy Father, having condemned, upon mature Conſultation, the Doctrines of *Luther*, as moſt pernicious and heretical, tending to ſeduce weak Minds, and being oppoſite to the *Catholick Faith*, had condemned his Books and declared in an authentick and judicial Manner, his Condemnation of them to all the Faithful, and forbidden all Perſons, whe-

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[t] Coll. N° 45. Book II. Str. Rec. *p.* 15.

[u] *This Commiſſion of the Cardinal is dated* 13 May 1521.

ther Sacred or Civil, of what Diſtinction ſoever, under the ſevereſt Penalties, to aſſert, defend, or favour any of his Errors, or to read, to publiſh, or diſpenſe privately or publickly, any of his Books, according to the Bull lately ſent to him from his Holineſs. Therefore, in Virtue of his Legatine Authority, and the Obedience due to the Holy See, he thinketh it incumbent on him to prevent the Spreading of this Peſtilence; to which End he had not only expreſs Command from the King, who as the great Defender of the Chriſtian Faith, had been ſpecially moved and deſired by the Pope to exterminate that Hereſy, but alſo had ſolemnly conferred with his Grace the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and received his Advice and Approbation, as well as of other Prelates; and therefore commanded that all Perſons whatever, veſted with any Authority, as all Abbots, Priors, Governors of religious Houſes of what Order ſoever, Exempt or not Exempt, and that all Rectors, Biſhops, and Curates of parochial Churches, ſhould by the Biſhop, be admoniſhed to bring in or deliver up ſuch Books as had been compoſed by the ſaid *Martin*, or which went under his Name. In order to which, in every Church, during the Celebration of Maſs, notice was to be given to the People preſent, the firſt Lord's Day or Holiday, that whoever had ſuch Books in their Poſſeſſion, whether in the *Latin* or the Vulgar Tongue, ſhould within fifteen Days after ſuch Monition, deliver them up, or cauſe them to be delivered up, to the Biſhop or his Commiſſary; and upon Neglect or Refuſal to deliver them up within the Time ſpecified, ſhould incur the Sentence of the greater Excommunication.

6. The Pope's Bull to which the Cardinal here referreth, is a Direction to him to ſuppreſs, by all proper Methods, *Luther*'s Books: But to the general Prohibition againſt Reading them, there is an Exception in reſpect to thoſe, who ſhould read them with a ſincere and pious Deſign of confuting the Errors contained in them. This was to remove the Scruples of ſome Perſons, who, from the ſevere Comminations in the Pope's Letters againſt all Perſons without Diſtinction, in whoſe Hands *Luther*'s Books ſhould be found, might apprehend themſelves obnoxious to them. And therefore the Pope declareth it was not his Intention, that they, who read *Luther*'s Books with a pious Mind, ſhould be comprehended in the ſtrict Letter of the Bull; and for that Reaſon he empowers the Cardinal, notwithſtanding the ſtrict and general Order to burn, or not to read ſuch Books, to grant a Liberty of reading them to ſuch Perſons, who for the Honour of Religion, or the Holy See, ſhould ſincerely propoſe to confute them.

7. In the Commiſſion from the Cardinal, all Biſhops are enjoined to ſet, upon the Folding-Doors of their Cathedral-Churches, a Liſt of *Luther's* peſtilent Errors, which was alſo to be placed upon the Doors of Churches, whether Parochial or belonging to the Regulars, as they were ſpecified in a Bull of the Pope in the Year 1520, and whereof the Cardinal tranſmitted a Copy with his Commiſſion. They were Forty-Two in Number: Several of them ſeem capable of being explained in a good Senſe, at leaſt in a Senſe not very offenſive or heretical. I ſhall only recite thoſe, which if they were juſtly charged on *Luther*, it will be difficult to account for them upon any clear, ſolid, or catholick Principles.

" VI. Contrition, which proceedeth from Remorſe of Mind, " and Deteſtation of Sin, when a Man reflecteth upon his paſt evil " Actions, upon the Guilt and Demerit of them, upon the Loſs " of Heaven, and the Danger of eternal Damnation; is ſuch a " Contrition, as maketh a Hypocrite, or rather a Sinner.

" XIV. In the Sacrament of Penance, and the Remiſſion of " a Fault, the Pope or Biſhop doth not more than the loweſt Prieſt. " Yea, where there is not a Prieſt, then any Chriſtian may do as " well; yea, even a Woman or a Child." What he advanceth in this Article, is more ſurpriſing, as in ſome of the foregoing Articles, he appeareth to carry the ſacerdotal Power of Abſolution to the greateſt Height.

" XII. Do not, *ſaith he*, by any Means believe, that you are " abſolved on Account of your Contrition, but becauſe of the " Words of *Chriſt*, whatſoever *ye ſhall bind on Earth ſhall be bound* " *in Heaven*; here, I ſay, Truſt. If you obtain the Prieſt's Ab" ſolution, and believe ſtrongly, you are abſolved, and ſhall be " truly abſolved, whatſoever becomes of Contrition.

" XV. None ought to anſwer a Prieſt, that he is Contrite, " nor the Prieſt to ask him.

" XXV. Chriſtians are to be taught rather to love Excom" munication, than to fear it.

" XXVIII. It is certain, it is not in the Power of the Church, " or of the Pope, to decree Articles of Faith, no nor to decree the " Laws of Manners, or of good Works.

" XXXII. In every good Work the juſt Man ſinneth.

8. If *Luther* only intends by the laſt Propoſition, that there is ſome latent Error or Defect in our beſt Actions, either as to the Motives, the Manner, or End of them, what he ſaith may be admitted. But if we are to explain his Words by the Doctrines, advanced by him in other Places, where he hath more fully declared himſelf both upon the Subject of Liberty and Contrition, it will be very difficult here to defend him. In the Theſes, for Inſtance, publiſhed by him in the Year 1519, upon this Principle, That Man is juſtified by Faith: He carried Matters ſo far, that he had the Aſſurance to maintain, not only " That good Works are not " neceſſary to Salvation; but that how good ſoever they might " appear, they were mortal Sins; That Man has no Liberty; " That invincible Ignorance doth not excuſe; and, That the in- " voluntary Motions of Concupiſcence are Sins." Theſe were Maxims which afforded *Luther*'s Adverſaries ample Matter of Triumph againſt him, notwithſtanding the Advantage he had over them, in other Reſpects. Men will never be perſuaded, that a wiſe, a good, and juſt God, will impute thoſe Defects or Actions to them as Sins, which were abſolutely unavoidable, and wherein they had, properly ſpeaking, neither any Power or Choice. No Truth in the World ſeems more demonſtrable than the following Propoſitions, That Freedom of Choice is neceſſary to the Morality of our Actions; That no Man ought to be treated as a Sinner, or puniſhed, except for voluntary Crimes, or for Crimes which are the natural and proper Effects of the Abuſe, which he may ſometime have made of his Liberty. Men will be very apt to ſuſpect, a Religion cannot come from God, which is inconſiſtent with the fundamental Principles of moral Truth and Equity; which teacheth, That God will inflict Puniſhment, eternal Puniſhment, upon his Creatures, becauſe they have done what they could not poſſibly avoid; or have not done what he afforded them no poſſible Means of doing; and which they had no Power to do of themſelves.

9. *Luther* at other Times expreſſed himſelf in Terms ſo offenſive and unguarded, in Relation to good Works, as tended much to expoſe him to Cenſure, and his Cauſe to Prejudice. In the Book written by him againſt the King, he ſaith, " It is a ſacrilegious and wicked Thing to endeavour to pleaſe God by good " Works, and not by Faith alone." And in his *Babyloniſh Captivity*, cited by the King, in Anſwer to *Luther*'s Letter of Submiſſion to him, are theſe Words; " You ſee then, how rich a bap-

“ tized Chriſtian is; who, tho' he could be ſuppoſed willing to loſe his own Soul, yet could not endanger the Loſs of it, by any Sins whatever, unleſs he would not believe: For there is no Sin damnable, but that of Incredulity only.” The King having oppoſed to theſe bold and indefenſible Aſſertions ſeveral Texts of Scripture, proceedeth to charge *Luther* with impairing the Faculties of the Mind, and deſtroying the Freedom of the Will to ſuch a Degree, as to render Men utterly incapable of doing or deſigning any Thing that is good. To make him, in all his Motions relating to Morality or Religion, a mere Machine; and ſo entirely paſſive, as to have no Power even of co-operating with the Grace of God. Which Aſſertion is conſidered by the King, as a moſt peſtilent Hereſy, highly derogatory to the Juſtice of God, and tending to excuſe all the Sins of Men, by charging them to inevitable Neceſſity, and the Force of God's abſolute and irreverſible Decrees.

10. The Cardinal, at the Foot of his Commiſſion, to which I return, after having recited the Errors of *Luther*, concludeth with the following Cenſure upon them. “ Which ſeveral Errors, of how malignant and pernicious a Nature they are; how much they tend to ſcandalize Chriſtians in general, and to ſeduce pious and weak Minds; how oppoſite they are to all the Rules of Charity, to the Reverence due to our holy Mother the Church, to the general Society of the Faithful, and to the common Intereſts of the Faith; and of how ill Effect towards enervating the Force of all Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, and of Obedience, which is the Foundation, and Source of all Vertues, no ſober or conſiderate Perſon can be ignorant.”

CHAP. XIX.

1. *Jealouſies between the* Imperial *and* French *Courts.* 2. *The Emperor entertained at* Dover. 3. *Umbrage taken thereat by the King of* France. 4. *The Cardinal goes over to* Calais *in Quality of a Mediator between thoſe two Powers.* 5. *Two Commiſſions to the Cardinal from the King of* England. 6. *An occaſional Obſervation upon a Paſſage of Lord* Herbert. 7. *An Anſwer of the Cardinal to the* French *Ambaſſadors.* 8. *The Allegations on the Part of the Emperor.* 9. *Commotions in* Spain, *with the Character of* Zeures *Favourite of the Catholick King, and incidentally of that King himſelf.* 10. *The King of* France *does not reap all the Advantages he propoſed from the inteſtine Diviſions in* Spain. 11. *The Mediation of the Cardinal ineffectual, and for what Reaſon.*

1521. 1. DURING the Proceedings of the Cardinal, in order both to prevent the Importation of *Luther*'s Books into *England*, and if they ſhould be imported to ſuppreſs them, and to ſtop the Progreſs of his Doctrine, the Jealouſies between the Imperial Court and that of *France*, which the Cardinal was ſuſpected ſecretly to foment, ſtill continued, and viſibly tended more and more to produce, in the Conſequence, an open Rupture. *Francis* grounded his Suſpicion of the Cardinal upon the Enterview, which the Emperor had with the King of *England*, pretended by our Court to be accidental, but which ſufficiently appears to have been made with a formed Intention. For *Charles*, having notice of the great Preparations on both Sides towards it, thought it concerned him by any means, if any could be found practicable, to fruſtrate the Deſign of it. And finding his Embaſſadors had not ſucceeded in their Negotiations to that End, reſolved to try what Effect it might produce, if he ſhould go into *England*, and confer perſonally with the King upon that Occaſion: And therefore took the Opportunity, in the Manner before recited, to make him a Viſit; but yet to no Effect, as to his Deſign of preventing the appointed Enterview. Both Sides had advanced ſo far in their Engagements upon that Article, that a Retreat could neither in Honour or Decency be admitted. On the Part of *Francis* a ſolemn Proclamation had been made at the *Engliſh* Court, by a King of Arms, declaring, That in *June* following, the two Kings of *England* and *France*, with fourteen Aids, would anſwer all Gentlemen, that ſhould preſent themſelves, at Tilt, Tournay, and Barriers: And the like Proclamation was made, on the Part of *England*,

England,

gland, by Clarencieux, at the Court of *France*. There were alſo Defiances, according to Form, ſent by our Court to the *Low-Countries*, *Burgundy*, and *Germany*; and by *France*, to *Italy* and *Spain*. It has been ſuſpected by ſeveral of our Hiſtorians, there were other Reaſons reſpecting certain private Views of the Cardinal, why the King declined all Motions of the Emperor tending to obſtruct this Deſign. I ſhall neither diſſemble thoſe Reaſons, nor repeat here what I have ſaid before on the like Occaſion, concerning the Diſingenuity of aſcribing to ill and ſiniſter Arts, Actions which may be reſolved, by an equitable Conſtruction, into good or wiſe Motives. It is however pretended, that it was not ſo much to corroborate the Alliance between the two Kings, by this Enterview, or to give the World a greater Idea of the Grandeur of the *Engliſh* Nation by the numerous and ſplendid Appearance of our Nobility, and other Perſons of Condition appointed to attend it, that the Cardinal oppoſed all the Overtures made by the Emperor againſt it, as that he might have an Opportunity of gratifying a private Affectation for Pomp and external Oſtentation, and for ſhewing himſelf in the Preſence of two Kings, both which he was now ſuppoſed to govern. Others thought, he might be influenced no leſs by a Motive of Avarice than of Vanity, and that he was more deſirous the Enterview ſhould take Effect, from an Expectation of thoſe rich Preſents, which he had a Proſpect of receiving by Means of it.

2. As to another Article propoſed by the Emperor to our King, relating to his Friendſhip, and his Aſſiſtance againſt *France*, he received a more favourable Anſwer; to which, it was alſo ſurmiſed, his large Gifts to the Cardinal, and particularly the Promiſe of making him Pope, did not a little contribute. During the Time he was entertained by the King, and his Aunt Queen *Catherine*, at *Canterbury*, to which Place he was conducted by the King from *Dover-Caſtle*, he diſcovered the Force of that Paſſion he had formerly entertained for the King's Siſter, now Queen-Dowager of *France*, to whom he had been contracted: For ſhe being preſent, he was under ſo great Diſorder and Surprize at the Sight of her, that, tho' much invited, he could by no means be perſuaded to dance, which was attributed not ſo much to his *Spaniſh* Gravity, (that both on Account of his Age, and of the Company he was in, might have been diſpenſed with) as to the freſh and powerful Impreſſions made on him by that celebrated Beauty.

3. The Manner of the Emperor's Reception and Entertainment, gave great Umbrage to *Francis*; but his Apprehenſions of

ſome clandeſtine Meaſures on the Part of *England* were much augmented, when the Emperor with the Lady *Margaret* his Aunt, in *July* following, met the King of *England* at *Graveling*, where ſuch Civilities were exchanged between them, as left little Room to doubt of their having contracted a firm and determined Friendſhip; yet our King was ſo juſt to his Engagements to *Francis*, that he propoſed to Monſieur *de la Roch* the *French* Miniſter, a Renewal of the Tripartite-League; which, upon one Pretence or other, *Francis* declined or deferred to confirm, being more intent upon his new Schemes projected in *Italy*, than deſirous to enter into a former Engagement, that interfered with them. Yet the *French* reſented this ſecond Enterview ſtill more for the two following Reaſons; That *Charles* confiding in the Friendſhip of our King, had conſtituted him Arbiter of all emergent Differences between the *Imperial* and the *French* Court; and, That there was a private Report of Marriage propoſed by the Lady *Margaret*, between the Emperor, and, young as ſhe then was, the Princeſs *Mary*.

4. By Degrees the Diſſentions and Animoſities between thoſe two Powers grew to ſuch a Height, that they prepared for War; and Acts of Hoſtility were ſoon after committed on both Sides. 1521. In the mean time the Cardinal was ſent over to *Calais* in Quality of a Mediator, and with the Character of King *Henry*'s Lieutenant, to compoſe the Differences between them. *Francis* having before publiſhed a Memorial repreſenting, " That whereas there had been " formerly certain Treaties of Peace and Confederacy ſubſiſting " between him and the King of *Caſtile*, of which there had been " an Infraction made by the ſaid King, in reſpect to ſeveral Articles; particularly, by his invading, after a hoſtile Manner, " certain of the *French* Territories; by his beſieging the Caſtle of " *Maſſencourt*, and levelling it with the Ground; for which Cauſe " he had been obliged, for the neceſſary Defence of his Kingdom " and Dominions thereunto belonging, to raiſe an Army at a great " Charge, yet with a ſenſible Reluctance, of which the King of " *England* having Advice, and being deſirous to mediate Peace, " did, as became a common Friend and Confederate, recommend " to him, That deſiſting from all Thoughts and Operations of " War, he ſhould renew the former Amity and Friendſhip with the " ſaid King; and that being alſo deſirous of Peace, and having, in " contemplation of it, entered into thoſe Treaties; that he might " at the ſame time avoid the Effuſion of Chriſtian Blood, and " teſtify the juſt Deference he had to his ſaid Brother the King of " *England*, and to his amicable Advice and Interpoſition, did conſent, upon the Faith and Word of a King, that he would be

“ determined by his Mediation, or that of his Lieutenant in the Town of *Calais*, as to all Matters of Injuries or Complaints on either Side, relating to the Contravention of the ſaid Treaties. And to the End the ſaid Treaties might be renewed and fortified after ſuch a Manner, that they ſhould be kept with all due Sincerity, and no fraudulent or ſiniſter Arts be employed in Breach or Violation of them; and if the King of *Caſtile* would ſend his Ambaſſadors to the Place, and at the Time appointed, he promiſed alſo to ſend Miniſters on his Part, furniſhed with proper and ſufficient Powers to the ſame End; who, reſpectively, ſhould lay before the ſaid Lieutenant a Detail of Matters, relating to the Inſtructions, in any Kind, of the ſaid Treaties, and to the Damages or Expences conſequent to them; that full and equal Reparations be made to the Party injured. And the Remonſtrances on both Sides being heard, the ſaid Lieutenant might, by Way of Conference or Advice, amicably compoſe all Differences depending between the two Powers; that yet, to render his Sentence deciſive, the Concurrence of the Ambaſſadors, and of the Pope, ſhould be required.

5. According to the Tenor of this Memorial, the King, on the Twenty-ninth of the ſame Month, gave two Commiſſions to the Cardinal, in Quality of his Lieutenant, one more [x] Special, to empower him to treat with the King of *France*, the other to treat, under the ſame Character, with any Chriſtian Prince, State, or Potentate whatever.

6. When the Cardinal executed his Commiſſion by conſent of both Powers at [y] *Calais*, he was attended by their reſpective Miniſters. But it doth not ſufficiently appear what certain Grounds Lord *Herbert* had to ſay, that he was not thought by *Francis* an equal Judge, who therefore declined, as much as he could, his Arbitrement. That Prince might eaſily conclude, when he had once referred himſelf in general, to the King's Lieutenant, who would be the Perſon inveſted with that Character. There had paſs'd indeed formerly, as his Lordſhip obſerveth, Jealouſies between our King and *Francis*, and *Wolſey* might have great Dependance upon the Promiſe of the Emperor, relating to the Popedom: But theſe Preſumptions, ſtrong as they are, ſhould not be admitted in Proof of a Fact, which doth not appear, and againſt all Appearances from a Fact, which afterwards confeſſedly happened. Whether

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[x] De Querelis Rym. 1748. 1 *July* 1521. Coll. N°46. Book II.

[y] *He went to* Calais *Aug.* 2. 1521.

indeed the Cardinal, in mediating an Accommodation between theſe two Princes, obſerved that exact Neutrality which the Office of a Mediator ſuppoſeth, I ſhall not preſume to ſay; but ſhould rather judge, from certain Circumſtances in the Conduct of this Affair, that notwithſtanding the Truſt and Confidence repoſed in him by the two Powers, he was rather inclined to favour the Emperor. However, he did not fail to communicate to the King, the Reaſons alledged by the *French* for beginning the Operations of War on their Part, which were, That the Emperor did not reſtore *Navarre*, as he was obliged to do by the Treaty of *Noyon*; That he refuſed to pay the Penſion for *Naples*; That he did not do Homage to *Francis* for ſuch Lands as he held of him in *Flanders*; and, That he procured the Pope to make War upon him in *Italy*.

7. The Cardinal interpoſing, made Anſwer, That the Treaty of *Noyon* was too diſadvantagious to the Emperor; and then demanding of the *French*, what they would firſt ask, they anſwered, The Reſtitution of *Navarre*, the Penſion for *Naples*, Recognition of his Superiority for the *Low-Countries*, and Aſſurance that the Marriage ſhould be perfected between the Emperor, and a Daughter of *France*. To the principal Article he anſwer'd, That before a Kingdom ſhould be reſtored, the Title was to be tried; wherefore if they would condeſcend to a Ceſſation of Arms for ſix or ſeven Years, the King his Maſter would be glad in the mean time to adjuſt all Differences between them. But they declined this Expedient, ſaying, *They muſt either have their Demands, or War.* Their Claims indeed on both Sides were ſo high and incompatible, and aſſerted with ſo much Heat, that the Cardinal found it very difficult to bring them to a Temper on either Side, even when the Merits of the Caſe were moſt clear. For the Homage in particular required by the *French* for *Flanders* and *Artois*, which as being formerly held of the Crown of *France*, ſeemed to admit no Diſpute; the Emperor refuſed it, upon a Reaſon, the Weakneſs of which diſcovered it ſelf at firſt Sight: That Eſtate, he ſaid, being devolved upon an Emperor, it acquired thereby a higher Relation and Dignity than could be ſubmitted to any inferior Power. To which it was very well and fully anſwered by the *French*, in few Words, That it could not be derogatory to the Rights or Honour of any Perſon, to render what was due. Again: They had their different Pretenſions to *Milan*; whereof the Inveſtiture having been obtained by *Lewis* the Twelfth, *Francis*, in purſuance of his Right and Title, expelled *Maximilian Sforza*, whoſe Brother and Succeſſor was yet protected by the Emperor; who alſo made claim to the Duchy of *Burgundy*, as deſcending to him by Right of Inheritance.

For tho' it was alledged, That *John* King of *France*, in whoſe Diſpoſition it was at that Time, had given it to his younger Son *Philip*; yet it was given with this Reſtriction, that it ſhould only deſcend to his Male-Heirs; but *Charles* the laſt Duke of *Burgundy* having but one Daughter, it conſequently of courſe reverted to the Crown of *France*, in Virtue of which Claim it had been annexed to that Crown by *Lewis* the Twelfth.

8. The Emperor otherways explaining the Conveyance made by King *John*, pretended to *Burgundy*, as belonging to him in Right of a long Succeſſion from his Anceſtors in. Theſe different Pretenſions opened a Way to the Projects of War on both Sides; *Francis* inſiſting upon the Treaty of *Noyon*, made Preparations towards the Recovery of *Navarre*, which *Charles* was obliged, in Virtue of that Treaty, to reſtore.

9. The *French* thought, but herein they were miſtaken, the civil Commotions then in *Spain* would very much tend to facilitate the Execution of that Enterprize. For they were ſoon made ſenſible, it was not in Favour of any foreign Power, the *Spaniards* had taken Arms, but in order to the Redreſs of their own Grievances; concerning which, theſe were the three principal Grounds of their Complaint, That their King lived in foreign Parts; That he tranſported their Money to ſupply his Occaſions in thoſe Parts; and That, in Prejudice of his native Subjects, he conferred his Favours too much upon Strangers. The Laſt of theſe Articles indeed, according to *Sandovel*, was that, which chiefly occaſioned the inteſtine Diviſions wherewith the Kingdom of *Spain* was then and for ſeveral Years violently agitated. The Subſtance of what that Author ſaith, relating to this Head, is, That "*Charles*, when "he went into *Spain*, did not underſtand the *Spaniſh* Tongue; nor "was he acquainted with the Temper or Inclinations of the People; ſo that notwithſtanding he wanted not Capacity, and was "of a very ingenuous Diſpoſition, yet in the Government of the "State he could do no leſs, than ſuffer himſelf to be adviſed; and "having been bred up under *Zeures* Duke of *Sera*, in the Kingdom of *Naples*, an able and experienced Stateſman, he committed himſelf, and the Management of his Affairs, chiefly to "his Direction. *Zeures* being himſelf a Stranger, would both "for his better Information, and to decline, in ſome Meaſure, "the Occaſions of Envy, conſult upon any arduous emergent Affairs, with the *Spaniſh* Grandees, who yet in hopes of ingratiating themſelves with One who had the King's Ear, and was "ſuppoſed to govern him, would ſometimes condeſcend to make

" Submiſſions to that Foreigner, that were neither conſiſtent with
" their Dignity or their Duty. Such, *ſays my Author*, is the Force
" of Ambition to corrupt the Hearts even of Noblemen, that
" there is nothing ſo mean or ſervile, to which they will not ſome-
" times deſcend, ſo they may curry Favour with a Prince's Mi-
" nion. This Influence of Strangers gave great Diſtaſte to the
" People, who could not endure that they ſhould be the diſtin-
" guiſhed Objects of Royal Favour, and that *Zeures* ſhould in a
" Manner do every Thing; a Man charged with Avarice, with
" Extortion, and other illegal Methods of accumulating Riches.
" The *Flemings* in general, who attended his Majeſty, and eſpe-
" cially thoſe, who were obſerved to receive any extraordinary
" Marks of his Liberality, ſuffered under the like Imputation. At
" which, as *Sandovel* ingenuouſly acknowledgeth, we are not to
" wonder, ſince the Favourites of all Princes, even where they
" prove to be more juſt and deſerving, are yet generally envied
" and abhorred by the People. *Charles* himſelf did not eſcape
" Cenſure. He was repreſented as wilful, intractable, and mo-
" roſe; but, which gave the greateſt and moſt general Offence,
" as ſhewing little Regard or Affection for the Natives of *Spain*.

10. The King of *France* in endeavouring to take Advantage of theſe inteſtine Diviſions in *Spain*, did not act altogether upon impolitick Grounds. It was natural enough to expect, from the audacious and high Demands of the *Spaniards*, that they would be willing to enter into Meaſures with a neighbouring Potentate, who had an Army at Hand, in order to ſupport and enforce them. But, notwithſtanding their many Inſolences, they ſtill retained ſome Degree of Reſpect for their Sovereign, and for the Liberty and Intereſts of their Country in general; which they would not endanger by calling-in a foreign Power to their Aſſiſtance, who might under that Pretence, improve all emergent Occaſions to circumvent or oppreſs them, and at length perhaps entirely reduce them under a foreign Yoke. The ill Conſequences of having Recourſe to any Power abroad, towards compoſing the civil Diſtractions of a State, have been ſo viſible, and, in particular, ſo much experienced in former Times, by this Nation, that amidſt the ſeveral Errors that were committed in the Reign of *James* the Second, King of *England*, and on Account of which he was deprived of his Three Kingdoms, this will be ever mentioned as a bright and glorious Part of his Reign, that he generouſly refuſed the Overtures made to him of certain foreign Troops, at a Time when he had great Reaſon to apprehend, what ſhortly after happened, the Defection of his own. He choſe rather to endanger the Loſs of his Crown,

than to declare to the whole World, by an Action, which might have been in other Reſpects of dangerous Conſequence, That he had already loſt the Affections of his People; and that it was only a precarious and mere titular Empire, which he exerciſed upon thoſe, in whom he durſt not confide.

11. Upon theſe Views, tho' the *Spaniard*, even in a State of actual Rebellion, would not come into his Meaſures, *Francis* began the War in *Navarre*, and proſecuted it with various Succeſs; while the Cardinal was mediating a Peace between him and the Emperor at *Calais*, but without being able to effect an Accommodation; their Miniſters on each Side being very high and reſolute in their Demands, and not omitting to make uſe of ſuch Arguments, in any Kind, as might be proper to incline the Cardinal to the reſpective Intereſts of which they were ſent to take Care. But the moſt prevalent Argument which the Emperor's Miniſters were thought to have urged, was a repeated Promiſe, and Aſſurance, in his Name, that in Caſe of *Leo*'s Death, his Imperial Majeſty would uſe his utmoſt Efforts, to the End our Cardinal might be choſen Pope. It is not improbable, that a concealed Nuncio of his Holineſs, for he was then without any Character, at *Calais*, contributed to diſpoſe the Cardinal more to favour the Emperor; he having privately negotiated an Accommodation between the Pope and his Imperial Majeſty; who, it was alſo ſuſpected, was the more averſe to Peace, from a Notion, wherewith he had been poſſeſſed by the Cardinal, That in caſe of a Rupture, our King would be more inclined to unite with him, as having better Pretenſions to his ancient Dominions in *France*, than to any Part of the *Low-Countries*.

CHAP. XX.

1. *The Cardinal goes from* Calais *to attend the Emperor at* Bruges. 2. *From which Place he returns in thirteen Days.* 3. *Suſpicions from his negotiating ſeparately with the Emperor.* 4. *His Care of our Maritime Intereſt.* 5. *The* French *King averſe to a Breach with* England. 6. *Inſtructions to his Ambaſſador.* 7. *The ill Succeſs of this Miniſter.* 8. *Reaſons of the Duke of* Albany'*s Conduct.* 9. *Sir* Thomas Cheney *writes to the Cardinal.* 10. *The Cardinal not improbably influenced by the Promiſe of the Papacy* 11. Tournay *taken by the* Imperialiſts. 12. *The Emperor perſonally aſſiſts at the Feaſt of St.* George *at* Windſor. 13. *A ſolemn Ratification of the League*

concluded between the Emperor and King Henry, *with the Preamble to it.*

1521. 1. THE Cardinal not being able or willing to find any effectual Expedient towards an Accommodation between the Empire and *Francis*; or if he could have found any, the Imperial Miniſters, not being yet fully inſtructed to treat of Peace; he propoſed to go himſelf in Perſon to the Emperor at *Bruges*, to perſuade him to Peace; or if that could not be effected, to a Truce; propoſing to the *French* Commiſſioners, that, in the mean Time, they ſhould continue at *Calais*, and write to their Maſter for more ample Credentials: With which Propoſal they appeared to be well ſatisfied, and did not ſuſpect, the Cardinal took this Journey upon any other View, than that of perſuading the Emperor to ſome amicable Agreement. But there were ſtrong Preſumptions, his Eminency went to *Bruges* upon theſe two other important Affairs: Firſt, to treat with the Emperor concerning a new Alliance, upon the Propoſal of a Marriage between him and the Princeſs *Mary*: And Secondly, concerning a Treaty of *Indemnity*; the Condition of which was, That in Conſideration of the Payments, which were to be made by *Francis*, for the Reſtitution of *Tournay*, provided he ſhould diſcontinue or refuſe to make them, the Emperor ſhould take the Payment of them upon himſelf, in purſuance of the League to be entred into between him and the King of *England*.

2. After thirteen Days the Cardinal returned from *Bruges*, where he had been received and entertained by the Emperor in the moſt pompous, reſpectful, and magnificent Manner, that the Circumſtance of the Place would admit, and had already ſettled Conditions with the Emperor, in caſe of a Breach between the other two Powers, which he now found, or had contrived to render unavoidable. The *French* Ambaſſadors impatiently had expected his Return; to whom he diſſembled his private Treaty, giving ſome Hopes, but conſidering the Situation which Affairs were then in, very ſlender Hopes of Succeſs.

3. Theſe ſeparate Negotiations of the Cardinal with the Emperor, at a Time, when he ſuſtained, by conſent of both Powers, the Character of a Mediator, do not appear perfectly reconcileable to the Duties of that Character. There were Reaſons, indeed, of Complaint on both Sides; and though the Cardinal at length declared the *French* guilty of the firſt Breach of Peace, by invading *Navarre*, in conſequence of which, our King was bound by Treaty

to aſſiſt the Emperor; yet it was alledged, on the other Hand, by the *French* Miniſters, that the Endeavour of their Maſter to reſtore the young King of *Navarre* to his Right, was not to be conſidered as a hoſtile Invaſion, becauſe the Emperor was bound to reſtore that Kingdom, by the Treaty of *Noyon*. As to the Homage alſo demanded of the Emperor for the *Low-Countries*, by the Crown of *France*, it was too clear and inconteſtable a Claim of that Crown to admit any Diſpute. But without entring into the Merits of their different Pretenſions, it may, in general, be concluded, both from the Progreſs of this Treaty, and the Events conſequent to it, that there was at leaſt ſome Degree of Partiality ſhewed to the Emperor; and that the Cardinal, whether moved by any private or publick Conſiderations, did not act in it with that perfect Indifference that became an Eccleſiaſtick, a Father, and a Prince of the Church empowered to mediate between theſe two Potentates.

It was ſhortly after indeed repreſented as a direct Breach of Peace with *England* on the Part of *Francis*, that the Duke of *Albany*, contrary to his Engagement, had been permitted to return into *Scotland*. And this, after our ſecret Negotiations with the Emperor, and what was tranſacted by us more openly in his Favour, left no Room to doubt on which Side we were prepared to declare. Yet, tho' *Francis* might, perhaps, ſecretly connive at the Duke of *Albany*'s Departure to *Scotland*, it did not ſufficiently, or in any authentick Manner appear, that it was done with his Privity or Conſent. And Sir *Thomas Cheyney*, who was ſent into *France* in Quality of Ambaſſador to ſucceed *Fitz Williams*, wrote to our Court, " That the *French* King proteſted, the Duke of *Albany* " went into *Scotland* without his Knowledge, and contrary to his " Will; therefore he reſolved to diſcharge the ſaid Duke of all his " Offices in *France*, and to confiſcate his Goods. As to the Article of declaring himſelf an Enemy to the States of *Scotland*, " his old Allies, he hoped the King of *England* will not require " ſo hard a Condition of him, but he would ſend an Agent into " *Scotland* to recall the Duke." *Jan.* 1522-3.

Leaſt this Excuſe, by our own Ambaſſador, ſhould not be thought ſufficient, *Francis* ſends Monſieur *de Paſti* in Quality of Embaſſador Extraordinary to make it in Form, and at the ſame time to offer Satisfaction for certain *Engliſh* Ships, that had been lately taken by the *French*.

4. The Cardinal, whoſe confeſſed Characters were Aſſiduity and Vigilance, knowing of how great Conſequence it was to the Safety and Benefit of *England*, that particular Care ſhould be taken of

their Maritime Affairs, was not wanting in his Duty, while reſiding at [z] *Calais*, as to that important Article; the Merchants of *England* preparing to ſend their Ships, at the uſual Time, to *Burdeaux* for Wine, proper Directions were given to prevent any Attempts, which the *French* might make upon them at Sea, at a Juncture, when Freedom of Trade was apprehended to be ſo inſecure. The King, by his Secretary, acquainted the Cardinal with the Meaſures and Reſolutions, which had been taken to that End, requiring his Counſel and Advice upon them. In the Letter which he wrote to the King on this Occaſion, he knew how to expreſs himſelf in Terms that ſhould not give Offence to his Majeſty. He applaudeth him, in great Variety of Expreſſions, for the provident Foreſight of the Dangers to which his Navy might be expoſed, and for the Zeal which he diſcovered in general for the Preſervation of his Subjects, their Rights and Properties, as well as for the juſt and neceſſary Regard which he had to his own Honour. He is farther told by the Cardinal, that his Majeſty's great Wiſdom, in theſe timely Precautions, afforded him one of the moſt ſenſible Conſolations, that he had ever received; That no one could have formed or purſued a better Plan of Government, in theſe his Dominions, nor have more effectually provided for the Preſervation or Security of them; and tho' the King of his great Goodneſs had condeſcended to require his Advice, yet his Majeſty was much more capable himſelf of preſcribing what, on the Occaſion, was requiſite. They who have the Curioſity to conſult theſe Letters at large, may find them in the Collection, under the Number laſt mentioned.

5. Yet the *French* King, by the repeated Overtures he made of Satisfaction and Peace to *England*, ſufficiently diſcovered how unwilling he was to loſe ſo potent, and, under his Circumſtances at that time, ſo neceſſary an Ally. He acquainteth the King by his Ambaſſador, " That he hoped he will not be won from him by " his Enemy the Emperor; and yet cannot account for it, that " the King ſhould conclude the Treaty of *Bruges* without his " Knowledge; that he ſhould ſend Powder and other military Pro" viſions to *Antwerp*; that he ſhould ſuffer his Subjects to ſerve " under the Emperor, and that the *Engliſh* Scholars at *Paris*, and " the Daughter of Sir *Thomas Bolein*, whom he deſcends to ſpecify, " ſhould return home. He deſireth the King to declare himſelf " one Way or other, or to be Neutral; yet hopeth he will not " join with the Emperor, his Enemy, who hath made War upon

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"him contrary to all Right, repreſenting how uſeful the Amity
"and Strength of *France* may be to him: Yet, if he ſhould unite
"with the Emperor againſt him, he hopeth by the Help of God
"to defend himſelf; recommending it further to his Majeſty's
"Conſideration, that the Emperor hath already cauſed a Pope to
"be elected, who is entirely at his Devotion; and if the King of
"*England* contribute to a further Augmentation of his Power, he
"may live to reflect upon his Error."

6. The *French* Embaſſador was inſtructed not only to make theſe Inſtances to the King, but to enter into a Negotiation towards perfecting the Treaty which was left unfiniſhed at *Calais*; yet with private Directions, that if in the Progreſs of it, they ſhould find ſuch Colluſion as was uſed the laſt Year at *Calais*, they ſhould break it off.

7. But this Miniſter had no Succeſs in any Article wherewith he was charged: Our Court ſeemed now determined to keep no Meaſures with *Francis*, but upon ſuch Conditions as he thought too favourable to his Enemy, and derogatory to his Honour and juſt Pretenſions. The principal Subject of Complaint againſt him was, the Arrival of the Duke of *Albany* in *Scotland* contrary to Treaty, and his expreſs Promiſe: Who, to the greater Danger of the young King, had taken upon him the Adminiſtration there, being, as he pretended, next Heir to the Crown. It has been obſerved before, the King of *France* not only diſclaimed his Concurrence towards that Journey of the Duke of *Albany*, ſolemnly and by a ſpecial Embaſſy, but in ſuch menacing Terms againſt the Duke, as imported, that he very much reſented it.

8. There were indeed Reaſons, upon which the Conduct of the Duke of *Albany* herein, might be accounted for, without intereſting the King of *France* directly or indirectly in it. He went into *Scotland*, not only at the Deſire of the Nobility and People of that Kingdom, but of the Queen herſelf. He had been employed to ſollicit a Divorce at *Rome* from her Husband the Earl of *Angus*; by whom ſhe had not only been treated with an open and perſonal Neglect, when he left her at *Harbottle*, but injured by the Love he was known to entertain for another Lady. Beſides the Affairs of the Kingdom were in ſo confuſed and diſtracted a State, that it was thought the Appearance of a Prince, univerſally beloved, among them, would moſt effectually conduce to reſtore and eſtabliſh the Tranquillity of it. Yet it is not improbable, that thoſe very Reaſons, which might, as to this particular Inſtance, be

In the Year 1516.

be pleaded in Favour and Excuſe of a young Prince, who did not want Spirit, or Ambition, ſerved only to render him more obnoxious to the King of *England*, who always looked upon him with an oblique and jealous Eye.

9. The King of *France* did not ſatisfy himſelf with all theſe Methods of juſtifying his Conduct to the King of *England*, and in courting that Monarch's Friendſhip. Sir *Thomas Cheyney* writeth in a * Letter to the Cardinal, That the *French* King deſired another Interview with King *Henry*, expreſſing his Hopes, that he would not aid the Emperor, who had broken the Peace and ſent to him a Defiance. To whom our Embaſſador anſwered in general, That the Emperor being now determined to return into *Spain*, had deſired the King of *England* to be Protector of the *Low-Countries* in his Abſence, and that his Majeſty would not decline the Offer made to him. This *Francis* interpreteth, as in effect a plain Declaration, to which Side the King would adhere; yet expreſſeth ſome Diffidence, as to the Truth of it; having given the King no Occaſion of Quarrel, yet hoping to defend himſelf, and if deſerted by the King, reſolved, never, for his Sake, to truſt any Prince living. Theſe Repreſentations had ſo ſenſible an Effect upon *Cheyney*, that he had the Aſſurance to write in plain and expreſs Terms, "* It was great "pity to loſe the *French* King, who ſeemed to prefer the Amity of "King *Henry*, before all Things in the World.

* Maſt. Coll. March 29. 1522.

* Id.

10. As to the Motives, upon which the Cardinal might proceed in this Affair, if he really did take his Meaſures from any private or perſonal Views, they may poſſibly be accounted for, from his aſpiring to the Papacy, and from the repeated Aſſurances given to him by the Emperor (which yet were never performed) upon that Proſpect. But whether it was really conſiſtent with the publick Intereſt of *England*, and by that grand Rule, whereby the Counſels of It ſhould always be governed, of preſerving the Balance of Power in her Hands, that ſhe ſhould unite with a Prince, who, by the Acceſſion of the Empire to the *Low-Countries* and *Spain*, was already become ſo formidable, that the Liberties of *Europe* were apprehended to be in no little Danger, and that againſt a Prince and Ally, from whom there could be no apprehenſion of that Kind, is a political Problem, which I ſhall by no means undertake to reſolve.

11. The Event ſhewed, what *Francis* had ſufficient Grounds to ſuſpect, that our Intention was to unite with the Emperor; who in the Progreſs of the War which he made upon *Francis*, and before

fore we had fully declared for him, ſat down before *Tournay*, and without any great Reſiſtance took it. *Francis* was ſenſibly affected with this Diſgrace; but the more, as he was ſtill obliged to continue the Payment of the Penſion claimed by King *Henry*, in Conſideration of his having reſtored that Place. Yet ſome time after he not only refuſed to pay it, but detained the *French* Queen's Dowry. Upon which, the *French* Hoſtages were kept under a more ſtrict, but not a rigorous Confinement. Towards the Beginning of *May* Things proceeded on both Sides ſo openly towards a Rupture, that there being no Proſpect of an Accommodation, their reſpective Ambaſſadors were recalled.

12. The Emperor upon his Return to *Spain*, that he might corroborate the Alliance with the King of *England*, and give the finiſhing Hand to certain Conventions which had been made at *Calais*, reſolved perſonally to confer with his Majeſty, from whom he had formerly received the Order of the *Garter*, and now aſſiſted at a Chapter, while the King ſat Sovereign, at *Windſor*. Here was a moſt ſignal Honour done to the King, the Emperor having by this Action (as *Maximilian* had done formerly by receiving and perſonally ſerving under him) viſibly acknowledged to him a Superiority. The Cardinal, to ſhew the more Regard to the Emperor, went to receive him at *Dover*, where he arrived the Twenty-ſixth of *May*, and the King on the Second of *June*: From thence he was conducted to *Greenwich*, and ſo to *London*; where *Hollingshead* and *Hall*, who are very particular in ſuch Narratives, may be conſulted about the Juſts, and other Solemnities, that were exhibited in Honour to him. My Intention is principally to obſerve what relates, on the Occaſion, to the Cardinal's Conduct, and the more important Affairs of State. On *Whitſunday* when his Grace celebrated Maſs in Saint *Paul*'s, at which the Emperor and King were preſent, Dukes and other Lords of the firſt Diſtinction held Water to him. This has been imputed to him as an Inſtance of the higheſt Arrogancy, by ſome Writers, who ſhould rather, according to the candid Rules of Judgeing, have interpreted this Miniſtration of the Lords, on ſo ſolemn an Occaſion, as an Act of religious Piety; at which it cannot derogate from the Dignity of any Perſon whatever to aſſiſt.

13. On the Twenty-ninth of *June*, the Emperor appeared in the Robes of his Order, and his Stall at *Windſor*, accompanied, with all the uſual Rites and Formalities, by the other Knights-Companions: And there, He and the King receiving together the Holy Sacrament, took their Oath upon the Holy Evangeliſts faithfully

to obſerve the League concluded between them, the Preamble to which I have tranſcribed from Lord *Herbert*.

“ Whereas there was lately War begun betwixt us *Charles* and the King of *France*, and (by Virtue of a League concluded between Us and King *Henry*, and the ſaid King of *France*) both We and *Francis* by our Letters required Aid of the ſaid King *Henry*, One againſt the Other, and the ſaid King of *England* in the Beginning of this War, to compoſe theſe Differences, ſent to *Calais* the moſt reverend Father in God, *Thomas* Cardinal of *York*, as his Lieutenant, before whom, when many Diſputes had been on both Sides, who firſt began the War, and it was ſound that the Fault was in the *French* King, and that he firſt began with us, not in *Luxemburgh* only, by *Robert de la March* ſuborned by him, but by his Captains alſo in *Navarre*, and hired foreign Soldiers, which were not his Subjects, to break the publick Peace, contrary to the Treaty of *London*; wherefore, when the moſt reverend Father aforeſaid could not effect at *Calais* either Peace or Truce under any honourable Conditions, the ſaid King of *England* underſtanding, (as well by Relation of the ſaid moſt reverend Father, as by the Letters of *Francis* King of *France*, written to his Orators and Captains, which were ſhewed to the ſaid King of *England*) that the ſaid *Francis* had broken both the Treaty of *London* and all other Treaties and Agreements of Affinity concluded between them; not only by ſending the Duke of *Albany* into *Scotland*, (which was againſt his Oath given) but alſo by denying to the King of *England* his Penſions, and violating his Subjects againſt the League. The ſaid King of *England* hath reſolved hereupon to lend us Aid againſt him, according as he is bound by the Treaty of *London*; and therefore, upon Treaty of a perpetual and ſtricter Confederacy between Us and the ſaid King *Henry*, as alſo of a Marriage with the Princeſs *Mary*. We (being on both Sides free from all [a] Agreement made heretofore with the *French*) have concluded both League and Alliance.

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[a] *Herbert*, Page 114.

CHAP. XXI.

1. *The Duke of* Buckingham *proſecuted.* 2. *Reflections on the Cardinal's Conduct in reſpect to that Proſecution.* 3. *A ſummary and impartial Account of it.* 4. *One Inſtance of Weakneſs in that great Man.* 5. *An apologetick Way of Writing diſagreeable to the Author, but ſometimes neceſſary.* 6. *An Artifice objected to the Cardinal.* 7. *If the Objection well founded, what may yet be ſaid in Anſwer to it.* 8. *One Occaſion of the Quarrel between the Duke and the Cardinal, as it has been commonly reported.*

1. THERE happened within the Time to which I limit my ſelf, a remarkable Proſecution of a great Lord, which terminated in his Death, and wherein the Cardinal had a great Share, if he was not originally the prime Occaſion of it. *Edward Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham*, deſcended, as the Heralds have deduced his Pedigree, from *Anne Plantagenett* Daughter of *Thomas* of *Woodſtock* Son to King *Edward* the Third, at this Time High Conſtable of *England*, but which Office in Fee, expired with him, and probably may never be revived, had taken Offence at the Cardinal, on Account of the extraordinary Expence to which himſelf, and other of the Nobility were obliged, on Occaſion of the Enterview with the *French* King; which had been projected by the Cardinal, and wherein they were required to attend according to the Ceremonial preſcribed by him. The Duke, reported to have been of a Temper ſomewhat tenacious, and not the moſt humble, was ſo irritated at the Summons, and the conſequent Charge for his Attendance, that ſome unguarded Expreſſions eſcaped from him, highly reflecting upon the Cardinal, and interminating certain Effects of his Diſpleaſure againſt him. 1522.

2. It concerned the Cardinal to take all the Precautions, that might conſiſt with Juſtice and Honour, againſt ſo potent and formidable an Enemy. But whether in the Proceſs that was formed againſt the Duke, he proceeded upon any ſecret Motives of Revenge, or which reſpected his own Safety, I have no Right to judge. If the Duke was condemned after a fair and legal Trial before his Peers, and upon full Evidence, it is only Matter of ſuſpicious Curioſity to enquire, whether his Proſecutors acted upon other Views, than thoſe which related to the publick Good; except clear and ſufficient Proofs of their having ſo acted, could be produced. What the Cardinal was, in ſtrict Juſtice, obliged to do for the Safety of his Prince and the publick Good of his Coun-

try, ought by thoſe without Doors to be aſcribed to a Senſe of his Duty; though he might poſſibly (but concerning this we can form no certain Judgement) gratify thereby ſome private Animoſity. Upon a general Conſideration, that can never be juſtly interpreted as an Action of the Cardinal, proceeding from a Motive of Enmity to the Duke of *Buckingham*, in doing which he had diſcharged the Duty of a faithful Miniſter and good Subject, ſuppoſing the Duke of *Buckingham* had been his ſpecial Friend or Benefactor. He made uſe, indeed, of one of the Duke's principal Secretaries, to betray the Confidence which his Maſter had repoſed in him. This hath been objected to him as a mean ignoble Action, to which a truly great and generous Mind could not have ſubmitted. And it muſt be owned, Methods of this Kind, however neceſſary on certain Occaſions, yet can never be taken, except by Perſons of a very ignoble Temper, without ſome Kind of Regret.

3. But the Reader will beſt judge concerning the Reaſons and Equity of the Cardinal's Proceedure in Relation to a Fact, for which he has been loaded with Reproaches from a brief, but, according to the beſt Information I could diſcover, a true State of it. When the Duke of *Buckingham* had prepared to attend the King after a Manner ſuitable to his Quality and high Poſts, and before his Majeſty had yet made all the neceſſary Diſpoſitions for his Journey; he took an Opportunity during that Interval, of going before to ſee ſome Lands belonging to him in *Kent*, where the Tenants preferring ſeveral Complaints againſt *Charles Knevet* his Steward or Surveyor, for the Exactions and other oppreſſive Methods, which he had exerciſed among them, the Duke thought fit to diſcharge him. But this Action, though performed both upon Reaſons of Juſtice and Goodneſs, afterwards proved an accidental Occaſion of that great Man's Ruin: From which, and other Caſes of like Kind incident to the Houſe of the *Staffords*, it has been obſerved more peculiarly fatal to them, to have ſuffered by their own Servants. *Knevet*, whether ſtimulated with the Deſire of Revenge againſt his Maſter, from a Diſgrace, which he could not eaſily bear, or allured by the Proſpect of Reward, or poſſibly from a conſcientious Motive, for we ought to put the beſt Conſtruction on the Actions of Men which they will reaſonably admit, made a full Confeſſion to the Cardinal (the Effect whereof he afterwards delivered upon Oath, at the Duke's Tryal) concerning ſeveral treaſonable Deſigns and Actions, of which the Duke with his Privity and to his certain Knowledge ſtood chargeable. He depoſed, That the Duke had a Deſign of uſurping the Crown, and of dethroning the King, in order to take the Government upon himſelf,

ſelf, and in caſe of the King's demiſe, of ſeizing the Crown in ſpight of all that ſhould oppoſe him, and of putting ſeveral of his Miniſters, in particular Cardinal *Wolſey* and Sir *Thomas Lovel* to Death. His Depoſition was confirmed by the Teſtimony of [b] two other of the Duke's Servants with ſome additional Circumſtances, tending to prove, that the Duke actually prepared Arms toward the Execution of his treaſonable Projects; that he cauſed Cloaths to be bought and diſtributed among ſeveral Perſons to engage them to aſſiſt in it; conſtituting, upon the ſame View, more Officers in his ſervice, than he had formerly retained, who under that Pretence might better cover and carry on the Buſineſs, to which they ſhould be ſeverally appointed. One *Hopkins* alſo a Monk, appeared in Evidence againſt him, who formerly pretended to a prophetick Spirit, and whom the Duke had not only ſeveral Times conſulted by *de la Cour*, his Chaplain, but twice in Perſon, concerning his Proſpect of ſucceeding to the Crown. Upon the whole Evidence, the Charge of High Treaſon againſt the Duke appeared ſo fully proved, that though he pleaded with much Art and Eloquence, in order to invalidate the Indictment, yet he was found guilty by a Duke, a Marqueſs, ſeven Earls, and twelve Barons his Peers, the Duke of *Norfolk* being for the Time conſtituted High Steward of *England*, who pronounced Sentence againſt him, but not without a moſt ſenſible Concern, which he diſcovered by a Flood of Tears. But ſtill the Duke of *Buckingham* perſiſted in aſſerting his Innocence, praying, that God would forgive to the Lords his Death, and declaring he would never ſue to the King for Life; yet it ſufficiently appeared from what he ſaid at the ſame time, that a Pardon would not have been unacceptable to him: For he added, "The King is a gracious Prince, and more Grace may come from "him, than I deſire." The Edge of the Ax being turned towards him, he was remanded to the *Tower*; upon his entring the Barge, wherein he was brought to *Weſtminſter*, Sir *Thomas Lovel*, who had the Charge of conducting him, deſired he would ſit as before upon the Cuſhions, which he refuſed to do, ſaying to this Effect, "That he came in Quality of a Duke of *Buckingham*, but "was now reduced to the Condition of a private and mean Per"ſon." He was beheaded, having, by Favour of the King, received a Mitigation of his Sentence, on *Tower-hill*, and died much lamented by the People.

4. This Duke had great Qualities, but was given to Superſtition, the moſt chimerical Kind of it, that of preſaging future contin-

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[b] De la Cour *his Chaplain*; Gilbert *his Chancellor*.

gent Events, by a pretended prophetick Spirit; and did not always conduct himſelf by the Rules of a ſtrict Morality. It is ſaid, exceſſive Grief haſtened the Death of *Knevet*, becauſe he had been the Author of ſo much Miſchief; but it is uncertain whether this might proceed from a Conſciouſneſs of his Guilt, in being Evidence againſt the Duke; or from an Apprehenſion that he was thereby the occaſional Cauſe of deſtroying a great Lord who had employed him in one of the moſt conſiderable Offices under him, and honoured him with ſpecial Marks of his Truſt and Confidence. If any Credit may be given to the Teſtimony of this Man, it may be inferred, that he did not approve the Methods, which the Duke took to execute his Deſigns, and particularly in conſulting *Hopkins* the Monk, and following his capricious Predictions. For he depoſed, That on the Twentieth of *May*, in the twelfth Year of the King's Reign, the Duke demanding of him, what was the Talk of the *Londoners* about the King's Journey beyond Seas, he anſwered, Many apprehended ſome ſiniſter Dealing from the *French*. Upon which the Duke ſaid, There might indeed be Grounds for ſuch Apprehenſions, according to the Prediction of a holy Monk, with whom he had ſeveral times correſponded by his Chaplain, and who had told him the King ſhould not proſper, and that himſelf ſhould have the Rule. Upon which *Knevet*, with good Reaſon, and as became an honeſt Servant, repreſented, that the Monk might be deceived by Illuſion of the Devil; and that it was evil to meddle in ſuch Matters: To which the Duke anſwered, It could not hurt him, and ſeemed to rejoice in the Monk's Prophecy.

5. I would decline, as much as poſſible, an apologetick Way of Writing for the Cardinal, but there is a Neceſſity in the preſent Caſe of having recourſe to it. He not only incurred the Hatred of the Populace at that Time, as being the principal Author of the Proſecution againſt the Duke, but ſeveral Authors of Diſtinction have ſince cenſured him for it: Yet in Honour to the Lords, who judged and unanimouſly condemned him, it ſeems more reaſonable, that the Cardinal's Memory ſhould be vindicated from the Imputations caſt on him on this Account. Would the Peers of *England* then acting in a judicial Capacity, to gratify the Reſentments of any private Perſon whatever, and contrary to the Engagements of their Duty and Honour, have found an innocent Perſon, and one of their own Members, guilty? And if the Duke really was guilty, it will be very difficult to prove, that a Prime Miniſter, entruſted with the Care of the Government, could be criminal, in being the Inſtrument of bringing him to Juſtice.

6. It is ſaid indeed, that the Cardinal fearing the great Power of the Duke, had taken Care, before the Proceſs againſt him was formed, to weaken him in his Friends and Alliances. The Duke had married the Daughter of *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*, and the Earl of *Surrey* had married the Duke's Daughter. Here was a Combination of ſuch ſtrong and formidable Intereſts, that there might be great Danger in impeaching the Duke, unleſs Means could be found, if not to diſſolve it, at leaſt for a Time to hinder the Parties, who formed it, from acting in Concert. *Northumberland* having claimed certain Wards, which were ſaid of Right to belong to the King, Occaſion was thereby taken of committing him to the *Tower*, from whence, at the Cardinal's Interceſſion, which he acknowledged as a ſingular Favour, he was ſome time after diſcharged. As to the Earl of *Surrey*, an Opportunity offered of ſending him away upon a very honourable Employment. The Earl of *Kildair*, late Deputy of *Ireland*, having been charged with ſeveral Crimes and Miſdemeanors in that high Poſt, was removed, and the Earl of *Surrey* appointed to ſucceed him; by which means, the Duke being left more defenceleſs and expoſed, it was leſs difficult to effect what had been deſigned againſt him.

7. Suppoſing this Charge in all the Parts of it true, which yet is only founded on preſumptive Conjectures, it could only be inferred from it, that ſuch ſtrong Alliances might be a Means of skreening the Duke, tho' the Proofs of his Guilt ſhould perhaps have been made ſufficiently to appear. In criminal Caſes, Humanity, good Nature, Friendſhip, and the Ties of Blood, often cauſe even good Men to act with a Tenderneſs, which they cannot, in ſtrict Duty, approve. But one would think there could poſſibly be no Danger in a Caſe of Blood, except from the moſt wicked and abandoned of Mankind, that an innocent Perſon ſhould ſuffer on any Account, for want of a fair, humane, or equal Method of Trial.

8. That there was no perfect Underſtanding between the Duke, and the Cardinal, all Hiſtorians are agreed; but this could be no good Reaſon, why the Cardinal ſhould have thirſted, or be thought to have thirſted, after the Blood of that great Lord. One Occaſion, as it has been reported, of their Quarrel, did not ſeem to afford Matter for any ſuch Conſequence. The Cardinal, once when the Duke was preſent, waſhing his Hands in the ſame Water after the King, the Duke conceived ſo great Indignation at the bold and unbecoming Freedom he took, that he threw the Water upon his Feet. The Cardinal being provoked in his Turn, *Threatned*, that

was his Expreſſion, *to ſit upon the Duke's Skirts*. The Duke, in Contempt of his Threat, or to ridicule him for ſo vulgar an Expreſſion, appeared the next Day at Court before the King in a Dreſs without any Skirts, and told the King, he did it to prevent what the Cardinal had threatned. From ſuch little or ludicrous Beginnings do Events ſometimes proceed, which occaſion conſiderable Revolutions as well in the Courts of Princes, as in private Families.

CHAP. XXII.

1. *Concerning the Succeſſion to the Papacy upon the Death of* Leo *the Tenth, with the Confutation of a Charge exhibited by vaſt Numbers of Writers againſt him.* 2. *The Injury done to Religion, by means of pious Frauds.* 3. *A Cenſure upon* Guicciardine. 4. *The Occaſion of it.* 5. *Another Inſtance of his Prejudice againſt the* French, *with an Animadverſion upon* Saunders. 6. *The Legate ſends* Pace *to* Rome *to ſollicit the Cardinals for him.* 7. *What his general Inſtructions were.* 8. Adrian *was choſen Pope before his Arrival.* 9. Adrian's *Character.* 10. *Why his Election ſurprized the World.* 11. *Yet* Pace *purſues his Journey, and congratulates that Pope upon his Election.*

1521. 1. IN this Chapter I propoſe to give ſome Account concerning the Methods which were taken by the Cardinal to ſucceed *Leo* the Tenth in the Papacy, and of an Imputation by the Way, under which that Pope has ſuffered perhaps by the Pens of more than a thouſand Authors. Nothing hath been ſo univerſally handed down to us by written Tradition, as the Story, That his Secretary *Bembo*, upon citing a Paſſage out of the Goſpel, was anſwered by him, [c] 'It hath been long and very well known, how beneficial this Fable of *Jeſus Chriſt* hath been to us, and to our Predeceſſors. This Story, tho' found in innumerable Books, is not founded upon one good Authority. All the Teſtimonies concerning it are to be reſolved into the original Calumny of *Bale*, who himſelf ſaith nothing to ſupport it: A Teſtimony, ſaith a modern Writer who was far from being in the Intereſts of Popery, manifeſtly exceptionable; ſince *Bale* wrote in open War againſt the Pope, and againſt all the *Roman* Church. What this Writer addeth, is ſo juſt and ingenuous, that it cannot be unacceptable to the Reader. " [d] No Tribunal in the World will receive the Depoſition " of ſuch a Witneſs, ſwearing, He hath heard ſo or ſo. For, " when once the Perſon, againſt whom he depoſeth, does appear " to be his Enemy, the Challenges of the Party accuſed are pre- " ſumed to be reaſonable and good. Since Books of Contro- " verſy then are Pieces, which the Parties produce in a Suit before " the Publick, it is certain, the Teſtimony of a proteſtant Contro- " vertiſt upon a Fact reflecting upon the Catholicks, ought to be " reckoned as nothing. The Publick, which is Judge of the Pro- " ceſs, ought to reject all theſe Teſtimonies, and have no more Re- " gard to them, than if they had never happened. Private Perſons " may be allowed, if once perſuaded of *Bale*'s Probity, to believe " what he affirmeth. But they ought to keep their Perſuaſion to " themſelves, and not to produce it to publick View, as a juſti- " fiable Warrant of an Allegation againſt their Adverſaries.

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[c] Quanta nobis noſtriſq; ea de Chriſto Fabula profuerit, ſatis eſt omnibus Seculis notum.

2. Men are too apt indeed to think all Advantages allowable againſt an Enemy; and it may be affirmed, pious Frauds have, on Occaſion, been practiſed by other Writers beſides thoſe of the Church of *Rome*. But the Cauſe of true Religion has ſuffered more by ſuch an irregular and culpable Zeal, than the Service thereby done to it could compenſate. Hiſtorical Frauds, for Inſtance, whereby ſome Men have propoſed to ſet off the Character of certain Reformers in a brighter Light, by endeavouring to repreſent their Adverſaries under black and odious Colours, without producing any Proof of what they advanced, have ſerved only to render their Probity more ſuſpected, and to bring a greater Reproach upon the Reformation in general. True Religion inſpires Men with brave and generous Sentiments, and as it doth not need, will ſcorn to employ thoſe little Artifices, that are neceſſary to the Support of a weak or wicked Cauſe. A Man, who would diſcover that Spirit and Magnanimity in his Writings, wherewith they, who have Truth on their Side, are naturally animated, will reject all unfair Occaſions againſt an Adverſary, with a noble and becoming Diſdain. He will be ſo far from divulging what he knoweth to be falſe, or for which he can bring no ſufficient Proof, that he will rather conceal even ſuch Reflections as may be true, where he is not under any moral Obligation to publiſh them.

3. It is the Duty not only of eccleſiaſtical, but civil Hiſtorians, carefully to avoid all Appearances of Prejudice, whether againſt particular Perſons, or collective Bodies of Men. I ſhall take Leave

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[d] *Mr.* Bayle's *Dict.*

to charge that juſtly celebrated Hiſtorian *Guicciardine* with a Breach of this Rule, in reſpect to the preſent Occaſion, the Death of Pope *Leo.* The Character of that Hiſtorian is a free and bold Sincerity, in laying before the World, without Diſguiſe, ſuch Actions, wherein himſelf or Friends were concerned, and which would not always admit of a ſtrict Examination. Yet he hath been charged with reflecting on the *French* Nation in general, and on particular Perſons of that Nation, after a Manner, that could only proceed from ſome latent Motives of Enmity or Reſentment againſt them. The Truth of which Animadverſion upon him, will ſufficiently appear from the Inſtance, I am going to mention.

4. One *Barnaby Maleſpine,* Chamberlain to Pope *Leo* the Tenth, was impriſoned on ſuſpicion of having poiſoned that Pope. But the Proſecution was dropped, and the Cardinal *de Medicis,* made uſe of the Authority he had then at *Rome,* which was very great, to procure his Diſcharge. Fearing, ſaith *Guicciardine,* further to incur the Diſpleaſure of the *French* King, by whoſe Practice it was ſecretly whiſpered, but by Authors and Conjectures uncertain, that the *French* King had given him Poyſon.

5. Here is an Inſinuation, but from Authors and Conjectures confeſſedly uncertain, That *Francis* the Firſt, King of *France,* was thought capable of One of the moſt execrable Crimes: An Inſinuation of this Nature ought not to have been made. Nothing but the moſt clear and inconteſted Proofs could have juſtified or excuſed a Charge, which if found true, muſt have expoſed One of the greateſt Monarchs in the World to the laſt Degree of Hatred and Contempt. We may conclude therefore, without being injurious to the Memory of *Guicciardine,* that he ſometimes made no Scruple of preferring the Regard, which he had for his Country, and the Cauſe wherein he was engaged, to the Duty of an Hiſtorian, and the Character of a Man of Honour. But leaſt this ſhould be thought an Imputation too general to be founded upon a ſingle Fact, I ſhall, to confirm it, produce an Inſtance, and that reſpecting another King of *France,* from the ſame Author. Who, without any Authority, or other Teſtimony to corroborate, what he ſaith, has repreſented *Charles* the Eighth, King of *France,* as being of a monſtrous Shape. This Calumny may be confuted by as ſtrong negative an Argument, as can well be produced. If *Charles* the Eighth had been ſuch a Perſon, or of an Appearance any thing like it, tho' the *French* Authors poſſibly might, yet thoſe of *Italy,* as great Enemies to *Charles* for diſturbing the Repoſe of it, as *Guicciardine,* would not have omitted to mention it. The like An-

ſwer may be made to what *Saunders* hath obſerved upon the Shape of *Ann Bolein,* as being very deformed and irregular; if it had really been ſo, other Authors, profeſſed Enemies to the Cauſe ſhe favoured, would have taken care not to miſrepreſent her. But, indeed, there are Preſumptions from *Saunders* his own Account to confute this Calumny. It is very improbable that a Lady of ſuch a Form, as he hath drawn it, ſhould have been ſo generally careſſed in the Court of *France,* after the Manner, deſcribed by him. But it is much more improbable, that the King of *England,* who could not be a Stranger to her Conduct there, if it was ſo notorious, as this Author hath reported it, would have been poſſeſſed with that violent Paſſion for ſuch a Creature, ſo diſagreeable withal, as he hath made her, in her Perſon.

6. The Cardinal, upon the Death of *Leo,* thinking he had a fair Opportunity of offering himſelf a Candidate for the Papal Chair, took care to ſend Secretary *Pace,* with proper Inſtructions, upon that View, to *Rome.* He wrote alſo to the Emperor, reminding him of his Promiſe, and repreſenting to him how unreaſonable it would appear in the Eye of the World, ſhould he openly have a Pope of his own Nomination. For ſo many Affairs, wherein he was perſonally intereſted, were to be laid before the Conſiſtory, that too great an Influence upon the Proceedings of it would be reputed unjuſt. And the particular Advantage, which he might reap thereby, would not be equivalent to the Diſgrace, which the Chriſtian Church would ſuffer by a partial or over-ruled Election; eſpecially, when all the Ends, he could propoſe from the Choice to be made, might be attained in a more ſafe and honourable Way. For if himſelf could be preferred to the Papacy, his Majeſty might be aſſured of the ſame Fidelity and Zeal for his Service, which he had diſcovered in the Conduct of the late Treaty. Since therefore this was both the moſt reputable and ſalutary Expedient, he hopeth his Imperial Majeſty will approve it. And as the King of *England* claimed a Right to be Arbiter of Chriſtendom, it would then be his Part to be Inſtrumental towards the Exerciſe of that Right; and he ſhould always be ready to diſpoſe that King to the beſt Offices, and the ſtricteſt Correſpondence with his Imperial Majeſty. That, upon his being made Pope, he ſhould have no Cauſe to alter his Sentiments or Language; it being evident, that the only Way to preſerve the Peace of *Italy,* which our King deſired, was to aſſert and maintain in it the Emperor's Authority.

7. *Pace* was inſtructed to impart ſome of theſe Reaſons to the Cardinals at *Rome*; and further charged to repreſent to them what great Occaſion of Scandal and Calumny it might give to the *Lutherans*, if an improper Choice of a Perſon to ſit in St. *Peter's* Chair ſhould be made at this Conjuncture: Yet this Conſequence would be unavoidable, if any one avowedly in the Intereſts of the Emperor, or the King of *France*, ſhould be elected; and that in either Caſe, the Differences between theſe two Powers would be rendered more irreconcileable. Neither was it convenient, that any *Italian* ſhould be preferred to the Papacy, who, being of a more narrow Fortune, or not well ſupported by powerful Alliances, ſhould not be able to maintain the Honour, Dignity, and Rights of the Triple Crown: That the beſt Expedient, in order to prevent theſe Inconveniences, would be to chuſe one, who might be ſupported by a Prince, both able and willing, in thoſe dangerous Times, to aſſert and defend the Cauſe of Religion. Neither was the King of *France*, on this Occaſion, to be wholly neglected; to whom the Cardinal therefore promiſed, in caſe of his being elected Pope, if not directly, that he would promote his Intereſts, yet that he might expect ſuch indifferent and equitable Treatment from him, as he could not propoſe from any other Quarter.

8. But before *Pace* arrived at *Rome*, the Election was over; and *Adrian* Biſhop of *Tortoſa* choſen Pope; though the Cardinal, which ſheweth that his Hopes of the Papacy were not altogether ill founded, had at different Scrutinies, Nine, Twelve, and Nineteen Voices.

9. *Adrian* was a Perſon, who had raiſed himſelf by his Merit, from a low, obſcure, and indigent Condition, to very honourable and great Preferments, and at laſt to the Greateſt in the Church. His Parents were in ſuch mean Circumſtances, that they were not able to bear the Expence of maintaining him at School: But as he diſcovered an early Inclination and Capacity for Learning, the Univerſity of *Louvain* ſupplied that Deficiency, and admitted him into a College to be taught without any Charge to them. In the Year 1507 he was removed to Court from his Profeſſorſhip at *Louvain*, where he was Vice-Chancellor, and Dean of St. *Peter's*, to be Preceptor to Arch-Duke *Charles*, under whom yet that Prince was ſaid to make no great Progreſs in the *Latin* Tongue, delighting more in corporeal Exerciſes, than thoſe of the Mind. *Adrian* afterwards divided the Regency of *Spain* with Cardinal *Ximenes*. But ſome time after *Charles* had taken Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Spain*, upon his Return to *Germany Adrian*

was made ſole Regent, and governed with more Addreſs, than was expected from one, that had been long uſed to a Collegiate Life, and ſpent ſo much of his Time in the Studies proper to it. What may be conſidered as more extraordinary in his Riſe, He was a Perſon of a ſimple Manner; a Stranger to thoſe intrigueing Arts and bold Methods of obtruding themſelves upon the World, by which worthleſs and ſometimes very ignorant Perſons, have made their Way to the firſt Stations in the Church. He had the Character, after his Election, rather of a virtuous Man, and an able Divine, than of a good Pope. This Diſtinction, for which *Pallavicini* has been much rallied, is not altogether indefenſible. A Man may be capable, to diſcharge with Credit, all the Parts of his Paſtoral Duty, and to do excellent Service in the Church, without knowing how to direct the Motions, or regulate the Diſorders of the State. The Morals of a Prieſt, and the Talents requiſite to form the Mind of a Prince, are very different. The Rules of the Sacerdotal Office, and of Chriſtian Morality in general, are much leſs complicated, than thoſe of a Governour, who is to watch and improve all Occaſions, according to the Maxims of the moſt refined Policy, and to negotiate with foreign Courts, who have different Views and Intereſts, after ſuch a Manner, as may moſt effectually contribute to advance thoſe of the State. A Buſineſs, for which a ſcrupulous and devout Eccleſiaſtick is not ſo well qualified, as one who knoweth how to adapt his Meaſures, in a Way of greater Latitude to the temporal Intereſts of the Church, or of his own Family.

10. For theſe Reaſons, the Election of *Adrian* Biſhop of *Tortoſa*, to the Popedom, ſurprized the World. But the *Italians* had alſo ſeveral other Objections to him; and, during the ſhort Time of his Pontificate, did not fail to load him with the vileſt Reproaches, and with ſome, that cannot be named with Decency. His Advancement indeed to the firſt Dignity in the Church was more owing to the Factions, which divided the Conclave, than to any formed or previouſly concerted Meaſures in his Favour. The Cardinal *de Medicis*, finding he could not carry his Point againſt the old Cardinals, who united, amidſt the ſeveral Factions that had prevailed among them, in oppoſing him, obliged the younger Cardinals, who were in his Intereſt, to promiſe him all their Votes at once. Upon his propoſing the Biſhop of *Tortoſa*, who had been made a Cardinal by Pope *Leo* in the general Creation beforementioned, there was obſerved an extraordinary Surprize in the Conclave. *Cajetan*, a Cardinal of Weight and Authority, ſtanding up, ſaid, the Motion came from God and Man; and, immediately,

mediately, the Reſt haſtned to come in with a good Grace, but by what Impulſe it is hard to determine. For they could give no Reaſon for prefering a Foreigner, One who was a Stranger to the Affairs of the Church, at a Time of much Trouble and Diſtraction in it; One, to whoſe former Merits there was no Regard; who had never ſeen *Italy*, being ſcarce known by Name to the Cardinals, and concerning whom there had not been ſo much as any previous Conſultation among them. *Guicciardine*, whoſe Terms on that Occaſion are very harſh, and unbecoming one of his Principles, pretendeth, that they who elected him to the Popedome, were rather led by a blind Impulſe, than by Choice and Deliberation; and not being able to aſſign any good Reaſon for their extravagant Conduct, excuſed themſelves upon a Pretence, that they were moved to it by the Holy Ghoſt. However, the People of *Rome*, after the Election, were much enraged, that it was fallen upon a Perſon ſo little known, and a Foreigner; but ſtill more enraged, after they did know him, on Account of his Averſion to Pomp, and all Kind of Luxury; and as he appeared to affect a Simplicity of Manners, which they had ſeen ſo little exemplified in the Conduct of *Leo* the Tenth.

11. Secretary *Pace*, tho' he heard by the Way, that *Adrian* was choſen, yet continued his Journey to *Rome*; and when he came there, congratulated the new Pope in Cardinal *Wolſey*'s Name, having ſecret Inſtructions, if he did not ſucceed for the Cardinal, to pretend as if he had been commanded to favour the Promotion of *Adrian*. Though it is more probable, in caſe the Cardinal of *England* ſhould have had no Proſpect of ſucceeding, the Intereſt of the Court of *England* would have been employed in Favour of the Cardinal *de Medicis*, with whom there had been for a conſiderable Time a ſettled and intimate Correſpondence.

CHAP. XXIII.

1. *Concerning the Diſpoſition of the Court and the Clergy of* England *at this Time, with Reſpect to Religion, and the King's Zeal againſt* Lutheraniſm. 2. *Of how great Importance his new Title was thought.* 3. *His Repreſentations to the Princes of* Germany *againſt* Luther. 4. *Pope* Adrian *makes ſome Conceſſions towards a Reformation.* 5. *The Import of his Letter to that End.* 6. *His Conceſſions gave Offence to certain Cardinals.* 7. *The Anſwer of the Diet at* Nuremberg *to him.* 8. *The Pope's Nuncio diſſatisfied with it.* 9. *The King of* England *complains, by Letter, to the Princes of*

Saxony *againſt* Luther. 10. Campejus, *the Pope's Legate at the Diet; what was alledged to him in Relation to certain married Clergymen.* 11. *His Anſwer not to be juſtified.* 12. *Reflections upon it.* 13. *Another Reflection upon a memorable Paſſage from* Sleidan *relating to* Zuinglius. 14. *Reaſons alledged for the Celibacy of the Clergy.* 15. *An Inference from thoſe Reaſons.* 16. *Other Arguments relating to this Head.* 17. *The Author is here only an* Hiſtorian *of Opinions.*

1522. 1. THERE was not at this Time any great Proſpect of a Reformation in *England*, if we may judge from the Maxims, whereby either the Court, or the Clergy, who were principally veſted with the eccleſiaſtical Authority, appeared to be governed. The King was ſtill animated with the ſame Zeal, which he had formerly affected to ſhew, in Defence of the Papal Cauſe and Authority, and againſt the Doctrine of *Luther*. His Zeal, in both Reſpects, was thought to be rather more inflamed, on Occaſion of the Title lately conferred on him by the Pope: With which, tho' it appeareth, from a Charter of *Richard* the Second to the Univerſity of *Oxford*, to have been uſed by that Prince, he was yet ſo well pleaſed, that in his Letters Patents for printing a Book publiſhed by *Fiſher* againſt *Luther*, he reciteth that Title after a Manner, and in Terms, that plainly diſcover, he looked upon it as a very honorary additional Engagement upon him to aſſert the Catholick [e] Cauſe (according to his Notion of it at that time) with greater Ardor, in Oppoſition to the Enemies of it. Having empowered the Perſon, who had the Right of the Copy, to prevent any indirect Methods of printing upon him, and applauded the Deſign of ſuch Works as were written in Defence of the catholick Church and the chriſtian Faith; he addeth, "whereof we have undertaken the Defence and Protection, as we are obliged to do, by Virtue of the Title lately conferred on us by Pope *Leo* of pious Memory. And therefore, it is Matter of great Conſolation and Joy to us, that the Cauſe of Religion and the Church, has been [f] undertaken by a Perſon of ſo great Abilities, as *Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*.

2. This Title was thought of ſo great Importance abroad, or at leaſt the King was ſuppoſed to value himſelf ſo much upon it, that the Duke of *Venice*, *Anthony Griman*, wrote a formal congratulatory

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[e] In iis præſertim promovendis Operibus. Quæ pro Eccleſia Catholica, & Fide Chriſtiana militant. Cujus nos Defenſionem ſuſcepimus. Quemadmodum ex cognomento nobis a ſummo Pontifice piæ Memoriæ *Leone* decimo nuper indito tenemur. *Str.* 41.

[f] Ideoque Religionis & Eccleſiæ ſuſceptum eſſe gaudemus Patrocinium, ab Antiſtite *Roffenſi*, ib.

tulatory [f] Letter upon that ſole Occaſion to the Cardinal, and without ſo much as mentioning incidentally any other Buſineſs. And no ſooner was *Clement* the Seventh advanced to the papal Chair, but as an acceptable Preſent to the King, he ſent him a ſolemn and authentick Confirmation of the ſame Title, with a Recital of the Reaſons upon which it was originally granted.

3. The King did not ſatisfy himſelf with oppoſing the Growth of *Lutheraniſm* at home; but he wrote Letters to the Princes of *Germany* to incite them againſt *Luther*; and withal ſent a ſplendid Embaſſy to the Archduke *Ferdinand*, then reſiding at the Diet of *Nuremberg*, where he repreſented his Brother the Emperor, in Quality of his Deputy, to engage him in the ſame Meaſures towards ſuppreſſing the Doctrine of that Friar; which that he might do more effectually, he ſent him by the Hands of Garter Principal King of Arms, (accompanying the ſame Embaſſadors) the moſt Noble Order of the Garter, with ample Inſtructions to them relating to the Form and Manner of Preſenting it, and the Reaſons upon which the King was induced to give the Archduke ſo ſignal a Proof of the Eſteem and Affection, which his Majeſty had entertained for him. That theſe Inſtructions were drawn up by the Cardinal, or at leaſt reviſed and approved by him, may probably be concluded, from the Letter ſubjoined to the Embaſſadors from the Cardinal, whereby they are inſtructed to obviate ſuch Exceptions, as the Archduke might poſſibly make againſt the Form or Manner preſcribed for the Preſentment of the Order, or his Inveſtiture with the Same.

4. *Adrian* on his Part being advanced to the Pontificate, ſends a Nuncio to the Diet at *Nuremberg*, to engage the Members of it to ſuppreſs the Doctrine of *Luther*; and that he might the more effectually attain his End, offered, at the ſame Time to concert proper Meaſures towards the Reformation of the Church. The Letter which he wrote to the Diet on this Occaſion, was ſo handſomely drawn up, with ſuch an Appearance of Piety and a well-tempered Zeal, and containeth ſo many Things relating to the State of Religion at that Time, that it may not be improper to preſent the Reader with a ſhort Abſtract of it.

5. He beginneth with expreſſing his Concern at the Troubles occaſioned in *Germany* by *Luther*; not only on Account of the Diſperſion of *Chriſt*'s Flock, and the Danger thereby to Religion

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[f] 1523, *March* 17. Rym. T. 13. 786.

in general; but becauſe thoſe Troubles happened in his native Country among a People celebrated for their firm Adherence to the catholick Church, and who had been ever free from all Suſpicion of Hereſy. He deſireth therefore to put a Stop to ſo great an Evil, leaſt it ſhould be attended with thoſe fatal Conſequences in *Germany*, which the *Bohemians* had formerly experienced from a like Original. The Reaſons, which he employeth to animate their Zeal in this Work, were conſidered in themſelves of great Force to perſuade. They are told, that the Glory and Honour of God require, they ſhould aſſiſt in it; the Rites and Ceremonies of whoſe Worſhip, as thoſe of Religion in general, are ſtruck at; that it is a Breach of brotherly Love and Charity, not to direct ſuch, who err, into the right Way; that it is particularly a Shame and Diſgrace to the *German* Nation, juſtly praiſed before for the Orthodoxy of their Faith, and of their Obedience to the Apoſtolick See, to be now grown into Contempt for want of them. That they would ſuffer in their own Reputation, if they ſhould not attain the End propoſed in the Diet, by being thought inconſtant, and in degenerating from their Forefathers, who left behind them ſo noble an Inſtance of their Vertue and Piety at *Conſtance*. That according to the Doctrines of *Luther*, their Anceſtors ſtood condemned, and excluded from the Hopes of Salvation. That they would do well to conſider the Tendency and Deſign of his Doctrine, which was only under a Colour of Liberty to ſubvert all Order and Government. That, at firſt indeed *Luther* only pretended to oppugn the eccleſiaſtical Power; but the Troubles and Commotions in *Germany* plainly diſcovered, what he deſigned, and what Apprehenſions the civil Power might juſtly entertain from his Doctrine. That, having the Power of the Sword committed to them by God for the Puniſhment of Evil, he would puniſh them for neglecting to make uſe of it. That *Luther* had the ſame Deſign with *Mahomet*; who allowed his Followers to marry ſeveral Wives, and to put them away at Pleaſure: It is true, the Doctrine of *Luther* did not extend to ſuch Enormities; but yet by abſolving Perſons from their Vows of Celibacy, and all Obligation to it, he opened a wide Door to Impurity and Licentiouſneſs; and it was therefore their Part to ſee the Decree of the Emperor put in execution; yet, to pardon ſuch, as retracted, or gave any proper Teſtimonies of a penitential Sorrow for what they had done. To obviate what might be alledged, concerning the Condemnation of *Luther* before he was heard, it is ſaid, the Duty of Chriſtians requires them to ſubmit to the Rule of Faith, not to diſpute it. That *Luther* might be heard, indeed, as to Matter of Fact, whether he had ſaid, or written ſo or ſo; but not in Defence of what he had ſaid or written, againſt the Doctrine of the Church. That there could be no End of Controverſy, if what wiſe and good Men, after long and mature Conſultation, have reſolved, might be brought again into Queſtion by every private Perſon. And laſtly, That if every other Society in the World has fixed Laws, which the Members of it are bound to obſerve, and whereby they ought to be concluded, much more are Chriſtians obliged by ſuch Eſtabliſhments or Deciſions, that are made by Authority of the Church; whereas *Luther* had not only rejected, but burned the Decrees of the Councils and Fathers. After all the Pope doth not diſſemble, that he conſiders theſe Diſtractions in the Church, as a judicial Viſitation of God for the Sins of Men; eſpecially, of the Clergy; from which thoſe of the People too naturally proceed. He acknowledgeth, that the Malignity of the Diſeaſe had ſpread itſelf among the inferior Clergy, by communication from the very Head; all having gone aſtray, and that Glory was only to be given to God, whoſe Grace and Pardon they ought to implore. He expreſſeth an Inclination to comply with their Demands, and to begin at the very Root of the Evil whereof they complain, by reforming the Court of *Rome*; declaring, he would have been much better pleaſed with a private Life; yet would not decline the Province, to which by the Grace of God he had been appointed, and which he did not accept from a Deſire of Dominion, but from Motives reſpecting the Peace and Welfare of the Church; that the Diſeaſe being obſtinate, and of a confirmed Malignity, he muſt proceed gradually to effect the Cure, and not by too ſudden and violent Applications.

6. Theſe Acknowledgements concerning the corrupt State of the Clergy, and of the Court of *Rome*, tho' founded upon certain and known Facts, gave great Offence to ſeveral of the Cardinals; yet had not the Effect, deſigned by them, towards compoſing the Troubles occaſioned by *Luther*'s Doctrine. It was pretended, the Pope only made ſpecious and fair Promiſes to gain Time; to form Parties among chriſtian Princes; and to delay the Calling of a Council, 'till ſuch previous Diſpoſitions might be made for it, that they ſhould have nothing to fear from the Fathers, who ſhould compoſe it. This Method of ſoftning the Reſentments of the Diſcontented, by making fine and large Promiſes, which are never deſigned to be performed, has nothing in it new or extraordinary; it is the common Artifice of all wicked and corrupt Men in Power, to ſuppreſs Complaints, 'till by Degrees they can fortify themſelves in ſuch a Manner, as to be in a Condition to deſpiſe them.

7. However, in Anſwer to the Pope's Letter, the Diet promiſed his Holineſs, that they would uſe their beſt Endeavours to extirpate the Errors of *Luther*; repreſenting to him, that the Reaſon, why they had not, as his Holineſs complained, proceeded to execute the Emperor's Decree againſt him, was, That his Books were in ſo many Hands, and himſelf ſo much followed, the Execution of it might have been of dangerous Conſequence to the Peace of *Germany*: That the Diſorders among the Clergy wherewith *Luther* had charged them, were, in effect, confeſſed by the Pope himſelf; and that ſhould they have proceeded with Rigour againſt him, it would have given Occaſion to the World to put an ill Conſtruction upon their Conduct, as if they had a Deſign to countenance Crimes that were too notorious to be diſſembled. They demand, at the ſame Time, that a Council may be called to terminate the Points in Diſpute relating to Doctrine, and to reform eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline: In the mean Time they will endeavour to preſerve Peace, and compoſe Differences.

8. This Anſwer of the Diet was not ſatisfactory to the Pope's Nuncio, who made a Reply to it; but which ſerved only to cauſe the Diet to riſe in their Demands: For they drew up a Paper, which was ſent to the Pope, containing a Specification of a hundred Grievances, or Complaints of the *German* Nation, againſt the Court of *Rome*; but principally, in Regard to the Encroachments, that had been made by that Court againſt their civil Rights and Liberties, and the Exportation of Money out of *Germany*. The Reſolution of the Diet was, That the Goſpel ſhould be taught according to the received Doctrine, and Expoſitions of the Church. This Reſolution was differently explained by the *Lutherans* and *Papiſts*, in a Senſe, agreeing to their different Principles. Inſtead of Silence, which the Diet intended they ſhould be obliged to keep, *Luther* compiled a new Form of celebrating Maſs; openly exhorted the Prieſts and Monks to marry; and that he might at once recommend Matrimony to them, and ſhew that the Vows of Celibacy are not, in either Sex, of any force to oblige, himſelf married *Catherine de Borea*, one of the nine Nuns, that had been taken out of the Nunnery of *Nimptchen*. After which, he publiſhed a Kind of [g] Memorial, wherein he propoſed, That a Diſtribution ſhould be made of the Goods of Churches and Monaſteries for different Uſes.

9. While the Diet was ſitting, the King of *England* wrote to the Princes of the Houſe of *Saxony*, complaining highly of *Luther*

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[g] *Under the Title of* Fiſcus Communis.

and his Doctrine, and making preſſing Inſtances, that they would interpoſe by their Authority to ſuppreſs it. He reminds them of the common Danger, which threatned the Church, and of the Example of their Neighbours in *Bohemia*; from whence they might learn, how much it concerned them to ſtop an Evil in the Beginning, before it ſhould have Time to ſpread itſelf, and gather more Strength. Among other Things he adviſeth them, not to ſuffer the *New Teſtament* to be publiſhed in the vulgar Tongue: Not that he declared himſelf in general againſt a Verſion of the Holy Scriptures, or any Part of them, but becauſe he apprehended there might be Danger at that Time of a corrupt Verſion.

10. Beſides the Pope's Nuncio mentioned before, who aſſiſted at this Diet, he ſome time after ſent *Campejus* to *Nuremberg* in Quality of his Legate; a Man, as he is ſtiled in his Letters Credentials, of great Vertue; and from one Inſtance of whoſe Conduct, during his Legacy in theſe Parts, we may conclude, that the Reſtraints which the Clergy were then under, in reſpect to the common Liberty of Marriage, to which all Men are preſumed to have a natural and diſcretionary Right, did not a little contribute towards opening a Way to the Reformation. Several of the Clergy in the Dependencies of *Strasburg*, had at that Time married, contrary to their Vows of Celibacy, and the Laws of the Church: For which Reaſon a Proſecution was commenced againſt them by the Biſhop of the Place; but the civil Magiſtrates oppoſed him, and protected them from Puniſhment, repreſenting, that the unmarried Clergy lived after a Manner which was of ill Example, and gave very much Scandal and Offence; yet the Biſhop either took no Notice of their Diſorders, or would not proceed to puniſh them: And it would appear very ſtrange, if Offences againſt the Laws of the Pope ſhould be puniſhed, while thoſe againſt the Law of God were openly ſuffered to eſcape with Impunity; they judged it therefore more reaſonable that the Clergy, who lived in ſo ſcandalous a Manner ſhould be puniſhed; and oppoſed the Puniſhment of the married Clergy.

11. To which *Campejus* anſwered, That the Crime of the married Clergy was notorious; and that there needed not much Formality in the Proceſs againſt them, ſeeing they were, by the very Fact, excommunicated: That the Magiſtrate ought therefore to aſſiſt the Biſhop in executing the Cenſures denounced by him; That, the criminal Liberties of the unmarried Clergy did not excuſe the Sins of the Married: That they who ſhewed ſuch bad Example, did very ill, and the Biſhop in conniving at them was chargeable

with Neglect of Duty: But ſtill [b] the married Clergy had the greater Sin than thoſe who kept many Concubines; for they might probably be perſuaded, that Concubinage was lawful, but the Married were conſcious, that they ſinned againſt their known Duty; that all Perſons had not the Continency of *John the Baptiſt*; but no Inſtance could be produced to ſhew, it was lawful for the Clergy to quit the State of Celibacy, no not among the *Greeks*, notwithſtanding their Difference, in ſeveral Rites, from the *Romiſh* Church.

12. Few Perſons will allow *Campejus*, however celebrated for his great Knowledge of the Canon and Civil Laws, to have argued here like a good Caſuiſt. An Offence againſt a moral Law founded in the natural Reaſon and Order of Things, is certainly conſidered in it ſelf much greater, than an Offence againſt humane, or mere poſitive Inſtitution, even ſuppoſing ſuch Laws to be really enacted, not only by a competent Authority, but upon juſt and reaſonable Grounds. But, it was pretended, that the Laws, which prohibited Marriage to the Clergy, could have no ſuch Foundation; Becauſe Marriage, according to the original Inſtitution of it, is indifferently permitted to all Perſons; is neceſſary to the Ends of Creation in general; and, to the Good of civil Society: That the Inclination, whereby we are excited to the proper Functions of it, is the moſt general, and the moſt difficult to be overcome; and, to reſtrain Men from the natural Means of gratifying it, is to put them in a State of Temptation, wherein they can have no Security, that they ſhall be able to preſerve their Innocence. For theſe, and other like Reaſons, *Zuinglius*, who had now made ſome Progreſs towards a Reformation in *Switzerland*, wrote to the Magiſtrates, that they ſhould not give any Diſturbance to the married Prieſts: Repreſenting to them, [i] That the Devil was the Author of Celibacy, and, at the ſame time, reminding them of a Cuſtom, which had obtained in ſome of their Cantons, that when a new Curate was received among them, they enjoined him to keep a Concubine, leſt he ſhould attempt the Chaſtity of their Wives; which tho' it was thought, ſaith *Zuinglius*, a ridiculous Cuſtom, yet was prudently eſtabliſhed in the Darkneſs and Depravation of Religion.

13. It is as difficult to reconcile this Aſſertion, as that of *Campejus* beforementioned, with the ſound Maxims of Morality; a vicious Eſtabliſhment can never be ſuppoſed agreeable to the Rules

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[b] Quam ſi plurimas Domi meretrices alant.

[i] Sleidan

of Prudence. Nor can it be proved under any Circumſtances lawful, that we may directly commit a known Sin, to avoid the Occaſions of Sinning. This Reformer was a Man of a warm Temper, and his Zeal for a Reformation of certain Abuſes which were too flagrant to admit any Excuſe, or further Toleration, ſometimes carried him, with too impetuous a Force, to an Exceſs on the other Side. Had he argued no better in relation to other controverted Points at that Time, the Reformation would have made but very little Progreſs under his Conduct. The only Apology, which can be made for him, is, That he did not look upon Concubinage, as in itſelf ſimply unlawful. But this Argument, inſtead of confirming his Aſſertion, That the Devil was the Author of Concubinage, might be improved to militate againſt him, and to ſhew, that Matrimony was not therefore neceſſary to prevent thoſe Effects of Concupiſcence, which were ſaid to be inevitable; becauſe a lawful Proviſion might otherwiſe have been made againſt them.

14. Yet having mentioned the Reaſons in general, which were urged at that time, againſt the Celibacy of the Clergy, as an *Hiſtorian of Opinions*, under which Character I would be underſtood to write, except in Relation to ſuch Harmony and inconteſted Principles of Religion or Morality, which will admit of no Diſpute. I think it incumbent on me, to ſet the Arguments on the other Side for the Celibacy of the Clergy, ſo far as I am able, in a due Light.

It was ſaid then, tho' Marriage was originally permitted to all Perſons, and to which therefore every one had a natural Right; yet natural Rights might be, and are in Fact, in many reſpects, ſuperſeded by poſitive and humane Laws: That Marriage indeed, is generally neceſſary to certain wiſe Ends of Providence, yet there is no Neceſſity in order to thoſe Ends, why all Perſons ſhould marry. That a like Anſwer may indifferently ſerve, with reſpect to the Good of civil Society. As to the Difficulty of overcoming the Motions of Concupiſcence, it was alledged, Celibacy argued a more ſublime, but not an impracticable Degree of Vertue in thoſe, who made a Vow of it, or were otherwiſe obliged to that State: That God will proportion the Meaſures of his Grace to the Strength of Temptations incident to us in every State of Life, to which Reaſons of Prudence or Piety may determine our Choice, and which doth not interfere with any other Duty neceſſarily incumbent on us: That when the Apoſtle recommended Celibacy by Reaſon of the preſent Diſtreſs, he plainly ſuppoſeth a diſcretionary Liberty in Men, upon prudential Conſiderations whether to marry or not. And there may be other Conſiderations of that Kind, to render a ſingle State more eligible, even when the Church is not in a State of Perſecution; eſpecially, to the Clergy, whoſe Character renders it more particularly incumbent on them to attain the Things which are excellent, and to exemplify to others the Duties of the moſt ſtrict and pure Morality. That Children are not allowed to marry without conſent of their Parents, at a Time when the Paſſion perhaps for Marriage is moſt violent; which yet would be very unjuſt, upon a Suppoſition, that ſuch Paſſions are really invincible: that the Members of ſeveral Societies cannot marry without forfeiting all the Privileges to which they are, as ſuch, entitled; and yet, that this Condition is not thought to reflect either on the Wiſdom or Goodneſs of thoſe, who founded ſuch Societies: That Chaſtity is indeed a ſpecial Gift of God's Grace, but ſo are other Duties, which we oblige our ſelves in the baptiſmal Covenant to practiſe; and in the Uſe of proper Means or Auſterities towards performing any pious Vow or Reſolution, we may rely on thoſe Aſſiſtances, which are neceſſary to the Performance of it: That upon this Ground, Perſons in the married State are allowed, on their lawful Occaſions, to be long abſent; and Decency, when either Party dies, is ſuppoſed to require, that the Survivor ſhould not, 'till after ſome convenient Time, proceed to a ſecond Marriage; and among the Clergy, thoſe of the firſt Order are debarred the Liberty of a ſecond Marriage, by Virtue of an apoſtolical Rule.

15. All theſe Reaſons ſeem to prove, that the Church may, upon wiſe and good Conſiderations, reſtrain her Children from Marriage: But ſeeing it is Matter of Prudence, whether ſhe ſhould make uſe of the Plenitude of her Power to this End, ſhe may alſo, for the very ſame Reaſon, according to the different Circumſtances of Time, or State of Affairs, allow her Children to marry.

16. The great Objection againſt ſuch an Allowance hath been, That a married State involved the Clergy too much in the Cares and Troubles of the World; That their domeſtick Dependencies rendered them leſs capable of that Freedom and Greatneſs of Mind, wherewith it became them to act; That the Tenderneſs for a diſtreſſed Family would, in Caſes of great Difficulty or Danger, impair their Courage, and depreſs their Spirits in ſuch manner, that the Temptations which they might lie under to vile and ſcandalous Compliances, would be much more difficultly reſiſted; and that, as the Church can only be ruined by Churchmen, ſhould the State

at any Time make an Attempt to deſtroy the Rights and Powers of it, a married Clergy would probably diſcover leſs Reſolution in oppoſing ſuch an Attempt, if they would not rather be thought the proper Inſtruments of effecting it. They urged further, That the very Nature of the miniſterial Office requires Heavenly-mindedneſs, and a generous Contempt of the World; but the Neceſſity of providing for a Family, and eſpecially of raiſing One, would ſometimes put the Clergy upon doing Things, which would appear at leaſt to proceed from an avaricious Temper, if Avarice might not be the true and real Motive to them. There was ſtill another popular Objection againſt the Marriage of the Clergy, from the Danger of a more irregular Diſpoſition of ſuch Preferments as might happen to be in their Patronage. If Nepotiſm was practiſed in a Manner, which gave ſuch open Scandal and Offence, when the Paſtors of the Church were unmarried, it was inferred, much greater Enormities of this Kind might be apprehended, when they had legitimate Children or Deſcendants from them to provide for, with whom the Dignities of the Church, deſigned as Marks of Diſtinction to Perſons of Merit, ſhould, without any Regard to Merit, be filled, to the Diſcouragement of Learning, and the Scandal of all good Men.

17. But my Buſineſs is only to propoſe theſe Arguments in a hiſtorical Way, without making any Reflections on them, whether as having at that Time any reaſonable Foundation, or whether future Time hath given any juſt Occaſion of applying them.

CHAP. XXIV.

1. *The Cardinal writes to the King upon the Death of Pope* Adrian. 2. *Without Succeſs as to his principal Deſign.* 3. *He congratulates* Clement *the Seventh upon his Election.* 4. Pace *ſollicits at* Rome *for an Amplification of the Legate's Powers; what in general they were.* 5. *On what Account oppoſed.* 6. *Corroborated by an explanatory Bull.* 7. *A general Viſitation of the Clergy deſigned.* 8. *Letter to the Cardinal on that Occaſion from Biſhop* Fox, *with an Extract from Mr.* Fullman*'s Papers.* 9. *Something offered in vindication of the Cardinal againſt that learned Antiquary.* 10. *He demands a Subſidy of the Convocation.* 11. *Is oppoſed by the Biſhops of* Wincheſter *and* Rocheſter. 12. *A Cenſure of Archbiſhop* Parker *upon the Cardinal.* 13. *Not altogether without Foundation, yet perhaps too ſevere.* 14. *A Clauſe relating to the Subſidy.* 15. *What Oppoſition was made to it.*

1. THE next remarkable Occurrence, which I ſhall take notice of at this Time, was the Advancement of *Clement* the Seventh to the papal Chair, vacant upon the Death of Pope *Adrian*, and which our Cardinal was not without ſome Proſpect of filling himſelf. Upon notice of that Pope's Death, the Cardinal took the firſt Opportunity of [g] writing to the King, and acquainted him, that his Abſence from *Rome* was the only Thing that could fruſtrate his Pretenſions; yet he was of Opinion, conſidering the Factions among the Cardinals, they would not haſtily proceed to chuſe one upon the Place; ſo that if his Majeſty thought him not unworthy of ſo high a Dignity, tho' he ſhould prefer his Service to all the Honours of the Popedom, He humbly deſired his Favour and Aſſiſtance, and that he might have Leave to draw up proper Inſtructions to be laid before Him, for his Approbation, upon that View. In a former [h] Letter to the King he had made it his Requeſt, that his Majeſty would be pleaſed to ſign a Letter, which he had written in his own Behalf, and in his Majeſty's Name. 1523. 1524.

2. But all his Schemes upon this ſecond Attempt for the Pontificate, proved ineffectual, as to his main End, tho' ſeveral of the Cardinals were much inclined to ſerve him. Upon what Motives he was ſo ambitious of ſucceeding to the papal Chair, and what Methods he took to accompliſh his Deſign, will appear from a Letter of [i] Inſtructions, that he wrote to Secretary *Pace*, who was ſent to negotiate for him, and wherein there are ſeveral Particulars, which do not ſeem to conſiſt with that intire Freedom, and diſintereſted Manner of Proceeding, which ought to be obſerved in all publick Elections for the Service whether of Church or State, but eſpecially on Occaſion of electing the firſt Paſtor of the chriſtian Church.

3. Upon Advice that *Julio de Medicis*, who took upon him the Name of *Clement* the Seventh, was choſen Pope, the Cardinal wrote a long Letter of [k] Inſtructions to the Biſhop of *Bath* at *Rome*, wherein he is ordered to congratulate the new Pope, in his Majeſty's and the Cardinal's Name, upon his Elevation; tho' it had not as yet been formally notified to the *Engliſh* Court by his Holineſs. The Terms wherein they expreſs their Joy and Complacency at his Advancement, are the moſt ſtrong, full, and affectionate, that

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[g] Coll. Nº 48. Book II.
[h] Coll. Nº 49. Book II.
[i] Coll. Nº 50. Book II.
[k] Coll. Nº 51. Book II.

could be employed: And for which the Cardinal therefore has been charged with Prevarication and Inſincerity. But there appeareth no great Difficulty in acquitting him from this Imputation, as to the Inſtance before us. Some Allowances are to be made for the uſual Forms and Ceremonies of Expreſſion in Addreſſes of this Nature. But the Inſtructions in the Letter to *Pace*, diſcover, that if He and the other Ambaſſadors had no Proſpect of Succeſs for the Legate, they ſhould Intereſt themſelves for the [l] Cardinal *de Medicis*, and that they would hereby do an acceptable Service both to himſelf, and to the King: Nay, they had Orders not to appear for him, 'till that Cardinal had either declined the Election, or had no probable Expectation of carrying it. The Letter to the Biſhop of *Bath* I have recited in the Collections at large, not only as relating to the preſent Subject, but as it diſcovereth to us the Grounds of our proſecuting the War with ſo much vigour, in conjunction with the Emperor, againſt *France*. The State of our military Preparations, the Progreſs of our Arms; the Maxims and Intereſts at that Time of our own, and, in a Manner, of all the Courts in *Europe*. But the principal and more direct Deſign of this Letter, is to engage the Pope to come into the Confederacy againſt the common Enemy, as *Francis* was then termed; and here we may obſerve with how much Art, Addreſs, and Amplification, the Cardinal employeth all the Arguments that could be ſuppoſed proper either to ingratiate or perſuade, either to move the Affections, or enlighten the Underſtanding: He ſeems to omit nothing, that could have been ſaid pertinently on the Subject; and he obviates every Thing, which might be ſuggeſted to his Holineſs, on the other Side.

4. Theſe Inſtructions to our Ambaſſadors at *Rome*, tho' the Pope thought it more adviſeable for the Time preſent to preſerve a Neutrality between the contending Powers, and not to embroil himſelf upon his firſt Acceſſion to the Pontificate, in the Wars of *Italy*, yet was a good Preparative towards expediting another private [m] Diſpatch of the Cardinal to Secretary *Pace*, wherein he deſired, that his Holineſs might be moved to grant him an Amplification of his Legatine Powers; declaring, that tho' for Reaſons reſpecting the King's Prerogative and other Deductions, it was not worth to him a thouſand Ducats yearly, yet if his Authority or Faculties might be augmented, he ſhould moſt thankfully acknow-

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[l] *It further appears from a Letter written by the Legate to the King, on Occaſion of this Cardinal's Election, that it was very agreeable to the Legate's Sentiments and Deſires; for however he might diſſemble them to the Cardinal* de Medicis *himſelf, or to the Court of* Rome, *there is no Reaſon to ſuſpect, but he was ſincere in what he wrote concerning that Election to the King.* See Coll. N° 52. Book II.

[m] Coll. N° 53. Book II.

ledge the Honour done to him. The Requeſt was complied with, and his Character of Legate, which was at firſt only granted from Year to Year, at moſt to two Years, and afterwards by *Adrian* from five Years to five Years, was now, by a new Precedent, aſſured to him for Term of Life. I have alſo added in the Collections, a [n] Copy, but not that whereby he was conſtituted Legate for his Life, which he received towards the Augmentation of his Legatine Character by Pope *Leo,* with another from [o] *Adrian*; and which may ſerve, in general, to ſhew, how great Authority this Legate exerciſed, or might exerciſe over all Orders and Degrees of Men; and what prodigious Advantage, he might have made by an Abuſe of his Truſt, or even by acting to the Extent of his Commiſſion. For he was empowered to viſit all Perſons, and all Places, exempt and not exempt, to reform and correct them; or to inflict Mulcts on them at Pleaſure. He had Power to diſpenſe with ſeveral Irregularities and Defects; and to legitimate, in caſe of diſhoneſt Births, and to abſolve from Diſqualifications or Incapacities in ſeveral other reſpects. The Powers granted to him of making Knights, Counts Palatine, and of conferring Degrees, ſeem rather to have been mentioned for the Sake of Form, than with a Deſign of being executed; at leaſt, no Inſtances have occurred to me of his executing them; or if he did, it would ſtill remain to be proved, that they were any thing more, than mere titular Honours, or that they were attended with any legal or operative Effects.

5. But notwithſtanding the Extent of the Legate's Commiſſion, whereby he was in expreſs Terms empowered to viſit Monaſteries exempt and not exempt, ſome of them, and in particular the *Friers obſervant,* made a Difficulty of ſubmitting to this Order; pretending they could not be comprehended in it, except ſuch Privileges and Indulgences, upon which they pleaded their Exemption, had been diſtinctly ſpecified, and recited in ſo many expreſs Words, in his ſaid Legatine Powers. They alſo made uſe of this other Reaſon, in their Appeal to the Pope againſt the Cardinal's Procedure, in relation to them, that they were obliged by Vow, and the Rules of their Order, to obey their proper Superior; and that they could not, without his Conſent, transfer their Obedience to any other Perſon.

6. The Oppoſition which the Cardinal had formerly met with on this Account, obliged him to have recourſe to *Leo* the Tenth for ſuch an explanatory Specification of his Legatine Powers, as might

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[n] Coll. Nº 54. Book II.

[o] Coll. Nº 55. Book II.

viate and remove any ſuch future Pretenſions in order to over-rule them. This [p] *Clement* granted in as full and ample a Manner, as the Legate himſelf could have propoſed; Having recited that ſome of the religious Houſes, who pleaded Exemption, had preferred Complaint to him againſt the Legate, as if in appointing to viſit them, he had aſſumed an unjuſt Power, and had therefore refuſed to ſubmit to his Viſitation: He determins notwithſtanding, out of the Plenitude of his Power, and in Regard to the Cardinal's great Zeal for Religion, his extraordinary Vertue, Probity, and Merits, and to the End, Vice and the *Lutheran* Hereſy may be exterminated, that he ſhall viſit all ſuch Places pretending an Exemption; and to render this Declaration ſtill more full and expreſs, he deſcendeth to ſpecify ſeveral ſuch Places, and in particular of the *Friers obſervant*; authorizing the Cardinal, whatever Places he ſhould viſit, to reform and puniſh the Members of them; and even, if he ſhould ſee Occaſion, to eject or deprive them, without Regard to any Appeals, or pretended Privileges whatſoever. And as to all other Perſons of what Diſtinction ſoever, he is empowered, if he ſhall find Cauſe, to proceed againſt them, upon Pain of Excommunication.

7. But ſeveral Complaints having been preferred againſt the Clergy in general, on Account of their looſe and immoral Lives, the Cardinal, to prevent the Scandal and other evil Effects occaſioned thereby to Religion, reſolved upon a general Viſitation of them. And with that Deſign, [q] ſummoned the Clergy of both Provinces to meet in the Church of *Weſtminſter*.

8. *Fox* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* took this Occaſion of [r] writing to the Cardinal in the moſt reſpectful Terms, and which diſcovered the high Regard and Affection which that excellent Prelate ſtill retained for him. It has been commonly ſaid indeed, that Biſhop *Fox* retired from Court in Diſguſt, at the inſolent and ungrateful Behaviour of one, who had been introduced there by his Means. But I have not been able to find any ſufficient Grounds to believe this the true, or indeed any Cauſe of that Biſhop's leaving the Court; except in his Life, written by that learned Antiquary Mr. *Fullman*, part of which, (becauſe I cannot ſuppoſe it to conſiſt with the Character of a faithful Hiſtorian, to diſſemble any competent Evidence againſt his private Opinion, concerning any impor-

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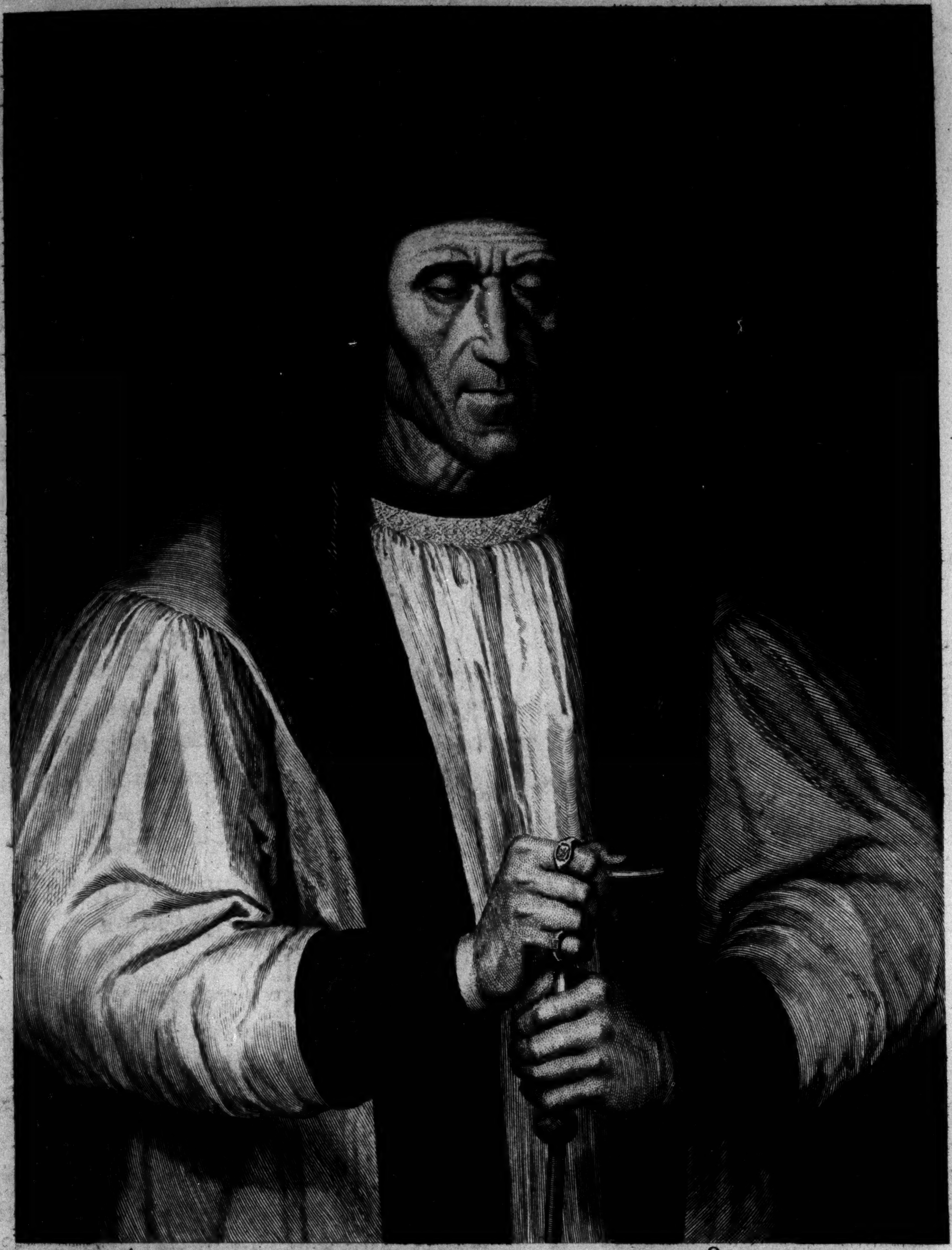
[p] Coll. N° 56. Book II.

[q] *Apr.* 22, 1523. Ad tractandum de Reformatione tum Laicorum, tum Eccleſiaſticorum. *Regiſt. York.*

[r] Coll. N° 57. Book II.

tant



CLARVS WYNTONIÆ PRÆSVL COGNOĪE FOXVS
QVI PIVS HOC OLIM NOBILE STRVXIT OPVS
TALIS ERAT FORMA TALIS DVM VIXIT AMICTV
QVALEM SPECTANTI PICTA TABELLA REFERT.

IOANNES · CORVVS · FLANDRVS · FACIEBAT. GEO. VERTVE SCVLP: MDCCXXIII

RICHARDVS FOX EPISCOPVS WINTON̄

Henrico Septimo & Octavo a Secretioribus; & Privati

Sigill: Custos. Coll: Corp: Christi Oxon: Fundator. A^o. D^{ni} MDXVI.

G. III R.
BRITISH MUSEUM

tant Subject of his Hiſtory) I ſhall tranſcribe ſo far as it has a Relation to the preſent Caſe.

“About that Time he preferred one of his own Chaplains *Thomas Wolſey*, to the King's Service. Who finding him a Man of Diligence and Diſpatch, took him into the Number of his Domeſticks, and ſhortly after made him Dean of *Lincoln*. The firſt Step to that exceſſive Greatneſs that made him afterwards forget his Friend and Promoter.

Bib. C.C.C. *Oxon.*

“The Biſhop, by the Gravity of his Age and Place, being leſs fit (and perhaps leſs acceptable) for continual Attendance upon a youthful Prince, thought it requiſite to introduce ſome other Perſon that might ſupply that Defect, and oppoſe the Earl of *Surrey*, in thoſe Opportunities of ſtrengthning himſelf, by bringing in his own Kindred and Friends. To this Purpoſe he made choice of *Thomas Wolſey* Dean of *Lincoln*, formerly his Chaplain and now the King's, to whom he now more effectually recommended him, with the Aſſiſtance of Sir *Thomas Lovell* Maſter of the Wards, a Counſellor of great Eſteem.

“In ſhort time *Wolſey* was become the only Man with the King, but withal, ſo inſolent and imperious as was irkſome; not only to thoſe great One's, that well remembred his Meanneſs, but even to thoſe, who had moſt aſſiſted to raiſe him from it. This made the grave Counſellors leſs frequent at Court. Archbiſhop *Warham* and Biſhop *Fox*, began to look towards their own Dioceſes. Who yet left not the King without this faithful Advice, That he would not let the Servant be greater than his Maſter. The King well underſtood their Meaning, and moderately replied, That it ſhould be his Care, that every Servant ſhould obey and not command.”

“The great Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* (notwithſtanding the ſignal Services of the One, and the near Alliance of the Other, having lately married the King's Siſter) were ſometimes glad to give Way to the Stream, which carried all before the Cardinal; for that Dignity was lately added to his Power and his Pride. And yet further, to join the Height of civil Honour to that of Eccleſiaſtical, Archbiſhop *Warham* delivering up the Great Seal, which he had held many Years, the Cardinal ſucceeded in the Office of Lord High Chancellor, ſo that all Authority and Advice was in a Manner engroſſed into one Head and one Hand. But yet the King, in Matters of high Importance, would ſometimes recall his old Counſellors, and ſo far hearken unto them, as to moderate the Extravagance of the New.

9. As to the Charge of Ingratitude, the only Article of which I ſhall here take Noice, it were to be wiſhed Mr. *Fulman* had produced any one Inſtance, if it might have been found, to ſupport it. The Reaſon which himſelf aſſigns, reſpecting the Biſhop's Age and Office, were ſufficient to render an eaſy and calm Retreat in his own Dioceſe, where he might attend the Cure of it, much preferable to all the ſplendid Cares and Diſtractions of a Court; there was no Neceſſity therefore of ſuppoſing, that his Receſs did proceed from the Cauſe here inſinuated; from a Letter before recited, which Mr. *Wolſey*, for he was only ſo then, wrote to the Biſhop, who had retired from Court, it is reaſonable to conclude, he had done nothing to incur his Diſpleaſure; for he writes to his Patron with all the Freedom and Aſſurance, but with all that profound Veneration, which might become one, who could not be reproached with the leaſt Inſtance of Ingratitude or Neglect. Neither is it probable, that Biſhop *Fox*, who was a wiſe pious and good Man, but not incapable of reſenting a baſe Action, would have addreſſed a Letter to the Cardinal, in a Manner ſo expreſſive of his Eſteem, had he known him chargeable with a Crime whereof none but the moſt baſe, ignoble, and ſervile Minds can be guilty.

10. The Reformation of Abuſes in the Church, was not the only End, which the Legate propoſed in calling a Convocation. The extraordinary Exigencies of the State required a large Supply; and the Demands of the Legate roſe to an unuſual Height upon the Clergy. He moved for one full Moiety of their Livings according to their annual Value; but towards their Relief in ſome meaſure, they had the Space of five Years allowed for the Payment of it. The Cardinal to induce them to a Compliance, employed all the Force of his Eloquence. He repreſented how much the King had merited of the Church, that he had been the Author of ſuppreſſing the dangerous Schiſm in the Time of Pope *Julius*, and that he had protected the Rights of the apoſtolick See, and the Liberties of *Italy*, from the Attempts which had been made upon them by the *French* King. But the Subject upon which he principally exſpatiated, was the King's Book againſt *Fiſher*. He did not omit to remind them, that the *French* King was making War upon *England*; That the Duke of *Albany* had been ſent into *Scotland* to excite Troubles, and foment Animoſities on that Side, and that they ought therefore to proportion the Meaſure of their Supply to the Exigency of the Occaſion: That as the King had ſurpaſſed all his Predeceſſors in his Zeal, and the Merit of his Services for the Church, the Returns of their Duty and Gratitude to him ought to be more ſignal and exemplary.

11. But beſides that this Motion was oppoſed by the Biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Rocheſter*, it was thought ſuch an irregular Step had been taken by the Cardinal, in removing the Convocation ſummoned to meet at St. *Paul's* by Virtue of his Legatine Authority to *Weſtminſter*, that all their Proceedings in this latter Place would be of no Validity. So that they ſat not many Days at *Weſtminſter*, before they returned to the Aſſembly from which they had been called, and where they continued Sitting 'till the 14th of *Auguſt*, and then granted a Subſidy to the King: The Clergy of *York* did the ſame four Days after, and ſo concluded their Aſſembly: They both agreed to a Subſidy of one Half of their annual Eccleſiaſtical Revenues, to be paid in five Years.

12. *Parker*, in his *Britiſh Antiquities*, has repreſented this Part of the Cardinal's Conduct, not only as having no Precedent in Hiſtory, but as importing a [n] Crime of a moſt enormous Nature; imputing it to an intolerable Exceſs of Pride and Ambition, which cauſed him to violate all Rules of Order and Right, and made him deſirous of drawing every thing within the Sphere of his own Action as Legate; and therefore, becauſe, as Archbiſhop of *York* he had no Place in the Convocation called by *Warham*, by Virtue of his Legatine Power he diſſolved it, and ſummoned the Clergy to appear before him the Day after at *Weſtminſter*.

13. This Cenſure of Archbiſhop *Parker* upon the Cardinal, may be more eaſily accounted for, than ſome other which occur in his Antiquities; as it is founded upon a Fact, wherein there was confeſſedly ſomething ſingular and extraordinary: Yet it might poſſibly, in reſpect to the Dignity and Character of the Cardinal, have been expreſſed in more ſoft and gentle Terms. The Cardinal perhaps ſuppoſed himſelf really veſted with the Power which he pretended to exerciſe; or he deſired to exerciſe it, as thinking he ſhould be more able, in his Character of Legate, at the Head of the Convocation, to do the King greater Service in moving the Supply, which after all did not paſs without much Oppoſition from two Prelates of the moſt Weight and Authority in it. Their chief Arguments were, that it was a heavy and unuſual Tax, under which the Clergy would not be able to ſupport themſelves: That it would be an ill Precedent to future Times, and might entail an intolerable Burthen upon the Church. But the Cardinal, who deſigned the Convocation ſhould give ſome ſignal Proof of their Zeal for the King's Service, and ſuch as might be exemplary to

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[n] Inauditi Exempli Flagitium.

the Parliament, was reſolved to carry his Point, by making uſe of thoſe Influences which were proper to animate his Friends, which might bring over ſome, and oblige others to be abſent.

14. Upon granting the Supply, a Clauſe however was thrown in, towards preventing any ſuch future Demand, *That it ſhould not be a Precedent*: Which yet, in the very Nature of the Thing, can never be ſuppoſed to limit the ſame Authority on any future Occaſion, when the ſame Reaſons for their acting in the like manner, ſhall again occur. The Preamble to the Bill is full of dutiful Expreſſions and Acknowledgements to the King: Strangers who were beneficed in *England*, were charged to the full annual Value of their Benefices to be paid in five Years. But there was an Exception in Favour of the Biſhops of *Worceſter*, and *Llandaff*, of *Polydore Virgil*, *Peter* the *Carmelite*, *Eraſmus*, *Silveſter Carius*, and *Peter Vannes*, who were obliged to pay no more, than the Natives.

15. But what Oppoſition there was on Account of this Subſidy, both in [o] Parliament and Convocation, may be more particularly learned from the anonymous Letter in the Collections out of the [p] *Cotton Library*, relating to this Affair. The Parliamentary Tax was generally complained of, and thought ſo rigorous and oppreſſive, that it occaſioned an Inſurrection of Four thouſand People in *Suffolk*, againſt the Commiſſioners, which yet was ſoon ſuppreſſed by the Duke of *Norfolk*.

CHAP. XXV.

1. *Concerning the Diſſolution of Monaſteries.* 2. *And the Legality of any Power or Grant to that End.* 3. *The Cardinal's Deſign, particularly laudable in thoſe diſſolved by him.* 4. *An Extract from Mr.* Collier *to this Purpoſe, and concerning the Foundation of* Chriſtchurch. 5. *Whether by any ſubſequent Default of his, the Revenues of it forfeitable.* 6. *Reflections on the Extract from Mr.* Collier. 7. *Concerning ill Precedents, and the original Name of the Cardinal's College.* 8. *The Reaſon in the Pope's Bull, for ſuppreſſing certain Monaſteries.* 9. *And of the King's confirming that Bull.* 10. *A Tranſition to other Benefactions of the Cardinal in* Oxford.

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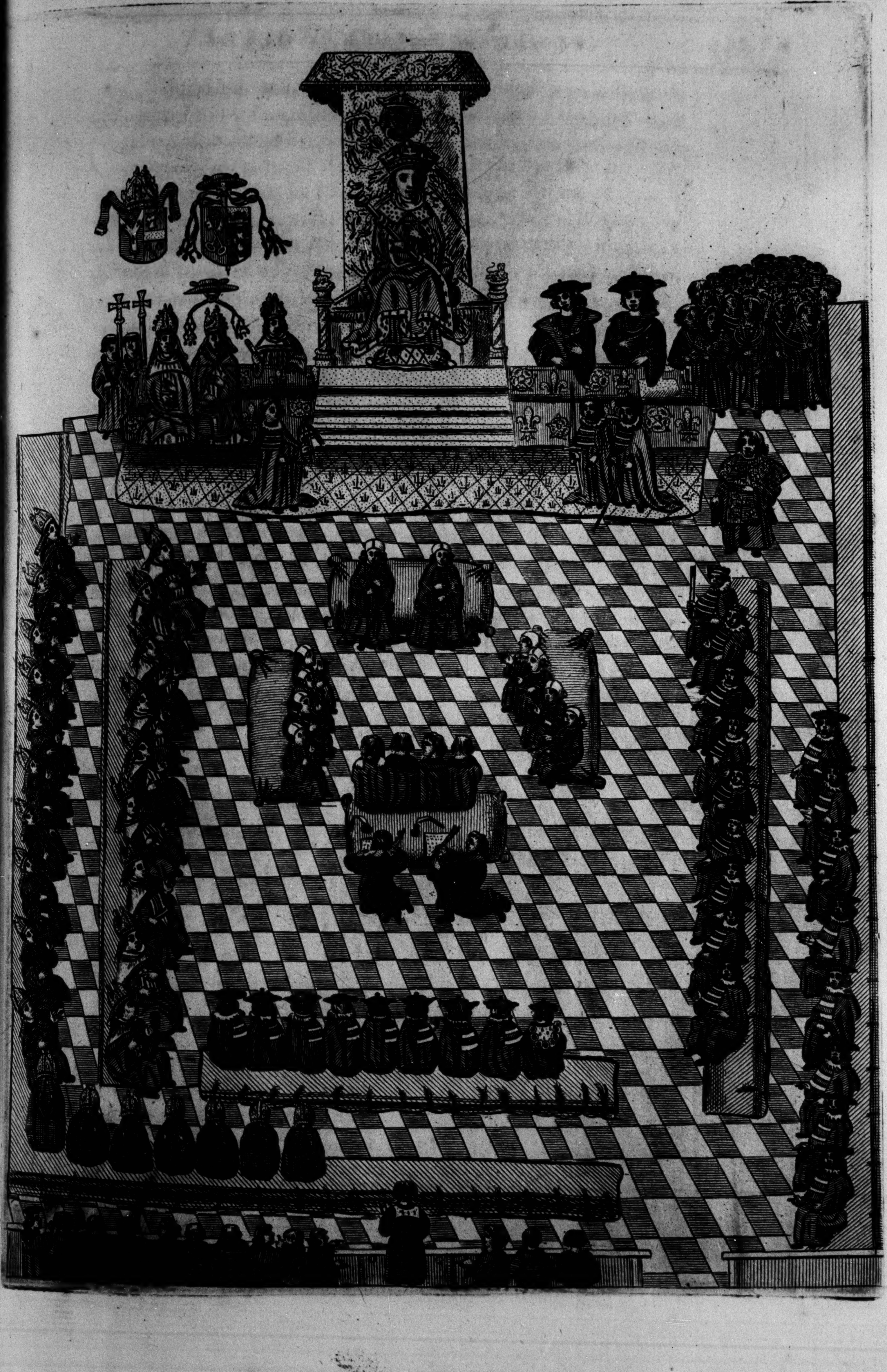
[o] *Having here mentioned the Parliament, I ſhall take Occaſion to refer the Reader to a very curious and learned Explication of a Print of the Houſe of Lords, eſpecially in reſpect to the Biſhops and mitred Abbots, as they ſat about this Time, with which the preſent* Garter King at Arms *hath been pleaſed, out of his ſingular Humanity, to Honour me, by Way of an Epiſtolary Diſſertation.* Coll. N° 58. Book II.

[x] Coll. N° 59. Book II.

11. *Diſ-*



11. *Diſſentions there.* 12. *Letter on Occaſion of them from the Cardinal.* 13. *Anſwer to it from the Univerſity.* 14. *To which the Cardinal replieth.* 15. *A Charter granted to the Univerſity, at the Cardinal's Inſtance.* 16. *Biſhop* Longland *goes in the Cardinal's Name to* Oxford. 17. *Who prepare for the King's Reception.* 18. *The Cardinal not the Firſt, in the Reign of* Henry *the Eighth, who adviſed the Diſſolution of Monaſteries; he had the Example of* Fiſher *Biſhop of* Rocheſter *in the ſame Reign.* 19. *Concerning the Diſſolution of the Priory of* Bromhall. 20. *Letter from the Cardinal, when at* Calais, *to the Biſhop of* Sarum. 21. *The Effect of* Fiſher's *Advice to the Counteſs of* Richmond, *in Favour of Saint* John's *College.* 22. Oxford *ought not to be diſſatisfied at this Oppoſition of* Fiſher. 23. Wood *not altogether impartial.* 24. *Of the Cardinal's Foundation at* Ipſwych.

1. NO Affairs, relating either to Church or State, however 1522.
arduous, could obſtruct the Cardinal's great and gene- 1523.
rous Deſigns for the Advancement of Learning. With that View 1524.
he had projected to found two Colleges, one at *Ipſwich*, the Place of his Birth, and the other at *Oxford*; the great Difficulty was, in finding Means of endowing them with Revenues ſuitable to the Extent and Magnificence of his Plan. The beſt Expedient that could be propoſed, was to transfer the Revenues of certain Monaſteries of leſs Value, or conſiſting of fewer Members, towards the Support of his Colleges. And Reaſons were not wanting to induce the Pope to grant Bulls to this End, provided the King and other Founders of the Monaſteries to be diſſolved, ſhould give their Conſent for that Purpoſe. Some have made it a Queſtion, whether the Pope ought, or could, in the Plenitude of his Power, make Alienations of the Rights or Revenues appropriated to religious Societies, and confirmed with the moſt religious Solemnities, to any other Uſes, than thoſe for which they were originally intended.

2. It will appear more fully afterwards, that the Pope, upon the Principles of the Church of *Rome*, had ſuch a Power, and that Perſons veſted with the ſupreme Authority in every Nation, ought to have it; ſo that upon wiſe and good Reaſons, for thoſe are always to be taken as implied, they may lawfully exerciſe it. Suppoſing it evident, for Inſtance, that any pious Foundation could be put under a better tho' very different Rule, ſo as more effectually to attain thoſe Ends of Piety, for which it was firſt inſtituted, there would be no Injury done to the Founder in modeling it anew according to that Rule; but the Authority by which it is done,

will rather be ſuppoſed to act agreeably to what the Founder himſelf would have deſigned, upon Suppoſition he had foreſeen the Advantage of the Change. The ſame Reaſon will hold for altering every poſitive Inſtitution, ſo as to render it really more beneficial to the Uſes propoſed. It is upon this Principle, that Courts of Equity proceed in diſpenſing with the Letter of the Law, and making ſuch Appointments, as appear evidently moſt agreeable to the Reaſon and primary Intention of it. Now the ſupreme Authority of any Nation is always to be conſidered, as the ſtanding and ſupreme Court of Equity in it; and muſt therefore be allowed to have an equal Right at leaſt with inferiour Courts, of regulating it ſelf by the ſettled Maxims of Equity.

3. Had the Cardinal indeed propoſed to diſſolve the leſſer Monaſteries, merely to transfer them into Lay-hands, to enrich or aggrandize private Families, to which purpoſe the Founders of them neither did, nor could, by any equitable Conſtruction, be preſumed to intend them; this had been a wicked and ſacrilegious Attempt indeed, and a notorious Violation of the common Rules of Juſtice, which nothing could have been ſaid by the Wit of Man to palliate or excuſe. But as the Cardinal's Deſign in the Diſſolution of them, was laudable and excellent, and in purſuit of a general Good, the greateſt Good that can accrue to Mankind, that of a pious and learned Education, they who have charged him with Sacrilege on this Account, ſeem not to have in the leaſt conſidered the Reaſons or Grounds of their Cenſure.

4. What the Author of the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of *Great Britain* has advanced, as to this Charge, in Defence of the Cardinal, is ſo juſt in the main Foundation of it, that I ſhall here take Leave to tranſcribe it, with what followeth, relating to the Foundation of his College, out of our learned *Oxford* Hiſtorian.

" [q] To take off this Imputation of *Sacrilege*, we are to conſider,
" That the Cardinal was governed by the Principles of that Age,
" and did nothing but what was juſtified by the received Doctrines.
" He owned the Supremacy of the papal See, and maintained the
" Privileges claimed by the Court of *Rome*. Now, under this
" Perſwaſion, he muſt believe the Pope had an Authority of transferring the Lands and Revenues of the Church to what Uſes he
" thought fit; and eſpecially of turning religious Houſes into Societies for ſecular Prieſts, and for the Advancement of Learning.

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[q] Coll. Eccleſ. Hiſt. *p.*

“And the Popes had formerly given Inſtances of their Authority in this Kind. ***Further:*** Since Popes have given Monks Leave to throw off their Habits and return to the World, what ſhould hinder them from altering a Settlement, and making a ſmall Revolution in the Lands and Tenements? Why ſhould the Conſecration of Eſtates go deeper, and be more irrevocable, than that of Perſons.

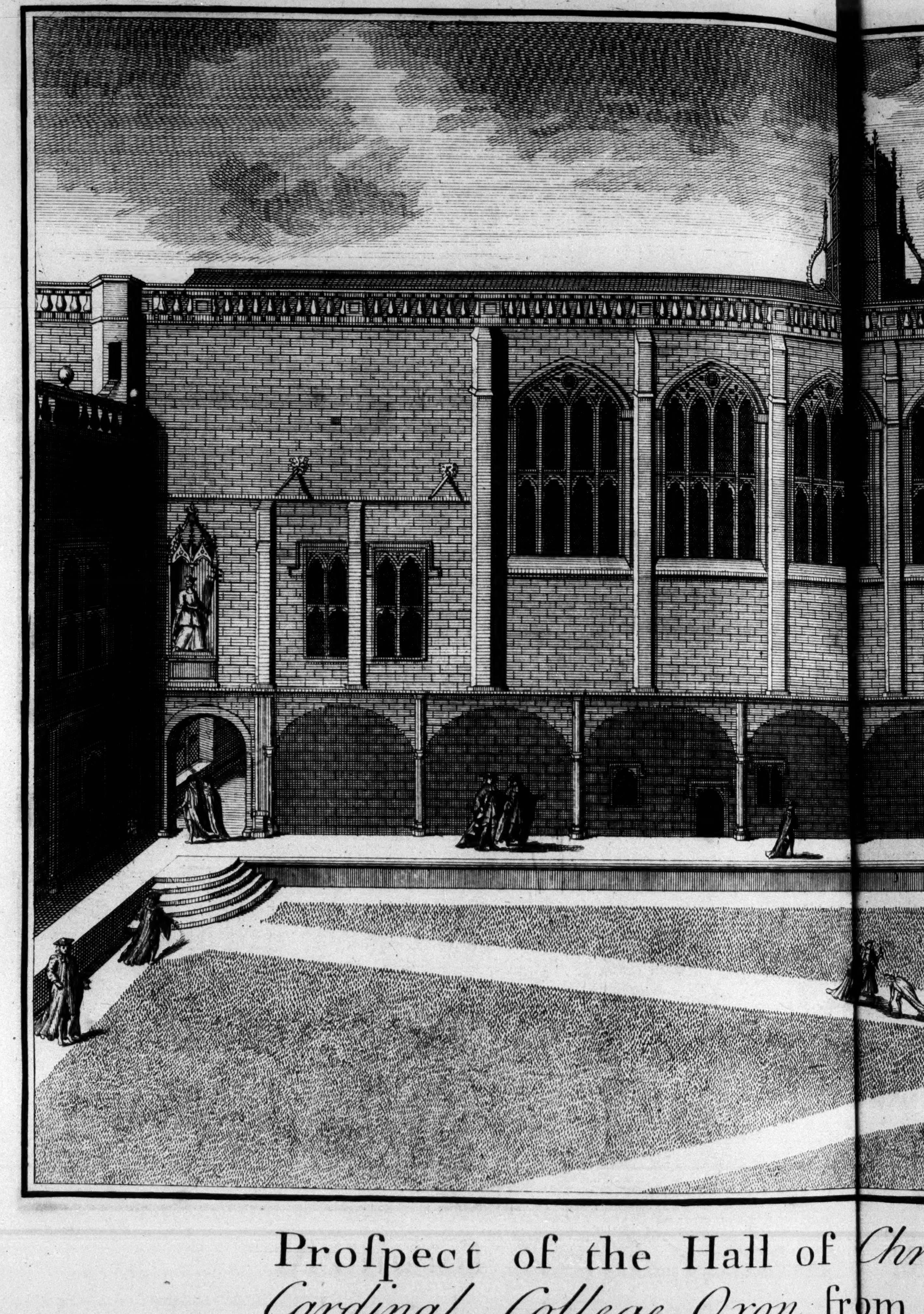
“Beſides, if we conſider the new Application, there will be no Reaſon to charge the Cardinal with Sacrilege. For he did not alienate the Revenues from religious Service, but only made a Change in the Diſpoſal. Now every Body knows, theſe Societies are expreſly dedicated to the Honour of God Almighty.

“Further: Whereas it is objected the Cardinal's Precedent led the Way to future Liberties, and proved fatal to the Reſt of the Monaſteries: To this it may be anſwered by asking a Queſtion, Did ever any Body lay the Imputation of Sacrilege on *Wainfleet* or *Chichely?* not to mention other Founders of Colleges. Did ever any Body charge theſe Prelates with ſacrilegious Invaſion for building their Colleges on the Ruins of the Priors alien? for receiving the Revenues of thoſe forfeited Eſtates to endow their Foundations? Laſtly, Were not the Templers ſuppreſſed, and their Lands every where ſeized in the Fourteenth Century? and was not the Diſſolution of their Houſes countenanced by the Pope himſelf?

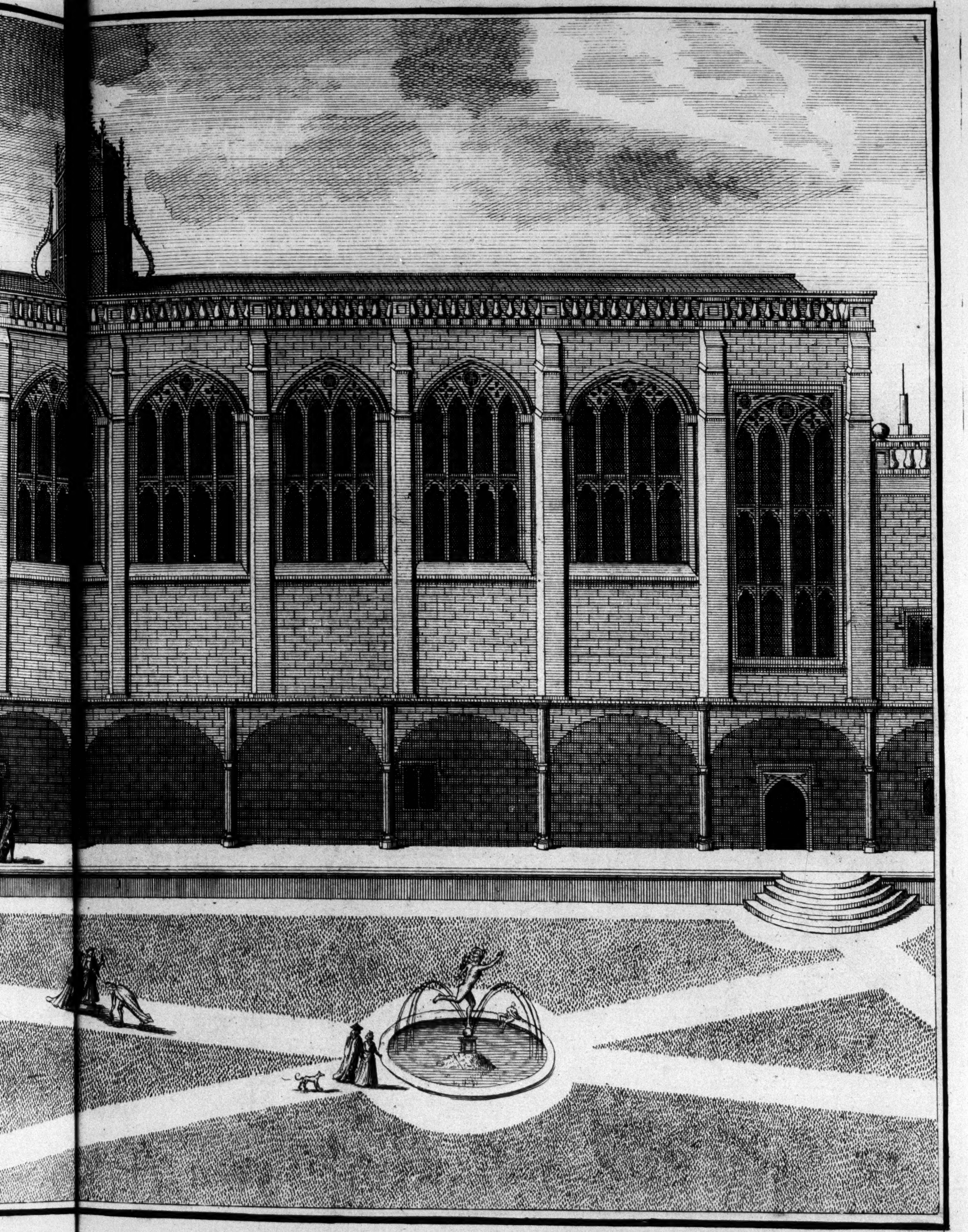
“To proceed: The Cardinal having procured the King's Letters Patents, went vigorouſly on with the Building of his College in *Oxford*. The Patent gives great Commendations of the Cardinal's Adminiſtration, and that the Weight of the Government had reſted upon him for ſeveral Years. By this Patent the College was to be built upon the Site of St. *Frideſwed* Priory (lately diſſolved for that Purpoſe) and to be called *Cardinal College*. This Inſtrument likewiſe gave Authority for ſettling Two thouſand Pounds a Year in clear Revenue, upon the Foundation. The Cardinal's Plan in this Benefaction was large and noble, as appears by a Draught of the Statutes ſent to the Society under his Hand and Seal. By this Scheme, there was a Dean and Sub-dean, threeſcore Canons of the firſt Rank, and forty of the Second, thirteen Chaplains, twelve Clerks, and ſixteen Choriſters; to which we muſt add, Lecturers or Profeſſors in Divinity, Canon Law, Civil Law, Phyſick, Philoſophy, Logick, and Humanity: there were likewiſe four Cenſors of Manners and Examiners of the Proficiency of the Students; there were alſo three Treaſurers, four Stewards, and twenty inferior

“ Servants; in all, One hundred and eighty ſix. And laſtly, there “ was a Revenue ſettled for the Entertainment of Strangers, the “ Relief of the Poor, and the Keeping of Horſes for College-buſineſs. As to the Building, it was magnificent in the Model, “ curious in the Workmanſhip, and rich in the Materials. And “ if the Cardinal had lived to execute the Deſign, few Palaces of “ Princes would have exceeded it. Neither would the Library “ have been ſhort of the Nobleneſs of the Structure: For the “ Cardinal intended to have furniſhed it with the Learning and Curioſities of the *Vatican*, and to have tranſcribed the Pope's Manuſcripts for that Purpoſe. But this noble Foundation had but “ four Years Continuance: For in the Year 1529, when the Cardinal was caſt in a Premunire, the Deſign dropped, the Buildings were left unfiniſhed, and all the Eſtate of the Foundation “ both real and perſonal, was forfeited to the King: And thus it “ continued in his Majeſty's Hand, 'till the Year 1532, in which “ Time ſeveral Mannors and other Branches of the Revenue, were “ ſnatched by the Courtiers. In the Year laſt mentioned, the “ King founded the College anew, with the Settlement of Two “ thouſand Pounds yearly. In this Foundation there was a Dean “ and twelve ſecular Canons: But this Settlement laſted not much “ longer than the Firſt; for in the Year 1545, this Corporation “ was diſſolved by Commiſſion, and reſigned by the Dean and “ Canons into the King's Hand. About two Months after, it “ was revived by his Majeſty's Letters Patents: And the next Year “ by an Inſtrument of the ſame Kind, the King tranſlated the Epiſcopal See from *Oſney* to this College. Thus the Church of this “ Society was made the Cathedral, and the College called *Chriſt-Church*. In this laſt Foundation, there is a Proviſion for the “ Dean, eight Canons, three publick Profeſſors of Divinity, of “ *Hebrew* and *Greek*, ſixty Students, eight Chaplains, eight Singing-men, an Organiſt, a Schoolmaſter, an Uſher, forty Boys, “ and twenty four Almſmen.

5. This is a ſummary Account, ſeveral Particulars whereof will be afterwards enlarged upon, of the Riſe and Fall of Cardinal *Wolſey*'s College; for I do not find, how any ſubſequent Alienation could juſtly diveſt him of the Name, or his Aſſigns, of the Revenues appropriated to it; ſince after ſuch Appropriation, and a formal Conveyance of his Right into other Hands, by the King's Conſent, not himſelf, but the Society to which it was conveyed, ought to have been conſidered as the Proprietor. And no Forfeiture of his own (if what was done, not only by the King's Conſent, but at his ſpecial Inſtance, could in any good Senſe, be forfeited

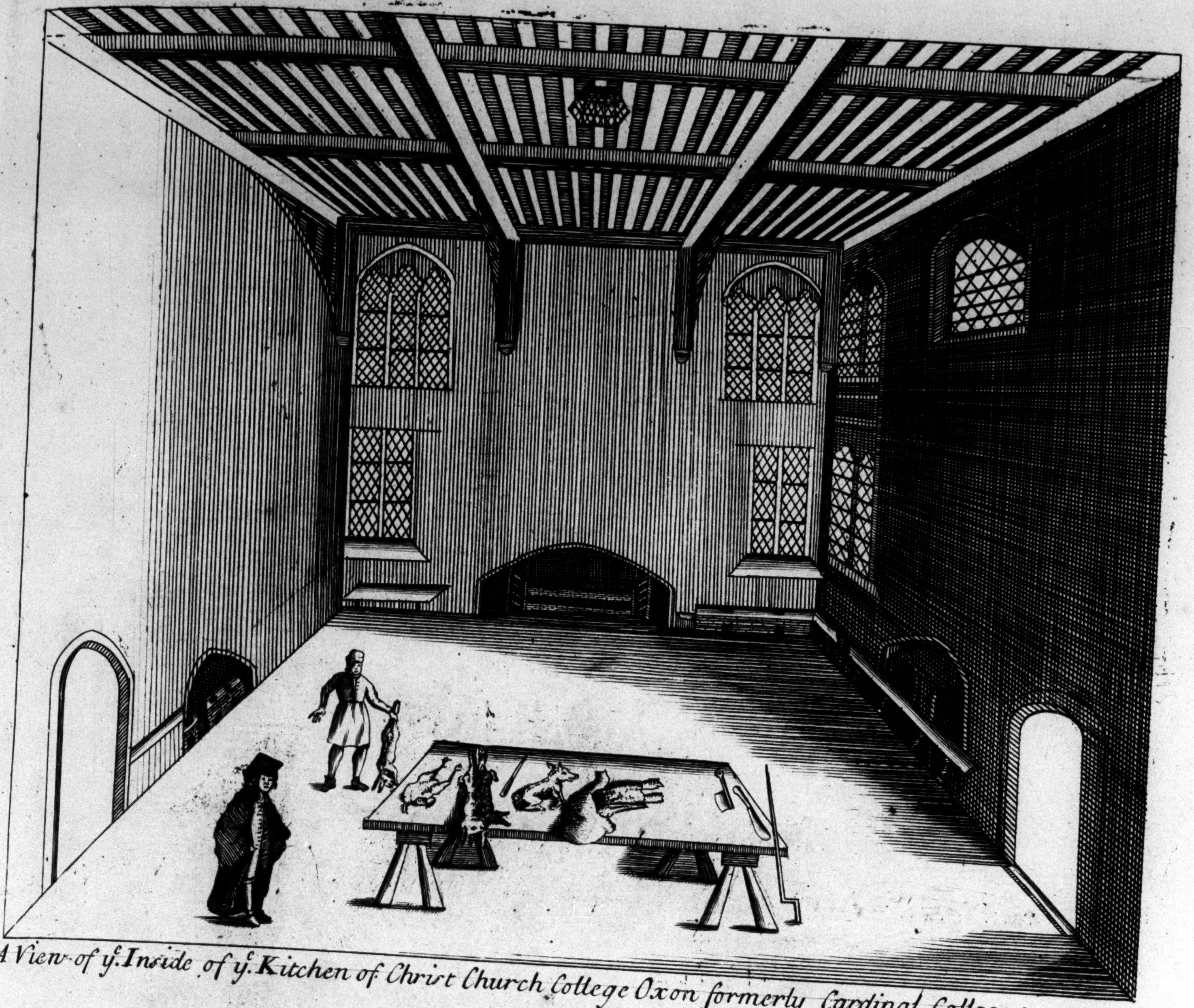


Proſpect of the Hall of *Chr*
Cardinal College, Oxon, from



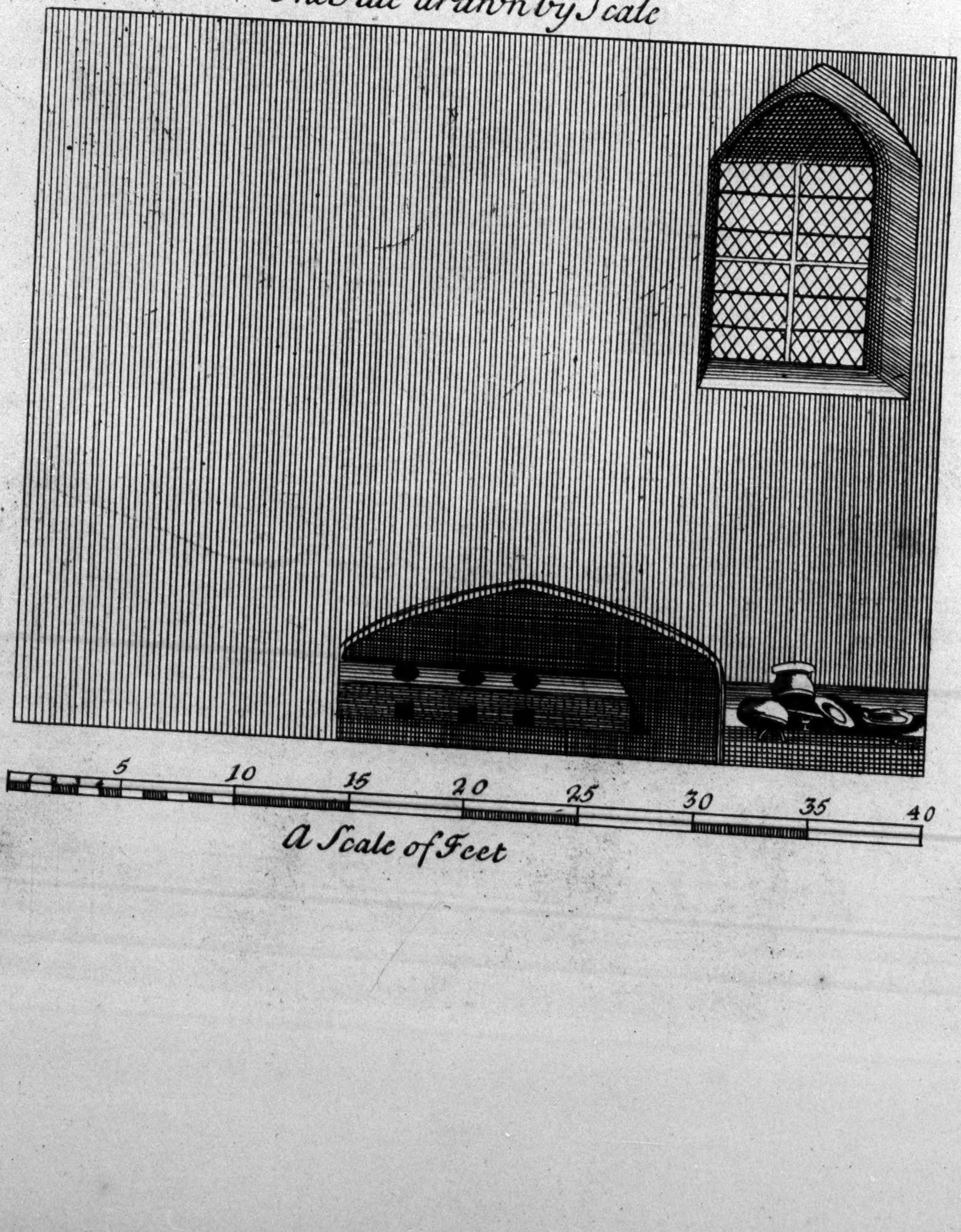
P. Fourdrinier Scul.

of *Christ-Church*, formerly
n, from the great Quadrangle.



A View of yᵉ Inside of yᵉ Kitchen of Christ Church College Oxon formerly Cardinal College

One Side drawn by Scale


5
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A Scale of Feet

BRITISH MUSEUM

feited to the King) would yet extend to forfeit the Right of other Perſons. I do not deny, but that upon the Principles before laid down, the ſupreme Authority might transfer the Revenues appropriated by the Cardinal to the publick Advancement of Piety and Learning into other Hands, and upon a quite different Model from what he originally deſigned, provided ſuch Alienation had really been of more general Uſe towards attaining theſe Ends, than could be propoſed in his Method. But it is not eaſy to conceive how thoſe Ends could be more effectually promoted, by transferring the Revenues ſettled upon a publick and well-regulated Society, into the Hands of private Perſons, or rapacious Courtiers. The only Argument for ſuch a Procedure, is the Plenitude of Power in the laſt Reſource of it. But tho' no Perſon will be ſo audacious as to diſpute, whether an Act of Parliament may alienate a legal Right, it may ſtill be queſtioned with all the Deference to the Legiſlature, whether any Act of Parliament ever was, or could be intended, to hinder Men from enquiring into the natural Reaſon and Equity of Things.

6. Having cited this Extract at large, I ſhall take the Liberty to reflect upon two or three Particulars in it. Firſt, I take the Aſſertion, that the Pope had an Authority of transferring the Lands and Revenues of the Church, to what Uſes he thought fit, to be too general. The Pope never had nor could be preſumed to have a Power of diſpenſing in any Caſe, contrary to the moral Reaſon and Equity of Things. Upon which, we aſſert the Clergy have a Right, an inalienable Right to a competent Maintenance, becauſe otherways they can neither preſerve the Regard due to their Character, neither attend nor diſcharge their Duty, as they ought to do; and ſo the End of God in appointing them to the Work of the Miniſtty, would neceſſarily be fruſtrated. The Pope therefore, for Inſtance, could never, upon any Pretence, have a Power of alienating the Revenues belonging to a particular Church, in ſuch a Manner, as not to reſerve a ſufficient Support for the Perſon, who was to adminiſter in it: Neither can any Power upon Earth, without deſtroying the Reaſons, upon which God inſtituted the Miniſtry, exerciſe ſuch a Power; much leſs might it be expected, that we ſhould find any Inſtances of ſuch a Power in thoſe reformed Countries, where the civil Magiſtrates are Proteſtant, leaſt under a Pretence of oppoſing the papal Uſurpations, they ſhould really be found to *fight againſt God*. And therefore it may be preſumed, the Reaſon why the Enemies of the Clergy ſo generally conſpire in denying their Divine Miſſion, and would render them mere Creatures of the State, is not ſo much with a direct Deſign of depretia-

ting their Character, tho' that may be one Reaſon of their Prejudice, as in ſome Meaſure to excuſe thoſe ſacrilegious Invaſions that have been made by the Laity upon their Rights; and which ſuppoſing, their divine Inſtitution, muſt ſtill appear more flagrant, and impious in the Eyes of the whole World.

7. The Defence of the Cardinal, in anſwer to the Objection, that his Precedent would lead a Way to future and unjuſt Liberties, is not ſo full, as might have been expected; it is only founded upon the Approbation given to former Precedents of the ſame Kind; which ſhew indeed, the Thing was practicable, but do not remove what was objected againſt the Practice. It might have been added, that the beſt Examples are liable to Miſapplication and Abuſe; that we are to diſtinguiſh the natural Tendency, from the accidental Event of Things, and that there could have been no ill conſequence from the Cardinal's Example, if thoſe who were afterwards employed in demoliſhing religious Houſes, had proceeded upon his Motives, or conformed to his Model. As to the original Name of the College to be founded, which is here called *Cardinal's College*, there appears to be ſome Miſtake; becauſe in the firſt Bull from the Pope, for transferring the Revenues of *Frideſwed*, and in the King's [r] Patent, confirming to the Cardinal the Powers of that Bull, it is called the College of *Secular Prieſts*, and that is expreſſed as one Condition of the Grant.

8. In the Pope's Bull, the principal Reaſon aſſigned for the Powers granted to the Cardinal for ſuppreſſing the Monaſtery of [ſ] *Frideſwed*, was, That the Knowledge of Letters, the great Support of the catholick Faith and Religion, might be hereby promoted. And to this End, he is authorized, the King's Conſent being preſuppoſed, to remove the Canons reſiding there to ſome other Place of the ſame Order, and to aboliſh the Name, Dignity, and Rules of the Priory, giving it the [t] Name beforementioned, and appropriating to it all the Revenues of the former Society.

9. The Reaſon ſpecified for the Confirmation of this Bull, by the King, was, That the Revenues of it were deſigned to be con-

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[r] Coll. N° 60. Book II.

[ſ] *About the Year* 730 Didamus, *a petty King in theſe Parts, founded a Nunnery in Honour of* Saint Mary *and* All Saints, *and made his Daughter* Frydeſwyde *Abbeſs thereof, who being buried here, and afterwards canonized, this Monaſtery in Proceſs of Time was called by her Name: But the Nuns being diſperſed in the* Daniſh *Wars*, Secular Prieſts *inhabited this Place till* 1111, *at which Time* Roger *Biſhop of* Salisbury *placed a Convent of regular Canons of the Order of St.* Auſtin, *in the Church of St.* Frydeſwyde, *under the Cure of Prior* Guymund; *and having had a correct Liſt of the Priors of St.* Frydeſwyde *communicated to me by* Brown Willis, *Eſq; with ſome Account relating to the Surrender of it, and the Lodgings of the Prior, I have thought proper to inſert them in the Collections*, Num. 60.

[t] Collegii Clericorum Secularium.

verted to a better Uſe; and it is expreſly provided in the Patent, that the Name beforementioned, ſhould be impoſed: and to prevent ſuch Miſconſtruction, as might poſſibly ariſe to hinder the Effect of this Grant, from any Error or Want of Form in drawing it up, the fulleſt Proviſion is made, that the Mind of Man could contrive, or Words be found to expreſs.

10. From the Cardinal's Deſign, in founding this College, the Tranſition is very natural to other his Benefactions, about this Time, to the Univerſity in general; which, that I may preſent a Train of them in one View to the Reader, I ſhall go ſo far back as the Year 1522, having for that Reaſon purpoſely omitted ſeveral Inſtances of his Favour and Regard for that learned Body, where they might not improperly have been mentioned.

11. In this Year there were great Diſſentions among the Maſters about the Choice of the Proctors, which could not otherways be determined, than by remitting a State of them to the Cardinal, yet without previous Notice to the Chancellor. 1522.

12. There is a [u] Letter on this Occaſion from the Cardinal to the Univerſity, wherein he takes Notice of the Deputation ſent to him, to repair the State of the Differences among them, expreſſing his Deſire of making his due Acknowledgements to them, for that Teſtimony of their Regard, not only by Letters, but other real and ſenſible Effects. In the mean time, towards re-eſtabliſhing the common Tranquillity, he thinks it adviſeable to defer the Election of Proctors for ſome time, and that two Perſons of good Reputation, who were not of a turbulent, aſpiring Temper, ſhould be choſen 'till *Michaelmas* following, to do the Office; but that this Province ſhould not be committed to them, under the Title of Proctors, but only of Maſters of the Schools; and upon the Expiration of that Term, he hopes to be more at leiſure to attend the Affairs of the Univerſity, and to ſee Things ſettled upon ſo good a Foundation, that the State of it will be continually more ſplendid and flouriſhing.

13. In anſwer to this Letter, the Univerſity handſomely excuſe themſelves on Account of the frequent Occaſions they have had of addreſſing to the Cardinal, repreſenting, [x] That their Importunity has been in a Manner the Effect of Conſtraint, and that they have no other Proſpect of Relief, in the preſent Situation of their Af-

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[u] Coll. Nº 61. Book II.

[x] Coll. Nº 62. Book II.

fairs, but from his favourable Interpoſition; they acquaint him, that the Univerſity had readily conformed to his Direction concerning the Perſons recommended by him, *Barber* and *Stark*; but withal requeſt, that he would be pleaſed to remit to them the cuſtomary Form of electing Proctors, till he may have more reſpit from the great Affairs of State to regulate thoſe of the Univerſity. And then they deſcend among other innumerable Benefits conferred on them, to acknowledge his ſingular Favour, in procuring to them an Exemption from the general *Tax* levied towards the Support of the War againſt *France*, and for which they had by former [y] Letters interceeded to him, repreſenting, that Colleges and their immediate Dependencies, had been exempted from the Charge of contributing to the publick Wars. This Cuſtom the Cardinal inſiſted upon to the King, as a Matter of academical Right, and, at his Inſtance, the Immunity deſired was obtained for the Univerſity; and they requeſt, in caſe of a ſecond Demand, it might be continued.

14. In [z] Anſwer to this, the Cardinal refers them to their former cuſtomary Methods of electing the Proctors, adviſing them to take all ſuch fit Precautions againſt ſeditious and tumultuous Proceedings, whereby the Peace and Dignity of the Univerſity may be beſt preſerved. As to their Requeſt relating to a Diſcharge from the Subſidy, he informs them, that he cannot make any final Determination of the Matter, 'till he lay it before the Council, which he hopes to do in ſuch a Manner, as to make them ſenſible of the Effect of his Zeal for their Advantage. He adviſeth them in the Concluſion, to preſerve a good Spirit, to apply themſelves to the Study of Learning, and the Practice of wholſome Diſcipline; and to be particularly careful, that they do not from any Motive of vain Glory, or in purſuit of any private Quarrels, or Animoſities, ſuffer themſelves to be diverted from the Opportunities of improving themſelves in true and uſeful Learning.

15. In the following Year, the King granted to the Univerſity, at the Cardinal's Inſtance, as is recited in a previous [a] Entry to it, a moſt gracious and ample Charter of Privileges, which the Cardinal cauſed to be tranſmitted to the Univerſity by a ſpecial Deputation. When it was promulged there, the Townſmen were ſo much irritated, that they openly refuſed to ſubmit to it. Upon

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[y] Wood's *Antiquities of* Oxon.

[z] Coll. N° 63. Book II.

[a] Privilegia ampla & benigna Univerſitati a Rege conceſſa ad Inſtantiam Domini *Thomæ Wolſæi Eboracenſis* Archiepiſcopi. *Bodl. in Pixidi long.* N° 2.

which Account it was remitted to the King, and propoſed to be conſidered in Council. But the Reſult of the Matter will be more properly reſerved to the Year 1528.

16. About this Time *Longland* Biſhop of *Lincoln* came to *Oxford* in Quality of the Cardinal's Orator, who was to give them Aſſurances in the Cardinal's Name, that he was fully determined to proceed according to the Plan of his Deſign communicated to them the former Year: For that all his Thoughts were taken up in concerting proper Meaſures, to the End he might lay an ample Foundation for a College, and endow it with ſuch Revenues as would afford a handſome Maintenance for Two hundred Scholars and ſeven Lecturers; and as they ſo intirely repoſed their Truſt and Confidence in him, he deſired nothing more than to render his Services on all Occaſions acceptable to the Univerſity; declaring that his whole Study and Endeavour ſhould be to render it, (tho' at that Time in an ill State, both in reſpect to its Privileges, and the proper Means of Erudition,) the moſt celebrated and flouriſhing Seminary of Learning in the whole World: And that he might have an Opportunity of teſtifying his benevolent Deſigns towards them in a more ſenſible and publick Manner, he repeated his Promiſe of attending the King and Queen to *Oxford* about the Beginning of *Lent*, and declared he would not return before he had firſt given ſome memorable Proofs of his ſingular Eſteem and Affection for the Univerſity.

17. Biſhop *Longland* having diſcharged his Commiſſion, took Leave of the Univerſity; whoſe principal Buſineſs was now to conſult, how they ſhould receive and entertain the King; and what Appointments they ſhould make, concerning the Orations to be ſpoken, and the Exerciſes to be performed on that Occaſion. And to make the Appearance of Scholars ſtill more numerous, ſpecial Orders were iſſued to recall ſuch of them as were abſent in the Country. But when they had made Preparations with much Care and Solemnity, and at no little Expence, towards the Reception of the Court, yet with a particular View of ſhewing their profound Veneration for the Cardinal, to whom, ſaith my Author, they paid Honours little leſs than Divine, a Peſtilence ſuddenly raged, which occaſioned both the Court and the Members of the Univerſity to withdraw. Some time after *Longland* returned to *Oxford*, by Commiſſion from the Cardinal, to make the proper Regulations towards building his College; and he was empowered to eject the Monks of *Frideſywde*, that Room might be made for introducing the Scholars and Lecturers of the Cardinal's Foundation; ſo that

Wood's Antiq. Oxon.

that they might form a regular independent Body, whereas they had lived diſperſed before in ſeveral Halls and Colleges: And this the Cardinal is ſaid to have done by Advice of *Veſey* Biſhop of *Exeter*.

18. But it may be obſerved, that the Cardinal was not the firſt Author of adviſing the Diſſolution of Abbey-Lands, towards appropriating them to more beneficial Purpoſes, whether in reſpect to Religion or Learning. Neither was this the firſt Inſtance, in the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth, of ſuch an Appropriation. The Monaſtery of *Bromhall*, was [b] diſſolved in the Year 1521, by Advice, and at the Inſtance of *Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*; to the End the Revenues of it might be annexed towards the better Maintenance and Support of St. *John*'s College in *Cambridge*. And about the ſame Time the Priory of *Heigham* in *Kent* was alſo diſſolved, and the Demeſnes thereof granted to the ſame College. Upon which Occaſion the King wrote a very preſſing [c] Letter to the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*: From whence it is reaſonably concluded, this Prelate was the chief Adviſer, and Inſtrument of thoſe Benefactions to a Society, which has ſucceſſively from that Time produced ſome of the greateſt Lights, both in the eccleſiaſtical State and the Republick of Letters; but none of a more diffuſive Influence, or more willing to communicate, than the [d] excellent Perſon here referred to, who has been pleaſed to favour me with the preſent, and ſeveral other Informations.

19. In a Letter from the King to the Biſhop of [e] *Sarum*, for which I am alſo indebted to the ſame Hand, concerning the Diſſolution of the Priory of *Bromhall*, his Majeſty acknowledgeth the effectual Diligence that Prelate had uſed, in aſſerting his paſtoral Authority towards excluding the Prioreſs and Nuns out of the Monaſtery, for the ſcandalous Diſorders and Impieties wherewith they had been charged, and in removing them to another Houſe, where a more ſtrict and religious Diſcipline was obſerved. And as he had ſeveral Writings in his keeping belonging to the ſaid Monaſteries, the Right to which, by reaſon of its being evacuated, devolved up-

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[b] Joan Rawlins *Prioreſs of* Bromhall (*in* Berkſhire *near* Windſor) *reſigned that Honſe* Aug. 9, 1521. *who ſoon after that, granted the Demeſnes thereof to Saint* John's College. *Baker.*

[c] *From the Reverend Mr.* Baker.

[d] *Who on Occaſion of what I have cited from him, relating to the Priory of* Heigham, *has the following Obſervation.* " The King's Zeal and the Cardinal's is the more remarkable, ſince this " ſeems to have been a leading Caſe, firſt to the Cardinal's great Deſign at *Chriſt-Church*, " and after to the King's, by a general Diſſolution, and both of them might be willing to " have the Concurrence of ſo good a Man, as the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, who did indeed ſol- " licit this Affair in behalf of the College, but did not foreſee the fatal Conſequences.

[e] Coll. N° 64. Book II.

on the King, his Majeſty commands him, upon Sight, to deliver all the ſaid Writings to the Bearer.

20. The Cardinal wrote to this Prelate, upon the ſame Subject from [f] *Calais*; wherein he ſpeaks of the Enormities committed by the Prioreſs and Nuns, in Terms, which diſcover they had altogether departed from the Rule, and proper Ends of their Inſtitution, tho' they were of the King's Foundation. He therefore charges the Biſhop, both in Obedience to the King, and by Virtue of the Deputation from himſelf as Legate, that he would effectually, and with all expedition, execute the Orders, which he had received by Letters from the King, and take care that the ſaid Prioreſs and Nuns be incorporated into ſome other Society, where they may be obliged to a more prudent and regular Behaviour. The King's Letter bears Date the Thirteenth of *December*, and that of the Cardinal the Twentieth of *October*: And on the ſixteenth Day of *January* following [g] all the Evidences, Deeds, Charters, Court-Rolls, and other Papers, to the Number of a Hundred and twenty-one, were delivered to the College-Officer for the Uſe of St. *John's* College.

21. So far, that excellent Prelate *Fiſher*, did nothing, wherein he could, on any Account, be charged with ſhewing a partial Regard to the Univerſity of *Cambridge*: There was no Competition in the preſent Caſe between the two Univerſities, nor any Pretence, upon which *Oxford* could found a previous Claim to theſe Benefactions. But the Caſe was ſomewhat different as to the [h] Applications which were made by this Biſhop, in favour of the ſame College, to *Margaret* Counteſs of *Richmond*. Certain Doctors of *Oxford* at that Time in her Family, and one in particular of great Name and Authority, moved her Highneſs to leave ſome ſuch Monument of her Magnificence in *Oxford*, as ſhe had already done in *Cambridge*. They laid before her a State of the Monaſtery of *Frydeſwyde*, and repreſented to her, by Way of Requeſt, the Advantage of converting it into a College of Students: They ſhewed how practicable ſuch a Deſign might be to a Lady of her Power and Fortune, and that, by this Means, her Name would be equally, and for ever celebrated in both Univerſities. So great Aſſiduity and Addreſs were uſed on this Occaſion, that this moſt pious and excellent Princeſs diſcovered an Inclination to gratify their Requeſt, which gave them no Cauſe to deſpair of ſucceeding in it, 'till the

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[f] Coll. N° 65. Book II.
[g] *From the* Red Book *or* *Regiſter of* St. John's *College* Cambridge, *fol.* 197, 198.
[h] Coll. N° 66. Book II.

Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, who had taken notice of their Sollicitude, and Importunity in this Affair, interceeded to her Highneſs, to the End he might divert the Current of her Liberality into another Channel: He deſcribed, in ſo moving a Manner, the unhappy Condition, to which St. *John*'s College in *Cambridge* was reduced, by the Miſconduct of their Members, by the Alienation of their Lands; the Neceſſity they were under of expoſing their Goods and very Ornaments to Sale, and even of intermitting divine Offices; but above all, to mention no other Inſtances of their Diſtreſs, by the heavy Load of Debts, they had contracted, and from which, in their preſent Circumſtances, they had no Proſpect of being delivered; that the good Princeſs deeply affected with Sentiments of Tenderneſs and Compaſſion at what he ſaid, was determined, notwithſtanding all the powerful Applications which were made on the other Side, to prefer his Advice. He told her, and herein he gave an Inſtance of that prophetick Spirit wherewith he was ſaid to be endowed, That no Benefit could be placed to greater Advantage, than that, which ſhould be employed to extirpate barren or noxious Weeds out of a neglected Soil, towards repleniſhing it with ſuch Seeds, as would in time produce a moſt rich and plentiful Harveſt; alluding to the great Progreſs, which ſhould afterwards be made in that celebrated Nurſery of all divine and human Learning. And the Event has continually ſhewed, that this moſt pious and venerable Father, if in a ſtricter Senſe a Prophet, did not propheſy falſely.

22. So that though *Oxford* might not be thought under any Obligation to this Biſhop for oppoſing them in an Affair of ſo great Importance, and wherein they ſo much intereſted themſelves; yet they have leſs Reaſon to regret the Effects of his Oppoſition, when they conſider the many good, excellent, and ſalutary Uſes which have been made, and ſtill continue to be made, by means of it.

23. I wiſh the Partiality of our *Oxford* Hiſtorian could be as eaſily excuſed; who, ſpeaking of the Members of the other Univerſity at this time, that removed to proſecute their Studies at *Oxford*, and eſpecially of thoſe, who were firſt tranſplanted from thence to repleniſh the Cardinal's College, repreſents them, in Point of Learning, tho' he cites the Authority of *Fox* for it, under a Character very little favourable to them, or to the former Place of their Reſidence. *Oxford* might perhaps, at that time, under the auſpicious Influences of the Cardinal, enjoy ſeveral Advantages towards rendering the State of Learning more flouriſhing. But that *Wood*

ſhould deſcribe it in ſo very low and forlorn a Condition, as he then does, in the other Univerſity; and that he ſhould bring in *Fox*, whom he does not ordinarily treat with much Regard, as a Party to countenance [i] his Reflections, ſeems rather to have proceeded from certain invidious Motives, which ought to have no Place in either Univerſity, than from an impartial Examination of ſuch other Evidences, as he might have conſulted, and from which it would have appeared, there were ſeveral Perſons in *Cambridge*, at that Time, of no inconſiderable Diſtinction for their Learning.

24. The Cardinal's Deſigns for the Advancement of Learning did not terminate in his magnificent Foundation at *Oxford*: He erected at [k] *Ipſwych*, the Place of his Birth, a [l] College, and a [m] School, for the Education of Youth 'till they ſhould be fitted for the Univerſity. This Foundation, tho' much inferior, as the Nature of the Deſign ſeemed to require it ſhould be, in reſpect to the Extent and Revenues of his College at *Oxford*, yet was no inconſiderable Inſtance of that Greatneſs of Mind, with which he was confeſſedly endowed.

CHAP. XXVI.

1. *An uncommon Quality in the Cardinal.* 2. *His long and ſeemingly elaborate Diſpatches.* 3. *He writes a political Eſſay.* 4. *Reaſon of the Duke of* Bourbon's *Diſguſt at the* French *Court.* 5. *Whether the Advantage taken of it by* England, *was according to the Rules of ſtrict Juſtice.* 6. *Yet neither the* Engliſh *nor* Imperial *Court ſeem to have been ſcrupulous on this Head.* 7. *A former Letter of the Cardinal farther cited.* 8. *The Sentiments of the King concerning the Operations of War, wherein the Cardinal at firſt concurred.* 9. *Letter from the Cardinal to our Ambaſſadors with the Emperor.* 10. *The Import of it.* 11. *Particularly of the Concluſion relating to the Duke of* Albany, *and the* Engliſh *Fleet.*

1. SOllicitous as the Cardinal was, at this Time, to advance 1522.
the Intereſts of the Republick of Letters, he was involved 1523.
in the moſt difficult and weighty Affairs of State. Nothing ſhewed the

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[i] Wood's *Ant.* L. 1, 249.
[k] Coll. N° 67. Book II.
[l] *The Cardinal's Foundation at* Ipſwych *was, a new Modelling of Saint* Peter's *Priory: The Liſt of the Priors is in the ſecond Volume of Abbeys by* Brown Willis *Eſq; The laſt Prior was* William Brown, *who was living in the Year* 1526, *and the Surrender was made* March 6, 1527, *when the Cardi-*

the Force or Extent of his Genius more, than that he was able to form and attend ſo many different Projects, at home, and abroad in different Courts, without Diſtraction, or the leaſt viſible Diſcompoſure of Mind. For he ever appeared to preſerve the ſame eaſy and diſengaged Temper, and diſcovered a Complacency in his Diſcourſe and Manner, as if his whole Attention were taken up with what related to the Rules or Subject of the preſent Converſation. There are few Inſtances of Men, who among a thouſand Perplexities, can have ſo abſolute a Command over their own Thoughts, or be able, on any Emergency, to give their Minds an intire Vacation from all former Buſineſs, and turn them, with equal Freedom and Facility, on any other Subject: Tho' Cardinal *Wolſey* indeed was not the only great Miniſter I could name, of whoſe Character this ſeems to have been one principal Diſtinction.

2. The Cardinal did not only aſſiſt, by his Advice, in the great Councils of the Realm, where, one would have thought, his very Attendance, with the Care of all the Churches, and with his other Legatine-Offices, might have been ſufficient to employ whatever Time he could ſpare from the convenient Support or Refreſhments of Life, but he wrote long, and which, if we conſider the Important Matters contained in them, might ſeem laboured Diſpatches; tho' he hath had few Superiors in reſpect to an eaſy and flowing, but rather too diffuſive Stile. And therefore, tho' we have no Work of his extant, which may properly entitle him to the Character of an Author; yet if all his Letters and Inſtructions could be found and collected into one or more Volumes, there are an infinite Number of Authors, who, upon a Compariſon of their Works with his, would appear much leſs to deſerve that Name. The Remains which are preſerved to us of this Kind, fall principally within the [n] Compaſs of three Years. If we may take an Eſtimate concerning thoſe Diſpatches, which are wanting, during the whole Courſe of his Miniſtry, from the Proportion they might be ſuppoſed to bear to thoſe which we have, they would, if recovered, compoſe ſeveral Volumes.

Cardinal began his new Foundation, conſiſting of a Dean, twelve Canons, eight Singing-men or Lay-clerks, and as many Choriſters; William Capon *not improbably Brother to* John Capon *alias* Salcot, *Abbot of* Hulme *in* Norfolk, *and at length Biſhop of* Bangor *and* Salisbury, *was appointed to be his firſt Dean; and he was the Laſt, as may be ſeen in Mr.* Willis *his Book of* Bangor, *where he died poſſeſſed of the* Golden *Prebend belonging to that Church, ſeven Years before the Biſhop; he was Doctor of Divinity: See a Letter from him to the Cardinal from the* Cotton Library, *concerning ſeveral Things relating to that College.* Coll. N° 67. *b.*

[m] *There were certain Rules preſcribed by the Cardinal, to be obſerved not only in this School, but all other Schools of* England, *to which he prefixed a ſhort Preface.* Coll. N° 67. *c.*

[n] 1523, 1524, 1525.

3. Yet the Cardinal, at the King's Inſtance, wrote a political [n] Eſſay about this Time, being at *Calais*, which went under the Name of a Book, and is called ſo by himſelf. The Subject of it was concerning the Reaſons and Operations of the War againſt *France*, and the Method of ſupporting it with Vigour and Effect; Yet with all poſſible Regard to his Majeſty's ſuperior Judgement and Determination. And therefore, when his Majeſty, upon a Peruſal of it, thought proper to diſſent from him in certain Particulars, he readily ſubmitted to the King's Regulations, excuſing himſelf from the Avocations, and Want of Leiſure in his Journey, which would not permit him to attend, as the Nature of it required, an Affair of ſo great Importance: Yet ſtill propoſing his own Opinion in the moſt diſtant and reſpectful Manner, that Words could expreſs, he is entirely reſigned to ſuch Corrections of it, as his Majeſty hath already made, or may further think fit to make.

4. And the Affair indeed upon which the Cardinal appeared moſt Intent, was the War againſt *France*. To this End large Supplies were to be ſent to the Emperor for the Support of his Armies both in *Italy* and the *Netherlands*; and becauſe it was apprehended, of great Conſequence to the common Cauſe, if the Duke of *Bourbon*, lately diſguſted at the *French* King, could be brought to engage in it, no proper Means or Applications were omitted to that End. The Cauſe of his Diſcontent is ſaid to have been the Loſs of a Law-ſuit, in the Progreſs and Determination whereof, he thought great Injuſtice was done to him, by the Influence of the *French* Court. But it is not improbable, that being a Perſon of a great Spirit, ambitious, and impatient of every Thing that had the leaſt Appearance of a Diſgrace, he could not bear, that a [o] Poſt of Honour to which, as Conſtable of *France*, he pretended a prior Right, ſhould be given from him to the Duke of *Alançon*, Brother-in-Law to the King. Nothing could have touched a Man of War, in ſo ſenſible a Part. A General-Officer, though of inferior Degree, who has ſerved long and faithfully, cannot eaſily bear to ſee the proper Rewards of his Service openly ſnatched away from him by an intruding Hand. Honour, above all Things, animates the Hero, and makes him enterpriſing and reſolute; and therefore wiſe Princes have ever taken care, by due Encouragements, to cultivate and preſerve a general Senſe of it: And a Failure in this one Point of political Prudence, was attended with more fatal Conſequences to *Francis* the Firſt, than all the other Miſcarriages of his

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[n] *See* Str. Eccleſ. Mem. *H.* 8. *p.* 51, 52, 53, 54.

[o] *Herb.* p. 106.

Reign put together. Nothing however, can be ſaid in defence of *Bourbon*'s Diſloyalty; he ſhould have ſacrificed his Reſentments, to the Duty which he owed to his Prince, and to his Country. At the ſame time his Prince cannot perhaps be juſtified in giving him an Occaſion of Diſloyalty, which he ought not to have taken: For violent Paſſions, and ſuch are thoſe whereby we are agitated when we apprehend our Reputation or Honour much concerned, will not eaſily ſuffer even good Men to attend in ſilence to the Voice of Reaſon, and to follow her Orders.

5. Whether the Confederate-Powers in ſolliciting a diſcontented Subject to take Arms againſt his lawful Sovereign, acted agreeably to the ſtrict Rules of Conſcience and moral Honeſty, is another Queſtion; which, if common Practice ſhould be allowed good Evidence in the Caſe, might eaſily be determined in the Affirmative; but does not ſeem ſo perfectly clear from the natural Reaſon of the Thing. Nay, if my Concurrence with another Perſon, if my Perſuaſion or other Encouragement to him, in the Breach of his Duty, doth involve me, as it certainly doth, in the ſame Guilt, then I conceive there is the cleareſt Reaſon in the World, why this Queſtion ought to be determined in the Negative.

6. It doth not, however, appear, that either the Emperor, King *Henry*, or the Cardinal, had any Scruples of Conſcience, in an Affair, from which they might have been ſo naturally expected to ariſe. They governed themſelves by the political Maxims commonly received, without ſo much as enquiring perhaps whether they were conformable to the Rules either of moral or evangelical Truth. But that, in Fact, the Duke of *Bourbon* was ſollicited, and engaged by our Court, to enter into the Confederacy againſt his Sovereign; how much he was eſteemed, and how well ſupported for this Service, appears, at large, from a Letter of the Cardinal's in the [p] Collections, to *Samſon* and *Jerningham*, then reſiding in Quality of Ambaſſadors from our King, at the Emperor's Court, at the Time when the Cardinals were in Conclave to elect a new Pope, and from which we may learn the State of our Army then under the Conduct of the Duke of *Suffolk* in *France*; and the Conditions which Sir *John Ruſſel* had been empowered to make with the Duke of *Bourbon*; with the Order which the Cardinal deſireth may be taken by the Emperor, towards the Payment of his General Count *de Buren*, and the Troops which had ſerved with

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[p] Coll. N° 68. Book II.

the Duke of *Suffolk* in *France*. There are ſeveral Particulars in this and other Letters of the Cardinal following in the Collections, from which the Reader may diſcover the great Penetration and Addreſs which he ſhewed in negotiating State-Affairs; the Copiouſneſs of his Thoughts and Expreſſions; his Amplification more than could otherways ſeem neceſſary towards preventing all Miſconſtruction of his Deſign; an Exactneſs, in examining the minuteſt Circumſtances of Things, which ſhews that nothing which might deſerve to be conſidered, could poſſibly eſcape him; in a Word, the Fineneſs of his Politicks, and the over-ruling Influence he had in the principal Courts of *Europe*, as if he had really held the Ballance of Power ſo much talked of ſince that Time, in his own Hands.

7. A Judgement, may be better formed concerning theſe and other great Qualities, whereby the Cardinal was diſtinguiſhed, from his own Manner and Words, than from any Application which can be made of them. But for the moſt Part, I ſhall ſatisfy my ſelf with ſuch References to his Diſpatches, or ſummary Extracts from them, as may only ſerve to continue a clear Thred of my Hiſtory.

8. Some time after the Duke of *Bourbon* came into the Meaſures propoſed to him, on the Part of the Confederate Powers, which yet he did not do without ſome Reluctancy; the Duke of *Suffolk* was ſent over to meet the Imperial General, Count *de Buren*, and to join the *Engliſh* Forces with thoſe under that Count's Command. When the two Armies came together near St. *Omer*, they could not agree where to begin the Operations of War. The *Engliſh* Generals, conforming to their Inſtructions, moved, that *Bolein* ſhould be firſt beſieged: The *Imperial* Generals liked not this Project, conſidering the Place as impregnable; and which, if taken, would only affect the Enemy in a diſtant and leſs ſenſible Part: And therefore they thought it more adviſeable to enter the Enemy's Country, paſſing along the River *Soame*, and attacking ſuch Places as the Duke of *Bourbon* ſhould direct. This Advice the King of *England* did not approve, having already formed his Army with a Deſign that they ſhould undertake the foreſaid Siege. And the Duke having not yet given ſufficient Aſſurance of his firm Attachment to the common Cauſe: To which was added, there would be great Difficulty in procuring Proviſions, in caſe they ſhould penetrate the Enemy's Country; that the Year was far ſpent, and the Ground, eſpecially near the River, could not bear the Carriages for the Ordnance, which would be neceſſary to the ſeveral Sieges or Attacks they ſhould propoſe to make, in caſe the Towns were

hard to be taken: But if eaſy, it was ſaid, they might be as eaſily recovered by the *French*, who perhaps would come with a greater Force than was ſuppoſed, and preclude them from receiving neceſſary Supplies.

9. Theſe were the King's Sentiments, wherein the Cardinal at firſt concurred with his Majeſty; as appears by one of his [q] Letters to Dr. *Samſon* Dean of the King's Chappel, and Sir *Richard Jerningham*, two Miniſters in whom the Cardinal much confided; in which, he not only adviſeth the Siege of *Bolein*, but refers them to former Inſtructions relating to this Affair, and wherein it is mentioned more at large.

10. That Letter contains an Account of ſeveral important Counſels, and memorable Facts. After the uſual Form, wherewith the Cardinal begins his Letters, he acquaints the Embaſſadors that the King had received the original Treaty lately paſſed by them with the Emperor's Commiſſioners, concerning the Projects of War to be executed that Summer againſt *France*. Then he proceeds to mention the Treaty, which had been concluded with the Duke of *Bourbon*, and the Overtures made by the King to engage him in the Alliance, and towards advancing ſuch Supplies on his Part, as might effectually contribute to attain the Ends of it. In purſuance of which, he had cauſed a well-appointed Army, and furniſhed with all manner of martial Stores, to be raiſed under the Command of the Duke of *Suffolk*, who was already arrived with his Troops at *Calais*. They are therefore to move the Emperor to haſten the military Preparations on his Side: And indeed the ſlow Motions of the *Imperialiſts*, is what we find the Subject-matter of Complaint in moſt of the Cardinal's Diſpatches. Their Conduct, in this reſpect, was the more diſagreeable to him, as however cautious he might be, in forming his Deſigns, yet when they were once formed, he executed them with all the Vigour and Reſolution imaginable. It ſeems to have been his ſettled Maxim, *Never to loſe Time*: And it is a Maxim in Politicks, ſo generally true, that a bold Temerity, if not very ill conducted, is much preferable to a ſlow and ſaturnine Gravity, whatever Appearances of Wiſdom it may affect to put on. A dubious, or dilatory Stateſman, who ſuffers a fair, much more a certain Opportunity of effecting any great Deſign, to be loſt, deſerves all he can ſuffer from a Neglect which may perhaps in its Conſequences be irretrievable.

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[q] *See Volume of Negotiations at this Time, in the Library at* Lambeth, *and that of* Yelverton.

11. In the Sequel of the Letter, the Cardinal acquaints them with the Precautions that had been taken to prevent the Duke of *Albany's* Return, for which he was making Preparation, into *Scotland*. Upon this Occaſion ſeveral Things are obſerved relating to the State of our Fleet, and certain Advantages obtained over the Enemy at Sea. And in particular, an Account given concerning a Deſcent into *France*, from that Part of the Fleet, which was commanded by Sir *William Fitzwilliams*, wherein ſix hundred *Frenchmen* were ſlain, with the Loſs only of twelve *Engliſhmen*; a remarkable Inſtance of that ſuperior Force, which our Countrymen have on innumerable Occaſions exerted againſt that ancient rival Nation. We are not to be ſurprized, after this, if when our Fleet appeared before the Haven of *Finhead*, where the Duke of *Albany* had made Diſpoſitions for his Embarking, and the *Engliſh* Admiral offered him Battle, with an equal Number of Men and Ships, as he ſhould appoint, that the *French* prudently declined the Challenge, and ſatisfied themſelves with keeping on the defenſive Part: However, after our Admiral had for ſome time inſulted them, he was compelled by a Storm to return, with the Fleet under his command, to the *Downs*. An Expedition which was not only honorary to the *Engliſh* Nation, but attended with this good Effect, that the Duke of *Albany* being ſo long retarded in his Deſign of returning to *Scotland*, the People of that Nation beginning to deſpair of his coming, were inclined to enter into Meaſures towards reconciling themſelves to the Government, and threat'ned, if he did not Land ſhortly, or before a Time prefixed, they would abandon both Him and the *French*, adhere faithfully to the Queen, and ſue to the King of *England* for Peace. Yet, in caſe he ſhould arrive, the Cardinal obſerves, how well the Earl of *Surrey*, General of our Forces in the North, was prepared to give him a warm Reception. He had already indeed made thoſe Devaſtations in *Twedale* and *March*, which, if practicable according to the ordinary Rules of making War in an Enemy's Country, yet do not appear ſo perfectly reconcileable to the Maxims of our holy Religion: For he left neither Fortreſs, Village, Tree, Cattel, Corn, or other Succour for the poor [r] Inhabitants, who were in no Condition to reſiſt or annoy him, ſuch as Children, aged, ſick and infirm Perſons. So that the People who fled, finding, upon their Return, none of the neceſſary Supports of Life, came into *England*, in the moſt deplorable Circumſtances of Want and Diſtreſs, begging Relief, and ſo ſoon as Bread

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[r] *See Negotiations*, vol. 50, p. 196, *b. from the* Yelverton *Library, towards the Concluſion; but I have recited this Letter of the Cardinal at Length in the Collections, becauſe there are ſeveral memorable Things in it, relating as well to our Army, as this naval Expedition, and the Superiority of our naval Force.* Coll. N° 69. Book II.

was given them to eat, many of them died for want of Strength to digeſt it; or becauſe perhaps the Paſſages proper to receive it, were by long Hunger ſuffocated, or deprived of their natural Uſe. The Cardinal has a moral Reflection upon the Miſery to which theſe wretched Creatures were reduced, as the juſt Puniſhment of Almighty God, upon thoſe who diſturb the publick Peace, and Tranquillity of chriſtian States; but ſays nothing concerning a Practice, which it will be difficult to prove any Exigencies of War can juſtify upon chriſtian Principles, or, in my humble Opinion, upon the common Principles of Humanity.

CHAP. XXVII.

1. *The Cardinal alters his former Opinion, as to the Siege of* Bolein. 2. *The ill State of the* Imperialiſts. 3. *And of both Armies in* France. 4. *A Conjecture concerning the true Reaſon, why the Armies ſeparated.* 5. *Large Extract from a Letter of Inſtructions written by the Cardinal.* 6. *Concerning the Cardinal's Manner of Writing.* 7. *The Cardinal vindicated from an Imputation caſt on him by* Cavendiſh. 8. *The principal Ground upon which he was ſuſpected.* 9. *Confuted by a Letter he wrote to* Pace. 10. Praet's *Letters to the Emperor intercepted and opened.* 11. *He is repreſented as a very weak Man.* 12. *What he ſaid in his own Defence.* 13. *Anſwered by the Cardinal.* 14. *The Subſtance of two other Letters from the Cardinal.* 15. *His prudent and generous Anſwer in relation to the Lady* Margaret, *Regent of the* Netherlands.

1523. 1524. 1525. 1. THE Cardinal afterwards changed his Opinion in reſpect to the Siege of *Bolein*, and concurred with the Count *de Buren*, who was for entering directly into the Bowels of *France*; and the King at laſt, by perſwaſion of the Cardinal, came into this Project. So the *Engliſh*, commanded by the Duke of *Suffolk*, and the *Burgonians* under the Imperial General, the Count *de Buren*, marched forward into the Enemy's Country, burning their Villages, and taking ſeveral fortified Places.

2. But, it was not long before the Imperial Army wanted both Proviſion and a Reinforcement of Men; upon which, *Buren* wrote to the King, ſolliciting a Supply, and repreſenting, that the Emperor was not in Condition to ſuſtain any adventitious Charge of the War; being at a great Diſtance, and, while *Flanders* was, at the ſame time, in Arms againſt the Duke of *Guelders*: So that unleſs

leſs the King ſhould ſpeedily ſend Moneys to entertain the *Burgonians*, and ſatisfy their Demands, they would, which afterwards happened for want of Pay, mutiny and disband; the Lady *Margaret* not thinking herſelf under Obligation to ſupport them any longer. In Anſwer to which the King ſaid, tho' he was not bound to maintain his Army in thoſe Parts, any longer than to the End of *October*, yet for the Service of the Emperor and the Duke of *Bourbon*, he was willing they ſhould continue there all Winter; on Condition, the Lady *Margaret* would undertake the Charge of the *Burgonians*; from which ſhe excuſed her ſelf, as not being able to ſuſtain it. In concluſion, there being nothing effectually determined for their Satisfaction, the *Burgonians* ſeparated; and our Army prepared to return for *England*, whereof the Lady *Margaret* ſent Intelligence to the King, yet acquainting him, it was not for Want of Pay that the Army diſſolved, but for Want of Proviſions, and more temperate Weather; the Froſt having killed many Men, and the Way being rendered impracticable for the Carriage of the Artillery: So that the Army broke up at the common Deſire of the Soldiers, and by Conſent of the Generals.

3. Several of theſe Particulars are confirmed by other [ſ] Letters of the Cardinal to our Ambaſſadors. The ill State of the Army in *France* at that Time, as he [t] deſcribes it, was really deplorable. He ſaith, neither Man nor Beaſt could endure the Extremity of the Cold; that ſeveral loſt their Fingers, Hands, and Feet, and ſome were found dead upon their Beds. He mentions other Reaſons, why the Armies ſeparated; but obſerves, before the King was perfectly informed concerning the ill State of it, he had adviſed the Generals to contrive, ſo the Cardinal expreſſeth it, an *Evaſive War*, in caſe ſuch Troops, as had withdrawn themſelves, could be induced to return under the Command of the Count *de Buren*. But there being no Proſpect of recovering the ſcattered Forces in leſs than ſix Months, and the King having maturely conſidered the other Reaſons for diſſolving the Army, was at length reconciled to the Conduct of the Generals, and, in particular, received the Duke of *Suffolk* to Favour, againſt whom he had before, on that Occaſion, expreſſed ſome Diſguſt.

4. Theſe were the Reaſons aſſigned on both Sides, for diſcontinuing the Operations of War at this time in *France*; but it has been ſuppoſed, the true Reaſon on each Side, was concealed. The Emperor

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[ſ] *Vol. of Negotiations in the* Lambeth *and* Yelverton-*Libraries.*
[t] Coll. Nº 70. Book II.

peror was afraid, leſt the King of *England* ſhould forſake him in a bloody and expenſive War, to which he apprehended himſelf unequal: And the King ſuſpected, leſt the Emperor or the Duke of *Bourbon*, of whom he was not yet perfectly ſecure, ſhould have any private or ſeparate Views; to which, when a proper Opportunity ſhould offer, they might ſacrifice the Intereſts of the common Alliance; and ſo they agreed in the ſame common Pretences for diſſolving the Army, yet laying the Blame upon each other. Whatever Grounds there may be for this Conjecture, the forecited Letter is followed with large and ſpecial [u] Inſtructions from the Cardinal to the Ambaſſadors, in purſuance of which, they are to make preſſing Inſtances to the Emperor, that he ſhould cauſe the Duke of *Bourbon* to come into *England*, and confer perſonally with the King, concerning the beſt Methods of proſecuting the War under the Conduct of the Duke, and entring *France* with an Army. Thoſe Inſtructions will let the Reader into many Particulars, whereby we may judge upon what Views, and by what Maxims, the King of *England* and his prime Miniſter governed themſelves at this time.

5. But there is one Letter eſpecially from the Cardinal to the Biſhop of *Bath* at *Rome*, the general Deſign whereof is to engage the Pope to unite in the Confederacy againſt *France*, of which I ſhall give a more copious Account, as it contains ſeveral Things, relating not only to the State of civil, but of religious Affairs, at that time, both at home and abroad.

He takes notice, That the *French* King was then with his Army before *Parma*, and, in order to oblige the Vice-Roy of *Naples* to abandon *Italy* for the Defence of that Kingdom, had formed a Deſign of ſending the Duke of *Albany* to invade it. He proceedeth to expreſs a Suſpicion concerning a private Treaty between his Holineſs and *France*; particularly upon this Ground, that the Pope had not yet effectually made good the Aſſurances, which he had given to the King: On which Account he declares, it is now time to be plain with his Holineſs, who had an Opportunity, above any of his Predeceſſors for ſeveral Years, of doing eminent Service to the apoſtolick See, and to Religion in general. He directly charges the Pope as tending by his Conduct to protract the War, and hinder the Progreſs of Chriſtianity. Theſe are Sentiments and Expreſſions which ſhew, that notwithſtanding the Cardinal's Attachment to the Court of *Rome*, and his perſonal Eſteem for *Clement* the Seventh, heightned by the late Amplification of his Legatine Powers, yet he would not ſacrifice to them, either the Honour of his Maſter, the Intereſts of his Country, or, as he then apprehended them, of true Religion. He doth not ſatisfy himſelf with being negatively brave and honeſt, he takes a generous Freedom with the firſt Paſtor of the Church, to remind him of his Duty, where he conceived his Holineſs had been, or, on a future Occaſion, might be defective in it; yet, he deſires, with all Reverence, Obedience, and Humility, that this Inſtance of his pious and dutiful Regard for the Pope, may be accepted by him, in good Part. After this, the Ambaſſadors are charged to inform his Holineſs concerning the intire Confidence which the King and the Legate had repoſed in him; and to enquire, whether there be any real Grounds for the Report, that he is inclined to favour the *French* Intereſt. They are to aſſure his Holineſs, that the Deſign of the King in all his Wars, is to procure the publick Peace of Chriſtendom, to chaſtiſe and repreſs the Diſturbers of it, to the End, eſpecially, that chriſtian Princes may unite in turning their Arms againſt the Infidels. They are particularly required to repreſent to his Holineſs, how much the King has ſignalized his Zeal againſt *Luther*, both by his Sword, and by his Pen; and that, notwithſtanding the Progreſs of the *Turkiſh* Arms in taking *Rhodes*, and of *Lutheraniſm* in *Germany*, yet by an Union of chriſtian Princes, in Defence of their holy Religion, they may both be ſuppreſſed. Yet he acknowledgeth, that the *Lutheran* Sect does not only ſpread through all *Germany*, but the Seeds of it begin to ſpring up and unfold themſelves in *France*, *Spain*, *Flanders*, *Denmark*, *Scotland*, and he apprehends, in many Parts of *England*. The only Remedy is to be expected from the Zeal, which his Holineſs, the Head of the Church, ſhall diſcover in reforming Diſorders, and in taking ſuch Meaſures, as may reſtore Diſcipline, and cauſe Obedience to the Laws of *Chriſt* to be obſerved. And if the *Lutherans* ſhould not experience theſe wholſome Effects from his paternal Care and Wiſdom, it is hard to know how far, or to what Exceſſes they may be inſtigated by the Power of the Devil. They are to ſhew further, how incredible it is, that his Holineſs, whom God hath endowed with ſo great Wiſdom and Vertue, and with all the Qualities proper to his high Dignity, ſhould omit any thing requiſite to theſe pious and moſt excellent Ends. But yet if, poſſibly, he ſhould any ways be induced to favour the Pretenſions of the *French* King, againſt the Emperor's Claim to *Naples* and *Milain*, he would be the principal Author and Occaſion of God's Diſpleaſure, of the future Diſturbances in Chriſtendom, of his own Diſhonour, and of infinite Evils both in the preſent and ſucceeding Ages. Then our Ambaſſadors are to proceed to ſuch Arguments, whereby the Pope, may be more immediately preſſed and affected: They are to repreſent the perſonal Danger, to which he may be expoſed, from the boundleſs Ambition of *Francis*, from his Conqueſts in *Italy*, which will open a Paſſage to him, whenever he ſhall think fit to attempt it, to the very Gates of *Rome*. His Holineſs is to be farther cautioned, leſt out of any private Regards to his Family, he ſhould ſuffer, or conſent to any Diminution of the Rights belonging to the Church, to the Prejudice of his Succeſſors, of the Dignity Eccleſiaſtical, and contrary to what the whole chriſtian World expected from him. That he ſhould not only endeavour to preſerve, but to amplify and extend the eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction; eſpecially, conſidering that *Germany* being now ſo much infected with the *Lutheran* Hereſy, ſuch Members of it, as ſtill continue in the Communion of the Church, may be provoked to withdraw their Obedience, ſhould his Holineſs appear to act in Favour of the *French* King againſt the Emperor: nay, it might be feared, ſuch a Procedure would produce very ill Conſequences in *Spain* itſelf. Even in *England*, he obſerves, ſo many both of the Clergy and People are inclined that Way, that he is apprehenſive, a bad Example given by others, may be attended with pernicious Effects; to prevent which, and that his Holineſs may be able to conſerve and ſupport the papal Dignity, the Ambaſſadors are to adviſe him, not to endanger the Loſs of ſo potent a Friend, as the Emperor, the firſt Prince in Chriſtendom, but to come heartily into the Meaſures propoſed by them. The Cardinal has yet ſeveral Arguments, in Reſerve, to enforce this Advice: Hopes had been given, from the Addreſs and prudent Methods uſed by *Campejus*, in executing his Charge, after he was ſent Legate into *Germany*, that the Differences there, relating to Religion, were in a fair Way of being compoſed by the Extirpation of *Lutheraniſm*; whereas, if the Pope ſhould take Part with *France*, againſt the Emperor, the Life of the ſaid Cardinal would not only be expoſed to the utmoſt Danger, but the apoſtolick See ſuffer the greateſt Diſtreſs by the Defection of all *Germany*; ſo that beſides the Danger to be apprehended, on many Accounts, from the *Turk*, the preſent Situation of Affairs in *Germany* ought to be very well conſidered. And now is the Time, if the Pope will aſſert his Character, and act as Head of the Church, not to conſult any private Intereſt or Affection, but the general Good of the Church, and the Dignity to which he has been called; and on this Occaſion the Cardinal delivereth his Sentiments with ſo juſt and ingenuous a Freedom, that I ſhall recite his own Words. " And herein to ſay the very Truth, and to acquit " my ſelf of my Duty and moſt tender Zeal towards his Holineſs, " I cannot ſee how it may ſtand with the Pleaſure of Almighty God, " that the Heads of the Church ſhould thus involve and mix them- " ſelves and the State by conjunction unto temporal Princes in the

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[u] Coll. N° 71. Book II. *Suff.* 106, *b.* 200.

« Wars: But that as I verily ſuppoſe, ſince the Leagues Offenſive « or Defenſive, or both, have been uſed to be made in the Name « of the Pope, God hath ſtricken and ſent Affliction to the Holy « Church, and generally to the State of Chriſtendom for the ſame, « and the Contracts and Contentions uſed for advancing particu- « lar Families or Countries to the Papal Dignity; but that all « which one Pope hath gone about in ſuch Affairs, with much La- « bour, Coſt, and Difficulty, hath either, in his own Time, or « ſoon after, been diſappointed, and always with Detriment and « Damage to the See Apoſtolick." The Cardinal having made this free Remonſtrance, and obſerved how great Diminution the Pope's Authority had ſuffered by ſuch Practices, he again excuſeth himſelf for notifying to the Pope, the impending Dangers to his Holineſs and the Papal See, which he foreſaw; and, if we may judge from what happened to the Pope not long after, his Calculations were not ill grounded. His Holineſs being thus prepared, the Ambaſſadors were to open to him, yet with due Caution, the Specialties of their Charge; and to propoſe three Expedients towards diſappointing the Deſigns of the *French* King againſt *Naples*.

Firſt, The Firſt was to bring, or provoke, the *French* King to Battle, before he ſhould receive any Reinforcements; for he had ordered ſeveral Troops from his Frontiers, as well on the Side of *Spain* as of *Picardy* and other Parts, to repair to him. Which plainly diſcovered both the Apprehenſions he was under of being attacked, and in caſe he ſhould be attacked, of the ſuperior Force and Advantage, which the *Imperialiſts* at that time had over him: And therefore they ought not to neglect the preſent Opportunity of falling upon him, of obliging him to abandon his Deſigns in the *Milaneze*, and to cauſe a Diverſion from the Enterprize upon which the Duke of *Albany* was ſent againſt *Naples*.

Yet *Secondly*, if the Vice-Roy, by Reaſon of any Incidents, unknown at ſuch a Diſtance, to the King, ſhould determine to follow the Duke of *Albany*, it would not be adviſeable to leave *Cremona* or other Places of Importance behind them unfortified. For that the Pope obſerving ſuch wiſe and neceſſary Precautions taken by the Imperialiſts, would for the Time decline all Conventions with the *French*, his Holineſs having probably been induced to treat with them before, upon a Suſpicion, that the Emperor was unable to oppoſe the Progreſs of their Arms. In the mean time, the *Venetians* were to be adviſed to haſten their Preparations for the War, and to come with all Expedition to the Emperor's Aſſiſtance: Poſſeſſing themſelves by the Way, of ſuch Defiles, through which the *French* might propoſe to paſs: Who, by this means, might be driven out of *Italy*, or brought to Reaſon; notwithſtanding the obſtinate Refuſal they had hitherto ſhewed to all Overtures of Peace.

Thirdly, If neither of theſe Ways were thought practicable, or ſhould not be attended with the deſired Effect, then they are to propoſe an Expedient, formerly offered on Behalf of the Pope to the Vice-Roy of *Naples*, which was, that ſo much of the *Milaneze* as yet remained in the Emperor's Poſſeſſion, ſhould for a limited Time be put into the Pope's Hands; during which Interval, a Treaty of Peace might be ſet on Foot, provided the *French* King would agree to the ſame Conditions, on his Part, with reſpect to ſuch Towns and Places whereof he was ſeized, in that Duchy. By this Means the Kingdom of *Naples* would be, for the Time, out of all Danger; and yet the Emperor's Pretenſions to the Duchy of *Milan*, and his Hopes one time or other of recovering it, ſtill be kept up. For perhaps a Diſpoſition might, in the Progreſs of the Treaty, be made of it to his Advantage and Satisfaction. The *French* King too, upon theſe Terms of a preſent Accommodation, might return home with Honour, and under a favourable Appearance of Satisfaction made to him, for any juſt and reaſonable Claim, he might have to the ſaid Duchy, or to any Part of it. He obſerves, that Secretary *Pace* was now with the *Venetians* forwarding the Diſpoſitions they were making to join the Army in *Italy*. And that *Gregory Caſſal* was at the ſame time with the Vice-Roy of *Naples*, perſuading him to a Compliance with the Overtures beforementioned, relating to him. Sir *John Ruſſel*, intruſted with the King's Money, was charged to repair to the Duke of *Bourbon*, and to reſide with him. Among other Inſtructions to *Pace*, he was to tell the *Venetians*, if they did not agree to the Conditions tendered to them, the King his Maſter would conſider and treat them as Enemies to the Emperor. There were alſo Propoſitions made to the Duke and Senate of *Venice* towards inveſting his Highneſs with the Duchy of *Milan*, which were to be communicated to the Pope, to the End he might be more readily induced to approve the ſole Means of expelling at once the *French* out of *Italy*, and the *Spaniards*, who, of the two Nations, were more hated for their cruel Ravages. The Cardinal in the Application and Enforcement of all theſe Arguments, is very pathetical, and ſhews that he ſpake from a full Heart. "If, *ſaith* "*he*, the Pope's Holineſs love God, Himſelf, and Chriſtendom, "now is the Time, ſince the three Things be ſo feaſible, to ſhew "the ſame; unleſs there be other good Remedy, and the Matter "in other Train than is here known: If the Inconveniences be"fore ſpecified, ſhall happen to enſue the Neglect thereof, the "King's Highneſs, I, and others, which thus would give unto "the Pope's Holineſs wholſome Admonition and Exhortation, be

" diſcharged before God and the World; and the Culp, Diſhonour, " Blame, and Reproach, ſhall be imputed to thoſe, which have " deſerved the ſame."

He proceeds to direct the Ambaſſadors more particularly, how they ſhall conduct themſelves, in declaring theſe Things to the Pope. They are to uſe great Addreſs on that Occaſion; and to be more free or cautious, as they find his Holineſs differently moved on Behalf of the *French*, by Fear, or Inclination: If they find him really inclined to favour them, they are to be more reſerved in opening their Inſtructions, leaſt he ſhould diſcover the Subject-matter of them to the *French*; but, in that Caſe, repreſenting to his Holineſs the imminent Danger which threatned the Apoſtolical See, and all Chriſtendom, they ſhould keep themſelves, as to the Secrets of their Charge, in ſuch diſtant or general Terms, as they ſhould think moſt adviſeable. And further, to ſhew the King's Zeal for advancing the common Cauſe, tho' the Emperor had lately ſent Twenty thouſand Ducats into *Italy*; yet leaſt, by any Accident, Payment of it ſhould not be made in convenient Time, or the Want of a ſmall Sum might be a Means of fruſtrating the whole Deſign; he empowers them, to advance a Supply for the Service of the Army before the Battle; but this Truſt is to be managed with great Diſcretion; and they are not to execute it, except upon a Proſpect of great Advantage, or in caſe of extreme Neceſſity. Then he refers them to a Copy of the Emperor's Letters, to ſhew, how reſolved his Imperial Majeſty, as well as the King their Maſter is, in proſecuting the War; this being a Matter, which deſerved to be very well conſidered by the Pope; whom they are farther to remind, that the *French* King hath not yet acquired either any great Glory or Advantage; and with what Hopes ſoever of Succeſs, he may flatter himſelf, the Emperor ſhall be ſupplied with ſufficient Means of defending his Right and Honour.

He acquaints them, in concluſion, That with theſe Inſtructions, they will receive a Copy of the Overtures made by the Archbiſhop of *Capua*, when he came from the *French* King to the Emperor, and of the Anſwer made unto him, on the Part of both theſe Potentates; chargeing them to aſſure his Holineſs, that whatever Suſpicions might be entertained of any clandeſtine Negotiations, on Account of ſome Perſons who had come, or ſhould come from *France* to *England*, yet no Peace ſhould be concluded without his and the Emperor's Conſent or Privity. And though any reaſonable Offers ſhould be made to the King, they ſhould be communicated to both Powers, before his Majeſty would determine any Thing concerning them. But the ultimate Deciſion of them, as he had often written, ſhould be referred to his Holineſs.

6. In all the other Letters of the Cardinal we diſcover the ſame Manner and Spirit, the ſame Fluency of Words and Argument; and the ſame Ardor in proſecuting what he adviſeth. And however diffuſe and negligent his Way of Reaſoning may ſometimes appear to be, yet, when we conſider it more narrowly, there is not only a ſecret methodical Train of Arguments obſervable in it, but a viſible Force and Energy, not eaſy to be reſiſted. He foreſees and obviates contingent Difficulties; he examines all Things, and all Circumſtances; and though at laſt, he gains our Aſſent, yet it is with ſo inſenſible a Violence, and by a Turn of our Thoughts ſo natural, that the Reaſons, whereby we are perſuaded, ſeem wholly to ariſe from our own Diſcovery.

7. Beſides theſe Reflections, to which my Recital of the principal Heads in this Letter has given Occaſion, there are two Things eſpecially obſervable from it, that may ſerve to give a better Light than Men have hitherto commonly had, concerning the Hiſtory of that Time, and wherein the Reputation of the Cardinal has very much ſuffered. In the firſt Place, there are ſeveral Paſſages in this Letter, which may tend to remove a very unjuſt Imputation caſt upon the Cardinal by *Cavendiſh*, as if, by his Means, Payment had not only been omitted of Moneys neceſſary to the Support of the Army in *Italy*; but as if, ſome time before the Battle of *Pavia*, he had actually cauſed a ſeparate Treaty of Peace to be made with the *French* King. This Letter was written juſt before the Battle of *Pavia*, tho' it bears no Date, as appears from ſeveral Circumſtances in it, when no ſuch Treaty could be ſuppoſed to ſubſiſt; nor was there, if we may judge from the Cardinal's Sentiments in theſe Instructions, the leaſt Appearance of his deſigning any ſeparate Treaty with *France*. He is ſo far from diſcovering any Tendency that Way, that he ſpeaks of the *French* King in Terms, as if beſides the general Reaſons for oppoſing him, as a common Enemy to the Allies, and to the Peace of Chriſtendom, he was acted by ſome ſpecial Motives of Reſentment, or perſonal Prejudice, againſt that Monarch. There was, indeed, a reaſonable Caution given to Sir *John Ruſſell*, not to diſpoſe of the Moneys wherewith he was charged, without good Advice, and where the Exigency of the Caſe ſhould require: But this very Limitation proceeded, not from Want of Zeal for the Emperor's Service, but from a ſincere Deſire of ſerving him more effectually; leaſt, by a fruitleſs, or improper Application of the Moneys, all the Projects of War, which had been agreed upon, ſhould be intirely defeated. How *Cavendiſh* came to divulge a Report ſo injurious to the Honour and Memory of his Maſter, without any Grounds in Fact, or probable Reaſons from the Nature of the

Thing; nay, contrary to the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances that could be made, and confirmed either by Facts or Words, is not eaſy to be determined. But having on another Occaſion mentioned this Miſtake of *Cavendiſh*, I ſhall not here make any further Reflections upon it, except on Account of the Connexion, which it has with the following Charge againſt the Cardinal, from which too, tho' exhibited againſt him by a more general Conſent of Hiſtorians, I ſhall take Occaſion, not ſo much from the general Tenor of this Letter, which would be ſufficient to that End, but from a particular Paſſage towards the Concluſion of it, clearly to acquit him.

8. It is ſaid then, notwithſtanding all theſe ſpecious Appearances, and copious Declarations of the Zeal and Fidelity of our Court and of the Cardinal particularly, in the Emperor's Cauſe; there was at the ſame time a private Treaty carried on in *London*, by Means of one *Joachim*, (ſent from *Louis* Regent of *France* for that purpoſe) under the Cardinal's Conduct and Direction. This is an Imputation which not only affects the Cardinal, but alſo the common Faith of *England*: And therefore ought to be removed, if we can find juſt Grounds to detect the Falſity of it. Tho' I ſhall not diſſemble, by the Way, that the Imperialiſts did take umbrage at *Joachim*'s coming over, and eſpecially at his recluſe Way of Living, and the private Conſultations he was known to have had with the Cardinal. And it was probably from ſome Intelligence of this Kind, that the Pope was more eaſily induced to make his Terms with *France*; which he induſtriouſly concealed, ſo long as he could, both from our Miniſters, and thoſe of the Emperor; but found himſelf at laſt, obliged to acknowledge, that he was compelled to it by the *French*. It was to obviate theſe Suſpicions, which yet do not appear altogether groundleſs, though in Fact they really were ſo, that the Cardinal in the Clauſe of his Letter gives the following Charge to the Ambaſſadors. " And among other Things, ye " may well aſſure the Pope's Holineſs, that whatever ſiniſter Re- " port may be ſpread by the *French*, or other, of any Practice made " on this Side, by Reaſon of the being here of my Lady the *French* " King's Mother's Servant, or by any other Perſon that may be " ſent hither on the *French* King's Behalf, his Holineſs may truſt, " that nothing is meant, or ſhall be paſſed, or concluded here, di- " rectly, or indirectly, but by the Emperor's Conſent, and as the " Pope's Holineſs ſhall be made privy.

9. And, becauſe it may be pretended, ſuch open Declarations have ſometimes been made by Princes, in the Conduct of their Treaties, which yet have been repugnant to certain clandeſtine Engagements,

gagements, entred into by them, it may not be improper, in vindication of the *Engliſh* Court, as well as of the Cardinal, with reſpect to the preſent Charge, to give ſuch a ſummary Account of another Letter written by him to Dr. *Samſon* our Ambaſſador with the Emperor, as will put every thing, that may affect his own, his Maſter's, or the Nation's Honour, entirely out of queſtion. The principal Deſign of the Cardinal in this Letter, is to complain of an Abuſe done to the King, and himſelf, by Mr. *de Praet*, the Emperor's Ambaſſador, who had made a Report, which he was going to tranſmit with part of it in the *French* Tongue, highly injurious both to the King and the Cardinal. But his Letters were as the Cardinal writes fortuitouſly intercepted, tho' it is not improbable, from ſome Circumſtances, the Deſign of intercepting them was previouſly determined: However, the Miniſters of that Time were ſo wiſe, as to avoid as much as poſſible, all Appearances of Violence, in a Caſe where the common Law of Nations requireth the greateſt Tenderneſs and Precautions ſhould be uſed; they would not uſe open Force where the Thing deſigned might ſeem at laſt to be effected by Accident.

10. But to give, as I propoſed, a general Abſtract of this Letter, ſo far as it may be of uſe to my preſent Purpoſe; after the Cardinal had acquainted the Ambaſſador, with ſeveral Schemes, and Conſultations at our Court, relating to the common Intereſts of the Alliance, and the Operations of War, wherein *Praet*, the Emperor's Ambaſſador appeared ſo intirely to concur, that he thanked the Cardinal on that Occaſion in the Emperor's Name; the Cardinal proceeds to acquaint Dr. *Samſon*, how, upon the Appointment of a Privy-Watch, as was uſual, on the Evening before the Twelfth Day in *Chriſtmas*, within a certain Circuit near *London*, a Perſon travelling between *London* and *Bradford*, was examined by the Watch on that Road, and he not being able to give any good Account of himſelf, they ſeized him, with a concealed Packet of Letters, directed in *French*, and carried him before a Clark belonging to the ſaid Watch; who taking him for a Spy, or a private Agent of ſome foreign Merchant, and obſerving the Packet to have been broken, and ill-uſed by the Watch-men, looked upon the Letters, and the Suſpicions he had of ſome clandeſtine and indirect Practice, being heightned by his obſerving the Cyphers, carried them to the King's Sollicitor, who was in the Precincts of the ſaid Watch: But he, not being acquainted with the Name, went with them ſo opened to Sir *Thomas More*, being in a neighbouring Watch, who delivered them next Morning in *Chancery* to the Cardinal. The Cardinal makes ſeveral Reflections upon this Incident in the Sequel of his

Letter, which may not be unacceptable to the Reader. He juſtifies himſelf in the firſt Place for cauſing a Meſſenger, by an expreſs Order to be intercepted, who had been ſent with Letters from the ſaid *Praet* towards *Spain*; Who was alſo ſeized with a Packet directed to the Lady *Margaret*, with original Letters to the Emperor, and Copies of thoſe addreſſed to the Lady. From whence the Cardinal concludes, there was ſtrong Preſumption, *de Praet* had long uſed this Practice of ſpreading abroad falſe and ſiniſter Reports, eſpecially from the ſlow and dilatory Proceedings of the Emperor in *Flanders* and other Parts; That the ſaid *de Praet* hath done great Injury to the common Cauſe; That the Ambaſſadors ſhould propoſe it to be conſidered by the Emperor, whether his Miniſter durſt write after ſuch a Manner, if he were not encouraged by ſome Perſons about his Imperial Majeſty ill affected to the King; which if true, would be an Inſtance of the higheſt Ingratitude to a Prince, who had done to the Emperor all the Honour and Service poſſible.

11. He proceeds afterward to repreſent *de Praet*, as a very weak and unformed Miniſter, by no Means qualified for the Province to which he was appointed. Yet the King had long bore with his Defects, and ſtudied, as much as might be, to hide them. He is afterwards challenged by the Cardinal to ſhew, by what Means, he could pretend to juſtify any of the ſaid Reports or other Overtures; which, if well grounded, ought not however to have been tranſmitted to the Emperor; being ſuch as the Cardinal, notwithſtanding the Truſt repoſed in him by the King, would not have communicated himſelf, without the King's Privity or Conſent. He hopes, notwithſtanding, the Amity between the two Powers will ſtill continue, and that the Emperor will put more favourable Conſtructions on his Actions, than this Miniſter.

12. The principal Exception of *de Praet* to this Charge was, againſt the Intercepting his Letters, and the Pretence of intercepting them, for ſo the Cardinal terms it, by a *fortuitous Error*. He urged in his own Defence, that Ambaſſadors had a Right to communicate ſuch Advice or Intelligence, as appeared to them moſt proper, referring to their Maſters the Judgement to be made of them. Then having declared he had made no evil Report of the King or Cardinal, he proceeds to mention the particular Heads of Complaint, upon which he had been induced to write. The Reſidence here of *Joachim*, for the Space of eight Months; a certain Difficulty made and condeſcended to; The Truce propoſed at *Rome*; and the King's Refuſal to contribute any thing towards the Defence of *Italy*.

13. To which ſeveral Articles the Cardinal anſwers diſtinctly, and in the Order they are propoſed. As to the Coming of *Joachim* into *England*, he obſerves, that the King declared, when Overtures of a Truce were propoſed by the Archbiſhop of *Capua*, he would not come into any Meaſures tending that Way, but upon theſe three preliminary Conditions, which I ſhall recite, with the Deduction he makes from the Laſt of them, in the Cardinal's own Words.

" One was, That the Emperor ſhould be firſt agreed and con-
" tented with the Same.
" *Secondly*, That there might be a Proviſion in Time of Truce,
" for a good Diſpatch, to follow between all the Princes.
" *Thirdly*, Inaſmuch as hazardous and almoſt impoſſible it would
" be to make the Pope's Holineſs ſo ripe in the King's particular
" Cauſes, as were needful, that one ſhould be ſent hither from the
" *French* King, or at leaſt from the Lady Regent of *France*, and
" that it ſhould be reaſonable to advertiſe the Emperor thereof; to
" whom the King's and my Opinion was, another Perſon ſhould
" be alſo ſent for making of ſemblable Offers to his Majeſty, on his
" Part. So that both Princes pleaſed, Peace might be concluded
" at *Rome* by mutual Conſent; and the Pope's Holineſs have the
" Honour as Author and Conductor of the Same. Upon the
" Return of the Biſhop of *Capua* through *France*, the ſaid *John Joa-
" chim* ſhewing himſelf to be a Merchant, and coming upon his
" own Cauſes to *Bolein*, with Mind to repair unto this Realm, for
" Merchandize, deſired a Safe-conduct ſo to do; and alſo I ſuſpe-
" cted that it might be but a Colour; or that he were ſome Perſon
" ſent by the *French* King's Conſent; for which Cauſe, the ſaid
" Conduct was granted; yet, nevertheleſs, in eight Days after his
" coming, he diſcloſed unto me what he was, but covertly de-
" ſired that ſome good Way might be taken, between the Princes.
" As ſoon as, upon my ſtreight Examination, he diſcovered him-
" ſelf, and that he was ſent from the ſaid Lady Regent, I made
" Monſieur *de Praet* privy thereof, and of his ſlender Charge, with
" the Anſwer given unto him upon the ſame, praying him to ad-
" vertiſe the Emperor, and the ſaid Lady *Margaret*, as I would al-
" ſo do —— And, from time to time, ſince that Seaſon, I have
" not failed, to make the ſaid Ambaſſador privy of all that hath
" been done, ſpoken, or communicated with the ſaid *Joachim*;
" who was lodged in a Houſe within the *Black Friers*, belonging
" to Mr. *Lark*, whom ye know; to the Intent, I would have an
" Eye upon him, being ſent from an Enemy; that he ſhould
" not, as he cannot, nor doth, ſend, or receive any Letters or
" Meſſages, but by my Knowledge. Howbeit againſt the

" King's coming to *Bridewell*, he was removed from that " Lodging."

In confirmation of theſe Particulars, of which Intelligence had been ſent to the Pope, the Cardinal refers to his Letter addreſſed to the Emperor, and the Declarations therein made by the King and himſelf, " That his Majeſty would never conclude any Thing with " the *French* King, without the Emperor's expreſs Knowledge and " Conſent."

2*d*, As to the Truce propoſed at *Rome*, the ſecond Article of the Accuſation, preferred by *de Praet*, The Cardinal thought himſelf obliged, for ſeveral Reaſons, to oppoſe that Truce, as being not only ill-timed, and prejudicial both to the Intereſts of the Emperor and his Maſter, but as the Term, for which his Holineſs propoſed to make it, was of too long Continuance. For theſe Reaſons, the Cardinal thought it his Duty to adviſe the King not to condeſcend to it, conſidering the Situation in which his Affairs were, at that Time; as he proceeds particularly to demonſtrate in the Sequel of his Letter: " So that if he had for the Pleaſure of any Prince " living, given Councel to the King to accept a Truce equally diſ- " honourable and diſadvantageous to him, while no Satisfaction " was made to his moſt juſt and reaſonable Demands, neither the " leaſt Appearance of any to be made, after ſo vaſt an Expence of " Treaſure for the Emperor's Sake in thoſe Wars; it might be " thought, he had not acquitted himſelf, as became a good Ser- " vant and faithful Counſellor to the King. He judged it highly " reaſonable, that before ſuch Truce ſhould be concluded, a more " equal Ballance of the Advantages which were to ariſe from it, " ought to have been adjuſted between the two Powers. That the " King notwithſtanding, ſo ſoon as he underſtood the Emperor " had not made all thoſe Diſpoſitions for proſecuting the War with " Vigour and Effect in *Italy*, which were requiſite; and eſpecially, " that Money was wanting to that End, did, with the Advice of " the Cardinal, and other of his Privy Council, to prevent ſuch ill " Conſequences, as might happen to the Army, in caſe no Truce " was made, conſent, that a Truce ſhould be made for the Space " of one Year."

3*d*. In Anſwer to what was objected by *Praet* in the third Place, That the King had not advanced an Army on this Side: The Cardinal ſaid, It was never the King's Intention, nor would he ſend over an Army at that Time of the Year, but upon two previous Conditions, neither of which had been performed by the Emperor. Beſides, the King underſtood, his Imperial Majeſty had not advanced the Contributions on his Part for the Army in *Provence*, which, by Capitulation, after it had been raiſed and formed, ought wholly to have ſubſiſted at his Charge; but without requiſite Supplies, would be expoſed to imminent Danger, and at the Beſt obliged to return with great Loſs and Diſgrace, beſides the Conſumption of much Treaſure.

4th, As to the laſt Head of Accuſation by *de Praet*, concerning the King's Refuſal to contribute any Thing towards the Defence of *Italy*, the Cardinal, in Vindication of his Maſter's Honour, anſwereth, That the King was under no Engagement by Contract to that End; or, if he had been under any, there were Reaſons of Suſpicion from private Practices between the *French* King and the Vice-Roy of *Naples*, which might juſtly require Caution in performing it. However, that the King had not been wanting to the Emperor's Aſſiſtance in thoſe Parts, as appeared particularly from the Commiſſion, wherewith *John Ruſſell* and *Gregory Caſſal* were charged, and to which he had before referred at large, the Latter having expreſs Command, that if the Imperial Troops ſhould be in Diſtreſs for Want of Money, he ſhould deliver to them Fifty thouſand Crowns by Way of Loan, and rather than any Danger in Default of Payment ſhould enſue, he ſhould do it by Way of free Contribution. And then he takes Occaſion to charge and reproach *de Praet*, not only with a ſiniſter Interpretation concerning the Conduct of our Court, but with a direct and notorious Falſehood.

14. But as the Reader perhaps may have a Curioſity to know the Particulars wherewith the Archbiſhop of [x] *Capua* was charged, in Relation to the Truce, he may conſult a Letter from the Cardinal, wherein the Circumſtances and Effect of that Prelate's Commiſſion, with the Reſolutions taken thereupon, are largely recited. To which may be added a Letter to Secretary *Pace*, then at *Venice*, from the Cardinal, relating to the Tranſactions at that Time, and the Subject-matter of that Ambaſſador's Charge; which was to engage the State of *Venice*, inſtead of aſſiſting the *French*, as they had done againſt the Imperial Army in *Italy*, to unite with the Emperor and *England* in the Alliance againſt *France*, in purſuance of certain Articles lately agreed on by the King and that State, at *London*. *Pace* is inſtructed to labour this Point, as being of the greateſt Conſequence to the Peace of *Italy*, and in order to prevent the Deſigns, which the *French* King had formed, of reducing *Milan* and *Naples*, under his Obedience. This [y] Letter, with the Inſtructions from the King to that Ambaſſador, I have alſo added in the Collections, as

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[x] *Negotiations*, V. 50. Yelvert. Lib. *p.* 107, *b.*
[y] *See* Strype's *Collections*, *Numb.* 12, 13.

ſerving to give ſtill a greater and more diſtinct Light into the Hiſtory of that Time.

15. There are alſo Inſtructions about the ſame Time from the Cardinal to Dr. *Knight* the King's Ambaſſador with the Lady *Margaret*, the Particulars of which may be conſulted in the Memoirs referred to above. But there is one Article in them, which by no means ought to be omitted, as it is an Inſtance of a very wiſe, and handſome Addreſs of the Cardinal towards a great Lady; and, in a Caſe, which might be ſuppoſed not a little to affect a Perſon of his Dignity and Temper. The Cardinal had been informed that the Lady *Margaret*, and a certain Lord of her Court, named *Hoghſtrate*, had ſpoken Words highly reflecting upon him, which the Lady underſtanding, deſired the very Words, which they were ſaid to have ſpoken, might be repeated. This her Requeſt was by Dr. *Knight* communicated to the Cardinal, who, out of his courtly and compliaiſant Manner, directed that Ambaſſador to make a Reply to the following Effect, " That he had no Inclination to renew or report " Things of Diſpleaſure, nor to hear a Repetition of what had been " accidentally ſpoken, or without any formed Deſign, to his Diſ" advantage; but on what Account, or with what Deſign ſoever, " the Words were ſpoken, the Lady *Margaret* and the Lord *Hogh-* " *ſtrate* had made a Judgement of his Conduct, for which he had " given no juſt Occaſion. And that whatever might be ſaid in " Paſſion, or otherwiſe; yet her Vertue and Wiſdom were ſo well " known to the King and to himſelf, that there could be no Want " of true Regard for his Majeſty, nor of Good-will towards him" ſelf, and that he would therefore reflect no more on what had " paſſed; but deſired the Lady *Margaret* might be aſſured ſhe ſhould " always find the King a firm, conſtant, and perfect Friend, and " himſelf a faithful and loving Son, ambitious of doing her Ho" nour and Service; and ſo inſtead of recollecting Words, it would " be expedient to attend Things of real Conſequence to the com" mon Cauſe, wherein he ſhould continue to exert himſelf with " that Ardour and Sedulity, which he had hitherto ſhewn on all Oc" caſions.

CHAP. XXVIII.

1. *Of Affairs in* Scotland. 2. *Relating to certain fortified Towns.* 3. *Particularly to* Jedworth; *with a very ſurpriſing Accident and a Character very honorary to the* Scots. 4. *The* Engliſh *Army expect to be attacked.* 5. *Inſtructions to the Earl of* Surrey *from the*

Cardinal. 6. *Lord* Dacre *endeavours to acquit himſelf from a Charge againſt him: The Piety and brave Reſolution of the* Scots, *in reſpect to the Memory of their deceaſed King: With Inſtructions from the Cardinal.* 7. *A Condition inſiſted on by the Queen of* Scotland, *at which her Brother King* Henry *was diſpleaſed.* 8. *The Import of other Inſtructions from the Cardinal.* 9. *The Charge given to one* Magnus. 10. *The Queen and Earl of* Arran *oppoſe the Return of* Angus. 11. *A Requeſt of the Queen of* Scotland. 12. *The Duke of* Norfolk'*s Advice to that Queen.*

1523. 1524. 1. THE foreign Negotiations of the Cardinal at this Time, were not confined to the Courts of *Rome* and *Venice*, of *Germany* and the *Low-Countries*, but he attended the Affairs of *Scotland*, ſo far as the Intereſts of his Maſter appeared to be concerned or complicated with them, with ſuch Aſſiduity, as if his Attention had been wholly taken up with them: When the firſt Acts of Hoſtility were committed on that Side by our Army, under the Conduct of *Thomas* Earl of *Surrey*, there were ſeveral Diſpatches from that General to the Cardinal, giving an Account of the Operation and Progreſs of his Arms, and of other Affairs relating, on both Sides, to the State of the War.

2. The Earl writes to him from [a] *Berwick*, he hath received certain Intelligence of the Duke of *Albany*'s Arrival in *Scotland*, and that he hath brought Aids from *France* with an Intention to invade *England*. Upon which Advice, he ordered the Soldiers to hold themſelves in Readineſs to march at an Hour's Warning, and to fortify *Norham Caſtle*, and *Werk*, the Latter of which Places he had rendered tenable for ten Days; tho' the Enemy might poſſeſs themſelves of the Outworks in two Days, but in that Caſe they would find no great Advantage, the Town being the Strongeſt the Earl had ever ſeen, and ſo well trimmed, (that is his Term) with Ordnance and Artillery, that he wiſheth the Duke of *Albany* would advance to attack it: Whereas he repreſents *Berwick*, the Place from which he writes, as very weak, and unable to ſuſtain a Siege. Beſides, it was infected with a peſtilential Diſtemper, and, upon that Account, it would be difficult to form ſuch a Garriſon in it, upon which the Protection and Security of the Place could certainly depend.

3. In another Letter to the Cardinal, the Earl writeth, he is returned [b] from the Siege, and the Burning of *Jedworth*, with the

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[a] Maſt. Collect. *Sept.* 27, 1523.

[b] Ibid.

Loſs only of eight or ten Men, tho' many were wounded; a Town twice as large as *Berwick*, guarded with ſix Towers, and able to contain a thouſand Horſemen. In this Expedition he mentions an Accident that occaſioned a Conſternation throughout the whole *Engliſh* Army. The Horſe belonging to the Lord *Dacre* breaking looſe, and running about the Field, while the Earl and his Lordſhip were at Supper, the *Engliſh* in the Camp taking them for the Enemy, fired upon them, but they ran on with ſuch Fury, that Fifty of them fell down at once from a rocky Precipice, and above Two hundred and fifty ran into the Town, which was then in Flames; the whole Number of them was Fifteen hundred: Some were recovered, but at leaſt Eight hundred of them loſt. This Misfortune is ſaid to have happened becauſe Lord *Dacre* would not be perſuaded to lie in the Camp, but would have Quarters aſſigned to him apart. After the Diſorder was over, his Lordſhip, as if there had been ſomething ſupernatural in the Occaſion of it, pretended with the Company with him, that they had ſeen ſtrange Forms of Spirits and Devils. This ſeems to have been the Effect of a diſturbed Imagination, during the Surprize they were in, rather than of any real or certain Apparition: But the Character, which the Earl of *Surrey* here gives to the *Scots*, ought not by any Means to be pretermitted. He ſaith, "They were Men of the greateſt Bravery "and Ardour that he had ever ſeen in any Nation." This was a glorious, and there is no doubt, was therefore a deſerved Character from an Enemy. He ſaith the Number of *Scots* was but Two thouſand, whereas Lord *Dacres* himſelf brought with him into the Field Four thouſand. The Earl gives the following Character of the Lord *Dacre*, "That he was a hardy and good Knight, but ſomewhat un-"wary."

4. In a following Letter of the Earl to the Cardinal from [c] *New-Caſtle*, he writes, that all the King's Army is aſſembled to oppoſe the Invaſion, which it is ſuſpected the Duke of *Albany* may attempt. The only Fear of the *Engliſh* General is, that this Expectation ſhould prove to be ill-grounded, and the Retreat of the Duke occaſion a fruitleſs Conſumption of the King's Money, in the preſent Enterpriſe; which Diſappointment, if it ſhould happen, he deſires may not be imputed to any Neglect or Default on his Part.

5. The ſame Month, [d] Inſtructions are ſent to him from the Cardinal, not to grant any Truce to the *Scots*, but to declare expreſly, that ſo long as the Duke of *Albany* has the Adminiſtration of Affairs

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[c] *October* 24, 1523. Id.

[d] Id.

fairs there, no Peace is to be expected from *England:* He intimates Suſpicions of a Deſign in the Duke, to convey the young King into *France*, and to marry him to a Daughter of *France*; and when the Term of the Truce is expired, if it might be obtained, to return into *Scotland*, with auxiliary Forces from that Kingdom: For which Reaſon King *Henry* would have his Nephew perſonally inveſted with the Government.

6. There is an Abſtract of a Letter from *Thomas* Lord [e] *Dacre*, but of an uncertain Date, from which it appears, that General had been charged with Neglect of Duty, and with keeping private Intelligence with the *Scots*; from which Imputation he endeavoureth to acquit himſelf, by ſaying, there was no Man ſo much hated by the *Scots*, as himſelf, as being the Perſon who found the Body of their late King ſlain in the Field, and who having advertiſed the Duke of *Norfolk* concerning it by Letter, was ordered to convey the Body of that King to *Berwick*, where it was delivered to the Duke. The *Scots* indeed retained ſo great Veneration for the Memory of their King, and were ſo much concerned at his dying in the Field of Battle, that upon this very Account, they were more averſe towards coming into any Meaſures propoſed on the Part of *England*. So that when King *Henry*, during the Troubles in that Kingdom, was forming Schemes, in order to oblige the *Scots*, to addreſs to him, that he would there take upon himſelf the Adminiſtration; ſome of the Nobility and other Perſons of Weight among them, openly declared, they would never entruſt the State, and the young King in the Hands of One, who had been the Cauſe that their old Maſter was ſlain. Such was the Zeal, wherewith that ancient and brave Nation was then animated towards their Prince, and the independent Rights and Liberties of their Country; for the Conſervation of which, it was thought more adviſeable, the Duke of *Albany* ſhould be diſcharged from the Government, and that all foreign Pretenſions to it, being deſtroyed, the young King ſhould take the Adminiſtration upon himſelf: Which he having accordingly done, the Cardinal writes to the Earl of *Surrey*, it would be proper to reward thoſe who had been aſſiſtant to the King in aſſerting his juſt Right and Authority: To that End, and with that Deſign the King of *England* had ſent a Sum of Money; a convenient Diſpoſition of which was to be made, by the Queen, the Earl of *Arran*, and the Earl of *Lenox*. Upon the ſame Ground, the Cardinal adviſes, that they who had preſumed to oppoſe the Right of the King to be perſonally inveſted with the Government, ſhould be called to Ac-

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[e] Id.

count; among whom he mentions the Chancellor, as a Man of Wit and Experience, who is either to be deprived of his Office, or committed to ſafe Cuſtody. And for the greater Security of the King's Perſon and Dignity, the Cardinal thinks proper that a Guard of Two hundred Men ſhould be eſtabliſhed, which ſhould, for ſome time, be ſupported at the King's Expence: And now it was the Pleaſure of King *Henry*, that all Acts of Hoſtility ſhould ceaſe, and a Truce be agreed on for twelve Months; in which Time the *Scots* might ſend Embaſſadors into *England* to impetrate and conclude a perpetual Peace: For this was a Point of Honour, upon which the King of *England* inſiſted, that Peace ſhould be ſought for at his Hands, by the *Scots*. And the Cardinal writes in a Letter to the Earl of *Surrey*, " That the Peace of [f] *Scotland* hath been always required by Embaſſadors of that Nation ſent to the King's of *England*, and not been concluded upon the Borders.

7. Yet the Queen would not, as ſhe declared, conſent that Ambaſſadors ſhould be ſent to *England*, but on Condition, that the Earl of *Angus* ſhould not be ſuffered to return to *Scotland*. King *Henry* was much irritated at this Incompliance of the Queen his Siſter, but ſtill more inflamed upon Advice, that the Chancellor, *James*, Biſhop of St. *Andrews*, wholly devoted to the *French* Intereſt, had been diſcharged from his Confinement.

8. On Occaſion of theſe, and ſome other Incidents, the Cardinal writes a Letter of Inſtructions to the General, now Duke of *Norfolk* [g], to the following Effect, That ſeeing there is no hope, the Earl of *Angus* will be reſtored to the Queen's Favour, nor of an Accommodation between him and the Earl of *Arran*, ſo long as by their Menaces, they can cauſe him to remain in *England*, the King's determinate Intention is, conſidering the uncertain and improbable Meaſures that the Queen, and the ſaid Earl of *Angus* had taken, to conſerve the Authority and Perſon of the King, and to ſettle the State upon a ſafe, good, and regular Foundation; the Attachment of the ſaid Earl of *Arran* to the Duke of *Albany*, and the *French* Faction, and the little Appearance of their ſending the late Chancellor in Quality of Ambaſſador to conclude a Peace; the Diſpoſition which the ſaid Chancellor diſcovered to favour the Earl of *Angus* his Party; and the great Number of Perſons in *Scotland* ready to unite with the ſaid Earl in maintaining the King's Authority, were thought of ſuch Conſequence, that it was the King's Pleaſure, the Duke of *Norfolk* ſhould permit the Earl of *Angus* to enter *Scotland*; that he

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[f] *Auguſt* 9, 1524. Id.

[g] Id.

ſhould diſmiſs him in a gentle and reſpectful Manner, and promiſe him Aid, to the End the young King may be firmly eſtabliſhed in his Government, the Duke of *Albany* with the *French* Faction excluded, and the Kingdom diſpoſed to enter into amicable and pacifick Meaſures with *England*: And becauſe the Queen, when underſtanding that the ſaid Earl was returned, under the Protection, and by Favour of the King of *England*, might perhaps, as alſo the Earl of *Arran*, be better adviſed; the Duke is to perſuade the Earl of *Angus*, upon his firſt Appearance in *Scotland*, not to act with too much Heat or Precipitation. The Earl's Brother was ſtill to be retained by the Duke, yet not ſtrictly as a Hoſtage, but under ſome other plauſible Colour.

9. It appears from other Articles of theſe Inſtructions, that one *Magnus*, ſent into *Scotland* from King *Henry* about this Affair, had Orders, rather than he ſhould fail of executing his Charge, to diſtribute Money among Perſons of the higheſt Quality, or where it might be expended to the greateſt Advantage.

10. If the Court of *England* favoured the Return of the Earl of *Angus*, the Queen and the Earl of *Arran* projected all the Methods, they could, to prevent and oppoſe it. This Earl repreſents to the King, [b] That his Return would be of dangerous Conſequence, towards ſubverting the preſent Eſtabliſhment, whereby the Adminiſtration had been committed to the young King his Nephew; and alſo tend very much to obſtruct the propoſed Negotiations of Peace. He does not omit to acquaint the King, that himſelf is of [i] royal Extraction, and that he has thereby the Honour of being nearly related to his Majeſty. "I am deſcended, *ſaith he*, from "your Houſe, and ſtand in tender Degree, and Proximity of Blood, "to your noble Grace."

11. The Queen deſires in another Letter, that the King her Son being now eſcaped out of Danger, where his Life was continually expoſed, the King her Brother would not be any Occaſion of reducing him again under the like dangerous Circumſtances. Which, with other inteſtine Troubles, would be unavoidable, upon the Return of the Earl of *Angus*; the Conſequences would affect the Kingdom in general, with the Lords thereof, eſpecially the Earl of *Arran*; for there the Apprehenſions of the Queen appeared to be moſt lively and affecting. But they are moſt ſignificantly expreſſed in her own Words. "Eſpecially the Earl of *Arran*, that hath

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[b] *Oct.* 3, 1524. Id.

[i] *Oct.* 6, 1524. Id.

" done ſo good Service to the King my Son, and to me, and is ready to do your Grace Service, truſting firmly that your Grace will be kind to the ſaid Lord of *Arran*." Then the Queen proceeds to repreſent, that if the Earl of *Angus*, her Husband, be ſuffered to come into *Scotland*, the Treaty of Peace will be obſtructed, and the Embaſſy now preparing for *England* retarded; there is no Perſon in *Scotland* ſo capable of doing the King her Brother real Service, as her ſelf; and, ſhe is of Opinion, for this Reaſon, were there no other, that the King in conferring his Favours, ought to put ſome Diſtinction between her and the Earl of *Angus*.

12. I ſhall, in Relation to the Affairs of *Scotland*, but mention one Letter more, if not written to the Queen by Direction of the Cardinal, at leaſt conformable to his Sentiments and Advice. The Duke of *Norfolk* therein exhorts the Queen to be reconciled to the Earl of *Angus*, and to forget, upon his Submiſſion, all indiſcreet Behaviour, of which probably in his younger Days he might have been guilty towards her, and to follow the Cardinal's Counſel; whoſe Study and Endeavour is to promote the true Intereſts of the young King; otherways, if Matters ſhould fall again into a State of Diſorder, the Blame would be imputed in both Kingdoms to her Conduct. And whereas it was reported, that the Earl of *Angus* was ſent into *Scotland*, he denies the Fact, and declares, he never ſhall be ſent, but on Condition,[k] that he be put under ſuch Reſtraints as ſhe may think proper, whether in reſpect to her Revenues, or the Manner of his converſing with her. He deſires that ſhe, and my Lord *Arran* would propoſe reaſonable Conditions concerning ſuch Pledges or Security, as the Earl may be required to give, and he will be anſwerable for the Performance of them. And whereas her Grace had written, and, to the ſame Effect, the Earl of *Arran*, that if the Earl of *Angus* ſhould come into *Scotland*, the Ambaſſadors were not to proceed in their Charge; he wiſheth ſhe had been ſilent upon that Head, theſe being Threatnings not proper to be uſed to ſo high and mighty a Prince; and ſeeing the Embaſſy would be more advantagious to *Scotland* than *England*, he adviſeth, that the Coming of it ſhould rather be haſtned.

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[k] *From whence we may infer, this Letter was written before the Cardinal's Inſtructions above cited.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIX.

1. *The King of* France *ſits down before* Pavia. 2. *Other Miſtakes of* Cavendiſh *relating to that Place.* 3. *A Citation from* Cavendiſh. 4. *A further Confutation of his Charge.* 5. *Inſtructions from the Cardinal after* Francis *the Firſt was taken Priſoner.* 6. *Inference from them, with a Letter from the Cardinal to Secretary* Pace, *and a remarkable Paſſage from* Varillas. 7. *Succeſs generally owing to a happy Concurrence of Circumſtances.* 8. *More concerning the Character of* Francis. 9. *An Inſtance of the Emperor's Moderation, with his Manner of Treating the* French *King, and ſome general Conditions upon which he might be reſtored.* 10. *The Ducheſs of* Alançon *unſucceſsful in her Inſtances at the Court of* Madrid. 11. *Yet at laſt* Francis *was releaſed, but does not perform the Conditions upon which his Liberty was granted: A Reflection on Promiſes made by Conſtraint.* 12. *Our Court now mediates for* Francis*: Reaſons for it: Remark on Biſhop* Burnet*'s Character of* Clement *the Seventh, and the Marqueſs of* Peſcara. 13. *From* Guicciardine *concerning the Duke of* Bourbon.

1525. 1526. 1. THE King of *France* having left *Louiſe* his Mother Regent of that Kingdom, puſh'd by Ambition, and the Deſire of extending his Conqueſts in *Italy*, was now ſet down with his Army before *Pavia*, not thinking it adviſeable to leave ſo ſtrong a Place behind him in the Hands of an Enemy. The Imperialiſts thought themſelves no leſs concerned to defend and preſerve it; and therefore *Charles de la Noy* Vice-Roy of *Naples*, who had before put Twelve thouſand *Spaniards*, and ſix thouſand Lanſquenets into that Town, under the Command of *Antonio de Leyva*, now advanced, with the Reſt of the Imperial Generals, towards the Relief of it. The Slowneſs of *Francis* in proſecuting the Siege, had contributed very much to favour this Deſign. For that Prince apprehending himſelf, as being Maſter of the Field, ſecure from any Attempt of the Imperialiſts, had been ſo dilatory, during the Siege, in making his Approaches, and protracted it to ſo great a Length, that they had found Time to form an Army, which they brought into the Field againſt him ſo near to the Walls of *Pavia*, that in caſe of a Battle, the Beſieged might iſſue out to aſſiſt them. And now the two Armies expecting, on each ſide, the Advantage, kept within their Entrenchments, unwilling to hazard a general Engagement; the proper Buſineſs indeed of the *French* was to cover and puſh the Siege; It was the Part of the Imperialiſts to make the Attack, and by that Means to raiſe it. But tho' they had a good

Army, yet being in great Diſtreſs both for Want of Money and Proviſions; they began to think of a Retreat; and it apppeared adviſeable they ſhould file off towards *Naples*, for the Defence of that Kingdom. The King of *France* too was counſelled to withdraw his Troops from the Siege, ſince the Imperial Army, under thoſe Circumſtances, could not poſſibly long ſubſiſt, but muſt neceſſarily ſeparate, or retire; and ſo leave them the Opportunity of an aſſured Victory, without Effuſion of Blood. On the other Hand, the Imperialiſts conſidering, that if they ſhould retire, *Pavia* muſt neceſſarily fall into the Hands of the Enemy, and, that after ſuch a Diſgrace, they ſhould be leſs able to defend other Places in their Hands, were reſolved to give the *French* Battle. The Effect of which was, the Captivity of the *French* King, and a total Defeat of his Army. This Action is celebrated by almoſt all Hiſtorians, who have written concerning the general Affairs of *Europe* ſince that Time; and to them I ſhall refer for a more particular Account of it. I ſhall only take notice of ſuch Circumſtances relating to it, as may be coincident with my Deſign of writing the Life of Cardinal *Wolſey*.

2. I have obſerved, in another Place, that *Cavendiſh* hath, on this Occaſion, advanced ſeveral Things without Grounds, and contrary to the Faith of Hiſtory. He repreſents the Duke of *Bourbon*, as commanding in the Town of *Pavia*, and animating his Soldiers by a Speech, which he recites at large, to iſſue out by Night, upon the Enemy; whereas in Truth, the Duke was then in the Imperial Camp without the Town, when the Marqueſs *de Guaſto* leading the Vanguard, the Marqueſs of *Peſcara* the Battle, and *Charles de la Noy* accompanied by *Bourbon* the Rereward, came in good Order near the *French* Army on the Eve of St. *Matthias*; but nothing of Importance was deſigned to be enterprized 'till the Morning of that Feſtival, which was the Birth-day of the Emperor: And then, according to *Sleidan*, the Marqueſs of *Peſcara*, and not *Bourbon*, made the Speech, which is ſuppoſed to have inſpired the Imperial Troops with that Bravery and Reſolution, to which the Victory was principally aſcribed: But to the Force of his Eloquence, he added an Artifice, which probably had an Effect far more powerful: For having advanced to diſcover the Enemy, upon his Return, he told the *Spaniards*, preſerving a chearful and open Countenance, that he muſt not conceal from them the cruel Order given by the *French* King, that no *Spaniard* ſhould receive Quarter. This Pretence, which was purely of his own contriving, ſo inflamed the Imperialiſts, that with great Ardour they deſired the Signal of Battle, promiſing to ſell their Lives at as dear a Rate, as they could.

3. I mention theſe Circumſtances, to ſhew how little Credit is to be given to what *Cavendiſh* afterwards reports, " That when the " Duke had won the Field, taken the *French* King, robbed and " ſpoiled his Tents, and ſearched his Coffers, he found the League " under the great Seal of *England*, newly made between the King of " *England* and the *French* King, whereby he perceived the Impediment of his Money which ſhould have come to him from the " King, having, upon due Search of this Matter, further Intelligence, " that all this Buſineſs was deviſed by the Cardinal of *England*.

4. There needs no other Confutation of this unjuſt Charge, than the Letter of [l] Inſtructions which was drawn up by the Cardinal to our Ambaſſadors, and ſent to the Emperor after *Francis* was taken Priſoner; from which it will appear, the Court of *England* was very far from treating *Francis* with that Deference and Regard, which a Friend or new Ally might juſtly have expected. But there are many other Particulars, in theſe Inſtructions, relating to the Maxims and Conduct of our Court at that Time, and to the Intereſts of ſeveral foreign Courts, on Account of which I ſhall here proceed to preſent the Reader with an Abſtract of them.

5. After the [m] Ambaſſadors had preſented their Credentials and Letters from the King, and from the Cardinal, under his own Hand wherewith they were charged to the Court of *Madrid*, and made their Congratulation to the Emperor upon his Recovery from a quartan Ague, and for the late Victory obtained by his Troops before *Pavia*, whereby the Pride and Ambition of *Francis*, the common Enemy, was humbled; they are to repreſent the advantagious Situation in which the Affairs of the Alliance then were, towards attaining the proper and deſirable Ends of it: And how much the publick Tranquillity of *Europe* depended upon the Succeſs of their preſent Proceedings. Then they are to ſhew, how zealous the King their Maſter is on his Part to improve the Advantages offered, from the preſent Occaſion, againſt the *French* King, who, with his Anceſtors, had been the only Cauſe of diſturbing the Peace of Chriſtendom, and of the great Decay of Piety and Religion, to which, ſo long a Continuance of the late Wars had principally contributed: For which Purpoſe the King would have ſent the Legate in Perſon to *Madrid*, had he not been diverted from that Deſign, in reſpect to his Age, and the Danger and Fatigue of ſo long an Embaſſy: But that he hath now ſent the Biſhop of *London* and Sir *Richard Wingfield*

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[l] *See Negotiations in the* Lambeth *and* Yelvert. *Library.*

[m] Tunſtall *Biſhop of* London, *and Sir* Richard Wingfield *Chancellor of the Duchy of* Lancaſter.

to impart to the Emperor the Secrets of his Heart and Mind relating to the common Cauſe, in the moſt open and ample Manner: And therefore deſires the Emperor would communicate his Deſigns and Reſolutions, upon the preſent Conjuncture, with the ſame Freedom and Confidence to his Ambaſſadors, as if himſelf ſhould perſonally confer with his Imperial Majeſty. Having thus opened their Commiſſion in general, they are not, at that Time, to proceed any further, but narrowly to obſerve, how the Emperor is inclined or affected upon theſe general Overtures; and whether of himſelf he ſhould make any Propoſals relating to their Charge, that they may be better prepared to treat with him, or with his Council, concerning the Secrets of it. Yet if the Emperor firſt deſires to know in particular the King's Sentiments, upon the Heads propoſed, and what he intendeth towards proſecuting his Claim to *France*, they are inſtructed,

Firſt, To aſſert, as the Foundation of all the Counſels and Meaſures, taken by the King of *England*, his firm and permanent Zeal for the Service of Religion, and the great Concern which he is under for the divided State of Chriſtendom, which had occaſioned much Devaſtation and Miſery in the chriſtian World; whereby the Diſpleaſure of God had not only been highly provoked, but an Opportunity given to the *Turk*, of extending his Conqueſts in *Europe*. By reaſon of which, *Naples* and *Sicily*, with other Parts of *Italy* on one Side, and the Kingdoms of *Poland* and *Hungary* on the other, lay in a Manner open to his Incurſions. And here they are particularly to repreſent how much theſe inteſtine Diviſions among chriſtian Princes have contributed to the Growth of the *Lutheran* Hereſy, to the general Defection from the Church of *Rome*, and the Publication of certain Doctrines tending to deſtroy all Order and Government, as well Eccleſiaſtical as Civil. And as the Arrogancy and boundleſs Ambition of *Francis* was the principal Occaſion of theſe Diſorders, his Captivity may be appointed by the wiſe and good Providence of God, as a Means of healing them, and of cauſing Religion again to flouriſh: *A Senſe of which, I would obſerve by the Way, the Cardinal diſcovers in all his Writings, after ſo unaffected, but withal, ſo lively a Manner, that he ever appears to ſpeak from the Heart. And if he was not really a good Man, it muſt be owned at leaſt, that few Prelates have exceeded him in the Arts of a refined and well-diſguiſed Hypocriſy.* They are farther to repreſent, That if the preſent Occaſion be not improved towards compoſing the Diviſions among chriſtian Princes, they will provoke God Almighty to afflict Chriſtendom ſtill with more numerous and dreadful Calamities; that the Cauſe of ſuch, as they have already ſuffered, ought to be examined and removed, to the End the Effects of them may ceaſe: that the King and his Council have reſolved, the late Wars, with the ill Conſequences attending them, have been principally cauſed by the Pride and Ambition of the Kings of *France*; to the Deſigns of which, the Situation of that Kingdom renders it more favourable: That the Proofs of this Charge appear, *Firſt*, By the Excluſion of the King of *England* from his juſt Claim, who it is notoriouſly known, hath an indiſputable Title to the Crown of *France*, not only by Right of Succeſſion, but in Virtue of expreſs Treaties. *Secondly*, From the unjuſt Detention, by *France*, of ſeveral Countries belonging to the Empire, as well as of many Towns and Places, diſmembred from the Dominions of other Princes, and, particularly, from their known Attempts upon *Milan* and *Naples*, and the Methods taken by them to engage the *Venetians* and *Florentines*, with other States of *Italy*, into their Service; and as one of their chief and leading Maxims is to weaken the Power, and at any Rate to diminiſh the Rights or Domains of the Empire: That there are no viſible Means therefore of ſecuring to the Emperor a juſt and peaceable Poſſeſſion of his Territories, but by coercing the Power, and humbling the Pride of *France*, which perhaps, in its preſent Diſtreſs, may more eaſily be brought to Reaſon: Tho' the Cardinal obſerves, and his Obſervation was juſtified by the Event, that whatever Promiſe ſhould be made on the Part of *France*, in this Time of their King's Captivity, he would not, when at Liberty, fail to reſcind it; at leaſt, he would find one Pretence or other for ſome new Grounds of Quarrel, from which no Convention or Alliance, to be made at preſent, would have Power to reſtrain him. And for this Reaſon, it is further reſolved by the King of *England*, and by his Council, that the Reſtitution of all ſuch Places, as have been uſurped, or are ſtill unjuſtly detained by the Power of *France*, ſhall be the only Means of removing the Occaſion of War and Hoſtility in *Europe*; of reſtoring the Empire to its former Eſtate and Dignity; and of ſatisfying the other Princes for the Wrongs they have ſuffered, and are determined to ſuffer no longer. Here the Ambaſſadors are directed to attend to ſuch Anſwer, as the Emperor and his Council ſhould think fit to make: And then it may be preſumed, one of the following Reſolutions will be taken by them; either totally to deprive the *French* King of his Crown and Dominions, or to reſtore him, on certain Conditions. As to the latter Point, the Ambaſſadors are to employ all the Arguments they can to diſſuade from it; they had been ſufficiently inſtructed already upon the former Article, and if any Difficulties ſhould be moved relating to one or more of the following Particulars, they are furniſhed with ſo many ſpecifick and diſtinct Replications to them.

I. How, or after what Manner the Excluſion of *Francis* from the Throne may be effected?

II. If effected, who ſhall ſucceed to it?

III. If, poſſibly, they might mention the Duke of *Bourbon*? And

IV. If, in caſe the King of *England* ſhould be propoſed, they might not raiſe an Objection from the Union of two ſuch powerful Kingdoms?

1ſt, Upon the firſt Head, they are inſtructed to ſay, There can be no Treaty with *Francis*, or with any of his Subjects; the Nature of the Thing not admitting of Conſent or Compoſition on their Part: And therefore, if *Francis* be dethroned, it muſt be by Force of Arms, which *France*, conſidering the preſent Diſtractions of it, was in no Condition to withſtand: That the two Kings ſhould therefore take this Opportunity, as they had projected, of invading it perſonally this Summer; and that the King of *England* apprehending nothing that may obſtruct the Deſign on either Side, from any Force, or conceivable Projects of *France*, will not fail, God willing, to meet his Imperial Majeſty at *Paris*; where the two Powers perſonally appearing, and the King having received the Crown of *France*, ſhall, in Return of the Emperor's Favour and Aſſiſtance, and to confirm the mutual Amity between them, effectually engage to contribute his beſt Services towards ſupporting the Imperial Throne and Dignity. To induce the Emperor to a perſonal Invaſion of *France* on his Part, the Ambaſſadors are directed to make an Offer of a large Sum of Money, yet wherein, as they ſee Occaſion, they may gradually riſe. But, if this Expedient do not take, then they are to ſay, but as from themſelves, not by command, they make no Queſtion, but that after the King ſhall be crowned in *France*, he will be glad to accompany his Imperial Majeſty to *Rome*. Yet leaſt ſo general an Inſinuation ſhould not be thought ſatisfactory, they are authoriſed to make a more ſpecifick Declaration of the King's Mind upon this Head. They are to ſhew, how great Dignity, Strength, and Honour, would accrue to the Empire, by an Acceſſion of the ſeveral Dominions which they are to enumerate: So that, in a Manner, his Imperial Majeſty would be peaceable Lord and Sovereign of all Chriſtendom; the King thereunto intirely concurring on the ſole Condition of his recovering the Crown of *France*; to which the Houſe of *Auſtria*, by the Emperor's Marriage with the Lady *Mary*, would have an apparent Right of Succeeding, as well as to the other Dominions belonging to the Crown of *England*. But if the Emperor cannot be perſuaded by any of the Overtures, which they are inſtructed gradually to make, to invade *France* in Perſon, then they are to propoſe the Duke of *Bourbon,* who had already acknowledged their Maſter as King of *France*; ſhould be ſent on that Expedition; to the Charge of which, if there be no other Remedy, the King is willing to contribute a Hundred thouſand Crowns.

2d, As to the ſecond Point, who ſhall ſucceed to the Crown of *France?* The King's juſt Right and Title thereunto being conſidered, it appears to admit of no Diſpute: And here they are to remind the Emperor of ſeveral Treaties and Alliances ſubſiſting between his Imperial Majeſty and the King; and, particularly (but for that they are to find an Opportunity, if they can, apart) of the Promiſes made by the Emperor, both to the King, and to the Legate, at ſundry Times and Places.

3d, As to the Article relating to the Duke of *Bourbon*; It is upon a Surmiſe merely conjectural, ſupported by no probable Reaſons, and which, if poſſibly it ſhould be moved to the Ambaſſadors, there would yet lie inſuperable Objections againſt it, as no manner of Pretence either in Honour, Reaſon, Law, or Right could be alledged for it; nor indeed any poſſibility of effecting it, without deſtroying the Peace of *Europe.* And the Emperor in particular, had as much Danger to apprehend from *France,* if the Crown ſhould devolve upon the Duke of *Bourbon,* or any other of the *French* Nation, as he could have under the Adminiſtration of the preſent King. And, indeed, it was ſcarce ſuſpected, that any Perſon of Honour, Wiſdom, or Reputation would form or approve ſo unjuſt and impracticable a Plan. But

4thly, In caſe the King of *England* ſhould be propoſed, and thereupon any Objection ariſe from the Union of two ſuch powerful Kingdoms, as thoſe of *England* and *France,* they are to repreſent, in the firſt Place, the King's clear and undoubted Title to the Crown of *France:* Secondly, the expreſs Stipulation between the Emperor and the King for the Recovery of that Crown: And, Thirdly, the Contingency, which the Emperor would have, in the Lady *Mary*'s Right, of poſſeſſing the Realm, and Country's belonging to the King; ſignifying at the ſame time, that it is not the King's Intention to keep ſuch Countries at that time annexed to the Crown of *France,* which he had no Claim to by Right of Inheritance, but to make ſuch Partition of them, as might be moſt reaſonable, in reſpect to the Powers concerned; and ſhould tend moſt effectually to obviate and remove the Difficulty propoſed. And, if perhaps, in the Progreſs of this Conſultation, a new Difficulty ſhould ariſe, and the Emperor ſhould inſiſt upon it, as a previous Condition of his complying with the King's Demands, that the Marriage with the Princeſs to his Imperial Majeſty ſhould be aſſured; eſpecially, he having received

ceived Advice, that Overtures had been lately made to her both on the Part of the *French* King, and the King of *Scotland*: If thereupon it ſhould be required, that the Princeſs might be delivered into the Emperor's Hands; they are to anſwer, no ſuch Treaty has been lately admitted from either of thoſe two Princes; and, as to the Part of *Scotland*, which had offered, as an Article of it, that the *Scots* would abandon the *French* King, it had been expreſsly refuſed. And the King, ſince his Treaty with the Emperor, had no Thoughts of marrying the Princeſs to any other. But if they ſhould ſtill inſiſt to have the Princeſs delivered, the Ambaſſadors are to deſire them to conſider her tender Years, and to repreſent, with all the Force, and in the beſt Manner they were able, the Inconveniences of ſuch a Journey to one of her tender Age; and the Danger, in reſpect of her Health from a Change of Air; to which they ſhould add, that all the Preliminaries, relating to the Marriage, were not yet perfectly ſettled. And if the Imperial Court ſhould offer Capitulation to that End, they are to anſwer, none can be ſufficient, in ſo very nice and important an Affair, or be thought equivalent to the actual Delivery of ſo great a Princeſs. Yet on Condition, the Emperor will cauſe the *French* King to be delivered into the Hands of the King of *England* 'till the Princeſs be of ſuch Age, that the Marriage may be fully perfected, then, notwithſtanding any Contingency of the King's Death in the mean time, their Maſter will conſent to the actual Delivery of the Princeſs, and oblige himſelf not to make any Convention with the *French* King, or hearken to any Overtures relating to his Ranſom or Liberty, without the Emperor's expreſs Conſent. However, if the Emperor cannot be induced perſonally to invade *France*, and to meet the King at *Paris* by any of the foregoing Conſiderations, rather than the Deſigns formed by our Court upon thoſe Views, ſhould be diſappointed, the King, upon Aſſurances given for the Performance of thoſe Articles, will ſtill agree to the Delivery of the Lady *Mary*, in Conſequence of their Enterview, and the King's Coronation at *Paris*. But if the Emperor make a Difficulty of complying with this Condition, he will in effect declare that he hath really no Intention, either to go to *Paris*, or to aſſiſt the King towards the Recovery of his Right. And if, after all, the Emperor cannot be perſuaded to concur with the King in his Meaſures for the Recovery of it, and towards the Excluſion of *Francis* and his Line from the Crown of *France*, then after having repreſented to the Emperor the Danger to himſelf, as well as the manifeſt Injury done to the King by ſuch Refuſal, they are to attend to ſuch Motions and Overtures as may be made, on the Part of the Emperor, by Way of Satisfaction to the King's Demands, concerning which, they are particularly inſtructed to proceed Step by Step, inſiſting, ſo long as there is any Appearance of ſucceeding in it, upon the firſt Article; but if the Deſign of that ſhould be found impracticable, they are to advance, yet not without eſſaying every Thing that can be ſaid or done to effect it, towards the ſecond Article, and ſo by ſlow and inſenſibly reluctant Conceſſions to the Third, in the Manner and Form preſcribed to them in the Sequel of their Inſtructions, which the Reader may conſult.

6. There are ſo many Paſſages in theſe Inſtructions, to ſhew there could be no Treaty at that Time executed or ſubſiſting between the Courts of *England* and *France*, that I ſhall not inſiſt any more on a Confutation of that Part of the Calumny caſt upon the Cardinal by *Cavendiſh*. As to the other Branch of it, relating to the Want of Moneys to be advanced on the King's Part, I have ſaid what is ſufficient in another Place to obviate it. But to juſtify the Cardinal upon that Article from all poſſible Exception, I have added [n] two Letters from him, one to Secretary *Pace* and Sir *John Ruſſell*, the other to the Secretary only, wherein his Conduct as to that Particular, appears at once juſt, prudent, and honourable. His Eminency obſerves particularly in the Latter, that notwithſtanding the near Approach of the two Armies, there was yet no Appearance of a Battle, the *French* King being ſo ſtrongly encamped, that he would not advance, and the Imperialiſts not being able to aſſail him and force his Entrenchments, without great Hazard and Diſadvantage. Yet ſometime after, tho' under the like Diſadvantages, they bravely attacked him, and obtained one of the moſt ſignal and compleat Victories that Hiſtory records: So that, notwithſtanding the great Qualities of *Francis* the Firſt, his Diſgrace before *Pavia* has not been wholly attributed by Hiſtorians to the Fortune of War, but, in great Meaſure to his own Miſconduct. He ought, it is ſaid, either to have puſhed the Siege of that Place, with more Vigour, or conſidering the Diſtreſs of the Imperial Army, to have retired in Time, as he was adviſed; ſince it frequently happens, that Men are not ſo much animated by the Thoughts of their being entrenched, as intimidated with the Apprehenſions of their being reſolutely attacked. However, both the *Italian* and *Spaniſh* Hiſtorians have been very favourable in their Character of this unfortunate Heroe: But whether for the Reaſon which *Varillas* mentions, the Reader may judge: That Author obſerves, “ They have written advantagiouſly of *Francis* “ the Firſt, by a refined Policy, rather than out of any perſonal Regard. They were jealous of the growing Power of *France*, and “ apprehenſive, that Nation might extend its Conqueſts into their

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[n] Coll. No 72, 73. Book II.

“ own Country, after a Period ſhould be put to thoſe Civil Wars,
“ wherein they had been involved for the Space of forty Years.
“ There was no better Method to prevent any Attempts of that
“ Kind, nor could they have greater Hopes of ſucceeding againſt
“ *Spain* or *Germany*, than they formerly had, under the Reign and
“ Conduct of *Francis* the Firſt: In the Hiſtory of which we read,
“ that he performed, whatever Man was capable of performing
“ againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*; which yet he was not able to ſhake:
“ That the Faults aſcribed to him were not the Faults of the Monarch,
“ but of the Monarchy; and that if the greateſt Generals
“ and Politicians that ever were, had commanded the ſame Armies,
“ and been under the ſame Circumſtances, they would have been
“ overcome at the Battle of *Pavia*, and like *Francis* the Firſt, compelled
“ in conſequence of it, to diſintangle themſelves as well as
“ they could, by the ſhameful Treaties of *Madrid* and *Cambray*.”
But *Varillas* is of Opinion, this Error might eaſily have been confuted, by laying open the naked Truth, and proving by plain and authentick Facts, that *Francis* the Firſt did not do, what he might have done againſt *Charles* the Fifth: That it was ſeveral times in his Power to have defeated the Emperor; That the Negligence and prepoſterous Management of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, on ſome Occaſions, cannot be excuſed; and that the Faults wherewith he has been charged, proceeded from the Monarch and not from the Monarchy: That the ill Succeſs of *France* againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*, had been chiefly occaſioned by the Miſunderſtanding, too common in the Hiſtory of *France*, between the Sovereigns of former Times and their Miniſters; and that ſome greater Generals, and more vigilant Princes would one Day ariſe, to correct the Errors of *Francis* the Firſt.

7. I ſhall interpoſe no further in this Diſpute, than by obſerving, that the Superiority of Princes, as well as of inferior Perſons, in relation to each other, is not, generally ſpeaking, ſo much owing to their perſonal Merit or Qualities, as to a Concurrence of favourable and happy Circumſtances; and that Men, whatever Grounds there may be for an intrinſick Diſtinction between them, yet, like Pictures, appear very different from one another, and in ſome Meaſure from themſelves, as they are placed in a different Light.

8. *Francis* the Firſt, with all his Errors and Misfortunes, is certainly to be numbered in the Catalogue of great Princes. “ [a] For
“ who would not be ſurpriſed to ſee him frowned upon by Fortune,
“ ill ſerved by his own Mother, in the Hands of impudent Favourites,
“ betrayed by thoſe whom he honoured with his greateſt

[a] *Bayle.*

" Confidence, ſo glorioſly to reſiſt the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth; " an Enemy whoſe Dominions were much larger than thoſe of " *France*, and who had more Money and Forces than *Francis*; who " was a great Warrior, and an able Politician, faithfully and well- " ſerved by his Generals and Miniſters, and who had commonly " the Aſſiſtance of *England*, and of other potent States againſt " *France*." It is a greater Glory for *Francis* to have preſerved his Kingdom under theſe Circumſtances, than for *Charles* the Fifth not to have been able to conquer it.

6. Upon the News of this Victory, which the Emperor received at *Madrid*, he gave a memorable Inſtance of his Piety and Moderation: He ſhewed no Signs of Tranſport, either in his Words, his Aſpect, or Manner: He declared himſelf pleaſed, that God had given him ſo ſignal a Teſtimony of his Favour, which he had not deſerved, and hoped it would give him an Occaſion of eſtabliſhing the Peace of *Europe*, and be a Means of enabling him to do good to his Friends, and to pardon his Enemies. When he went to make his Oblations for this Victory in our Lady's Church at *Madrid*, he would not ſuffer the accuſtomed Expreſſions of publick Joy by Bonfires and ringing of Bells; ſaying, It did not become Chriſtians to rejoice at their Victories over each other, but only for their Victories againſt Infidels. Yet the Uſe, which he afterwards made of this Victory, did not appear altogether ſo agreeable to ſuch generous and heroick Sentiments: For he took the Advantage, from the Circumſtances, in which the King of *France* his Priſoner was, of forcing him to very hard and unreaſonable Conditions, contrary to the Advice of the Biſhop of *Oſna*, who thought it would be more honourable to him, freely to diſcharge his Royal Captive, as well as advantagious, by engageing him after ſo noble and generous a Manner, to all poſſible Returns of Friendſhip and Gratitude. But this Advice was oppoſed by the Duke *de Alva*, who was for improving the Occaſion towards bringing *Francis* to ſuch ſpecifick Terms, as the Intereſts of *Spain*, at that time, might require to be impoſed: And the Emperor inclining to his Advice, Articles in purſuance of it were drawn up, and ſent to *Francis* to be ſigned, which at firſt he rejected with a noble Diſdain; tho' afterwards, growing more impatient under his Confinement, he accepted certain Conditions, which upon his Releaſe, he did not think himſelf obliged in Honour, or Equity, to obſerve. Theſe Conditions were, that *Francis* ſhould deliver up *Burgundy* into the Emperor's Hands, which had been Fifty Years in Poſſeſſion of *France*. That he ſhould diſclaim all Title to *Naples*, *Milain*, *Aſta*, *Genua* and *Flanders*; that he ſhould not aſſiſt the Emperor's Enemies; that he ſhould reſtore the Duke of *Bourbon*

bon and all his Adherents, and pay the Penſion due from *France* to the King of *England*. *Francis*, upon his taking an Oath to obſerve theſe Conditions, was ſet at Liberty. And the Emperor appeared more deſirous to haſten the Execution of the Treaty, on Account of the ill State of Health, to which the Confinement of the *French* King had reduced him: Though he was entertained after a Manner ſuitable to his Quality, and had the Liberty of Hunting, or of any other reaſonable Exerciſe; yet it contributed much to that Anxiety of Mind, which was ſuppoſed to occaſion his Illneſs, that the Emperor did not vouchſafe to make him a Viſit. He did not think, that by Reaſon of his Misfortunes he ought to have incurred the Loſs of his Dignity; or, that being a Priſoner of War, he had forfeited the Reſpect due to a crowned Head. The Emperor, upon advice of his Indiſpoſition, and Reſentments, was determined to make him a Viſit, tho' contrary to the Opinion of his Chancellor, who told him he could not go with Honour, unleſs with a Deſign of granting to the captive King his Freedom without impoſing any Conditions on him. Otherwiſe his Viſit would not be interpreted as an Act of royal Kindneſs, but as proceeding from ſome ſiniſter Conſiderations: So that the World would ſuppoſe him rather moved by private Intereſt, than any true Principles of Humanity, leaſt by the Death of the *French* King, he might loſe the Occaſion of bringing him to his own Terms, and of improving the late Victory to the beſt Advantage. Theſe were noble and juſt Sentiments, becoming a wiſe and faithful Counſellor: Yet the Emperor was reſolved to make his royal Priſoner a Viſit, without Regard to the Reaſonableneſs of them; for upon his making it, after the Ceremonial on each Side was over, his Imperial Majeſty wiſhing the King to have a a Care of his Health, which he much deſired, only told him in general, that his Buſineſs would ſucceed well; thereby giving him an Expectation, which it is difficult to reconcile with the ſevere Conditions, to which he afterwards conſtrained him.

10. All the Inſtances which the Ducheſs of *Alançon*, Siſter to the *French* King, could make in his Favour, who had taken a Journey to *Madrid* to ſee her Brother, and to intercede for his Deliverance proved ineffectual: Tho' there was probably another Motive beſides that of Affection for her Brother, upon which ſhe was induced to viſit the Court of *Spain*. For having deſired the Emperor to give his Siſter *Leonora* in Marriage to the King, notwithſtanding the Pretenſions of the Duke of *Bourbon* to that Princeſs, ſhe told his Imperial Majeſty, the King her Brother would take care to provide an equal Match for the Duke, which was underſtood, as an Intimation that herſelf was the Perſon, the Duke of *Alançon* her Husband being

lately dead. At length, being unable to procure her Brother's Enlargement, ſhe determined to return to *France*, and upon her taking Leave of him, he gave an Inſtance of his Magnanimity, which ſhewed, that his Misfortunes had not defaced in his Soul thoſe Idea's of Honour, and Glory, and Piety towards his Country, which became a great and excellent Prince; for he charged her, without any Regard to his Perſon, whether his Deliverance might be effected or not, and, as if he were not living, that ſhe ſhould have ſtrict Regard to the Intereſts and Dignity of the Crown of *France*.

11. After ſeveral Conventions to that End, the Emperor at laſt condeſcended to the Releaſe of *Francis*, but not without the ſpecial Interpoſition of our Court; as *Francis*, after he had obtained his Liberty, acknowledgeth by Letters to the King, aſcribing it expreſsly to his generous Offices. Yet, when demanded by the Emperor, upon his Return into *France*, to ratify the Articles agreed to, as the Conditions of his Releaſe, he refuſed to do it, alledging, "[n] That " he was not *Charles* his Priſoner, neither had given his Faith, but " had only made a Promiſe by Force, when deprived of his Liber- " ty; but, now being free in his Kingdom, he knew no one could " oblige him to keep that Promiſe; neither was he bound to obſerve " that, which Conſtraint and Impriſonment had forced him to " promiſe." Theſe are nice Diſtinctions, upon the Examination of which I ſhall not preſume to enter, tho' they were afterwards in ſome Meaſure favoured, and ſupported by the Court of *England*: If Conſtraint be a Reaſon ſufficient, why ſuch Compacts as are made under it, ſhould not be ſuppoſed Obligatory, this Reaſon (were we to purſue it in all its Conſequences) will tend to diſſolve whatever diſadvantagious Treaty one Prince may make with another: For it cannot be preſumed, that any Prince would agree to Conditions prejudicial to his own Intereſts, but on one Motive or other of Conſtraint; and whatever the Manner of the Conſtraint may be, whether from the Preſſure of ſome preſent Diſtreſs, or the Apprehenſion of ſome future Evil, the Nature and Reaſon of the Thing, whereby our Judgement, in the Caſe, ought to be regulated, is ſtill the ſame. It had the Appearance of a more equitable Pretence, towards abſolving *Francis* from the Treaty of *Madrid*, that he could not make thoſe Alienations from the Crown of *France*, to which he had conſented, in it, without the Concurrence of the States of his Kingdom. For no one, under any Circumſtances, can have a Power of transferring the Right of other Perſons. Either therefore, *Francis* the Firſt did not know the Conſtitution of his own Kingdom, and by what Tenure he held thoſe Places, which he obliged himſelf by Oath to give up by that Treaty, which cannot eaſily be ſuppoſed; or elſe it

[n] *Bellay.*

it will be hard to acquit him from a manifeſt Colluſion, in making that a Condition of his Liberty, which he never intended to execute, or which he previouſly knew was in the Nature of the Thing diſhoneſt and impracticable. All that he could do in this Caſe, which yet he does not appear to have done, was to influence the States in the moſt preſſing and effectual Manner, to confirm what he had tranſacted without their Conſent, but upon a Preſumption, that in Regard to the Circumſtances, which himſelf and the Kingdom was then in, they might, when the Treaty ſhould come to lie before them, be afterwards induced to give their Conſent.

12. In the mean time our Court mediated for better Conditions in behalf of the *French* King, having before entered into a Treaty with *Louiſe* the Regent, which plainly diſcovered the Diſpoſition our King and his Miniſters were in, towards cultivating a better Underſtanding with *France*, and bringing the Emperor to more reaſonable Terms. And here again, it was thought, that Reſentment had a great Share towards influencing the Counſels and new Meaſures of the Cardinal, in relation to *France*. But where his Conduct may be accounted for upon ſeveral wiſe and good Reaſons of State, it is not only ungenerous, but a high Act of Injuſtice, to ſearch for Cauſes to his Diſadvantage which do not appear, and whereof there is no Manner of Occaſion. The Power of *Charles* the Fifth was now become formidable to all the Chriſtian Princes in *Europe*; and had he known how to improve the Advantages, of which he was poſſeſſed, their Liberties might have been in much greater Danger of an intire Subverſion, towards eſtabliſhing that univerſal Monarchy, to which that Prince was ſuſpected to aſpire. The Scene being thus changed, and the Ballance of Power in great Meaſure altered, which before had been more equally preſerved between *France* and the Houſe of *Auſtria*, it became neceſſary, that there ſhould be a Change in the Counſels, and Projects of *England*, in reſpect to thoſe two Powers. Yet I have before given in to the common Opinion, that the Emperor's Breach of Promiſe to the Cardinal, in not aſſiſting him, when he aſpired to the Papacy, did occaſion ſome Diſguſt to him, and more Coldneſs towards the Emperor. And I find no Reaſon for receding from this Opinion, by what Biſhop *Burnet* has advanced in his third Volume, where he ſeems to doubt from a Letter of the Cardinal communicated by Sir *William Cook* of *Norfolk*, whether the Emperor really promiſed the Cardinal his Aſſiſtance to that End. There is ſomething ſurprizing in the Propoſal of this Doubt by the Biſhop, and there cannot be a clearer Confutation of it, than from the very Letter upon which it is grounded by his Lordſhip; for the Cardinal ſaith expreſly in it, " That before the Va-

" cancy of the Popedom, the Emperor and the King had great " Conferences for his Advancement; That the Regent of the *Netherlands*, who knew the Emperor's Mind, had expreſſed a hearty Concurrence." And in his Letter to the Biſhop of *Bath*, he ſaith, " I believe all the Imperialiſts will be with me, if there is *Faith* " in the Emperor." The negative Arguments alledged by the Biſhop for his Doubt, only prove, either that the Cardinal did not reſent the Emperor's Neglect of him on ſo important an Occaſion, or that he was moved, by certain political Reaſons, to diſſemble his Reſentments; which is the more probable Opinion, conſidering that *Adrian* had not only been advanced by the Emperor's Intereſt to the papal Chair, but *Clement* the Seventh is charged with Ingratitude by his Imperial Majeſty, as having ſucceeded that Pope, by his Means, and yet favoured the *French* Intereſt; and he had been forced indeed at laſt, by the Neceſſity of his Affairs, to conclude the League called the *Clementine-League*, againſt him, tho' it was not without Difficulty and great Reluctance that he was induced to make it. For tho' this Pope had a prompt Wit and large Capacity, with a deep Inſight into all the Affairs of the World, yet when he came to reſolve or execute, he was not correſpondent to himſelf, which proceeded not only from a Temper more unequal, and a Diſpoſition apt to be intimidated, but from a Perplexity and Diffidence of Mind natural to him. So that he was frequently in Doubt about Things, which had already been well and maturely conſidered. For any new Incident or unforeſeen Obſtacle would put him in the like Suſpenſe or Confuſion, that he was in, before he determined; being apt to ſuſpect, that the beſt Council had been rejected, and remembring the Reaſons that had been over-ruled, he yielded more to them upon the Review, than to thoſe which had been preferred and approved. But what has been thought chiefly to have determined the Pope to perfect this League, and to make the contracting Powers more earneſt in their Inſtances to his Holineſs for it, was the [o] Death of the Marqueſs of *Peſcara*; who, tho' only in the thirty-ſixth Year of his Age, was old in Experience, ingenious, reſolved, circumſpect, and adviſed; much eſteemed by the *Spaniſh* Infantry, which he had for a conſiderable Time commanded; And, to whom the Honour of the late Victory, and of other memorable Actions performed by that Army, were principally to be aſcribed. He was a great Captain and brave, but knew how to colour ſuch Deſigns as were to be diſſembled, with a becoming Grace; being proud, deceitful, and ill-natured. His Death put the *Spaniſh* Army in confuſion, and gave Hopes to the Alliance, which was forming againſt the Emperor, more eaſily to defeat that Army, when deprived of a Captain of ſo great Authority and Valour.

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[o] Guicciardine.

13. I ſhall only add to what I have here obſerved out of *Guicciardine* relating to this Victory, an Obſervation, which that Author makes concerning the Duke of *Bourbon*, when he went to wait on the Emperor at *Madrid*, after an Action which was thought ſo very glorious to him. The Emperor received him with all the Demonſtrations of Honour, that could be ſhewed: But the Court of *Spain*, who did not judge of his perſonal Qualities, by the Fortune that attended him, but from intrinſick Reaſons, abhorred him as a Traitor; and would not allow, that his Conqueſt, how advantagious ſoever to the Affairs of *Spain*, ought to cover his Diſloyalty. The following Anſwer was made by one of them, whoſe Palace the King demanded for the Duke, that "He ought not to deny any "Thing to his Prince, but ſo ſoon as *Bourbon* was gone out of the "Palace, he would burn it as a Place infected, and unworthy to "be inhabited by a Man of Honour." There was ſomething of a *Spaniſh* Arrogance in this Reflection, which, beſides, was not very complaiſant to the King his Maſter; tho' the Sentiments of this Lord were, after all, in the main Foundation of them, laudable and generous: Succeſs can never deſtroy the moral Reaſon of Things, or however glorious in the Eye of the World, alter the Nature of any Action, baſe and ignoble in itſelf.

CHAP. XXX.

1. *Affairs relating to the State of Religion in* Germany, *and concerning* Muncer *and* Phiſer. 2. Luther *declared againſt them and their Proceedings.* 3. *Of the Kings Anſwer to a Letter of* Luther *very much to the Cardinal's Honour.* 4. *More concerning the Spirit of* Luther. 5. *Whether his Want of more Temper might not diſſerve the Cauſe of the Reformation.* 6. *A Scandal in reſpect to the Reformation obviated.* 7. *The regular Proceedings in the Reformation of the Church of* England, *and concerning the Epiſcopate.* 8. *The Reaſon of inſiſting on that Article.* 9. *A Tranſition to the State of our civil Affairs.* 10. *The moſt probable Reaſon why King* Henry *was offended at the Emperor; of the Diſſolution of the Contract between him and the Princeſs: And of their Ambaſſadors being on each Side recalled.*

1. FROM this ſummary View of Affairs abroad, wherein the Cardinal was eſpecially intereſted, I ſhall make a Tranſition 1524. 1525.

tion to thoſe in *Germany*, relating to the eccleſiaſtical State. The general [p] Entertainment of *Luther*'s Doctrine in thoſe Parts, had produced a League among the People of *Suabia*, and in other neighbouring Parts, for the Defence of it; and, particularly againſt certain Prelates of the Church. Upon which, the Magiſtrates thought fit to interpoſe, and offered to hear, and redreſs their Grievances. But they ſtill continued to aſſemble in a riotous Manner, tho' they had not as yet openly taken the Field in a hoſtile Way; but only met, or pretended to meet, occaſionally, to ſolemnize Marriages, and publick Feaſts; at which Times, they made, and publiſhed twelve Demands, which being publiſhed, produced the like Tumults and Diſorders in other Places; towards ſuppreſſing which, Eighteen thouſand of them, were, in the Sequel, deſtroyed in different Parts. The moſt popular and formidable of theſe *Enthuſiaſts* was *Muncer*; who thought *Luther* ſet about the Work of the Reformation negligently; and that his Doctrine, in ſeveral Reſpects, wanted itſelf to be reformed. His Rule, for all Heads of Sects affect to be known by certain peculiar Marks of Diſtinction, conſiſted in theſe three Articles; To look gravely; To ſpeak little; And to wear long Beards: But there being no great Hopes that *Muncer* ſhould convert the World, upon this Plan, he aſſociated to himſelf one *Phiſer*, an impudent Pretender to extraordinary Revelations. This Impoſtor, having once dreamed, that he ſaw a prodigious Number of Mice in a Barn, which he chaſed away, interpreted the Viſion as a ſpecial Command of God to him, that he ſhould take Arms, and extirpate the Nobility out of *Germany*. *Muncer* made uſe of the like Pretence to a ſpecial Commiſſion, and therefore, when he was attacked by the Princes of *Germany*, he endeavoured to juſtify himſelf, and to animate his Followers, as being immediately commanded by God upon that Service. But this Illuſion was of as little Significancy to him, as the Appearance of a Rainbow, which he would have perſuaded his ignorant Followers, was a certain Preſage to them of Victory. Tho' herein he imitated indeed the Conduct of great Generals, who have ſometimes artfully improved ſuch Incidents, as Superſtition has ſupplied, to invigorate their Men, and make them more reſolute; the *Muncerians*, notwithſtanding, were overcome, their Captain-General, and his Lieutenant *Phiſer* taken, and afterwards put to Death.

2. It cannot be denied, that *Luther* expreſſed a juſt Abhorrence of theſe tumultuary and ſeditious Proceedings. He wrote in particular againſt *Muncer*, and adviſed, that he ſhould be asked, "who

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[p] Sleidan.

" gave him Commiſſion and Power to preach, and from whence " he had his Call? If he named God for his Author, then they " ſhould bid him ſhew ſome evident Sign of his Call. But if he " would not produce any ſuch Credential, he ought to be rejected; " it being God's uſual Method, when he would alter the accuſtom- " ed and received Way, to declare his Will by ſome Sign." *Luther* could not think himſelf affected by this Manner of Arguing, becauſe his profeſſed Deſign, was not to introduce a new Religion, but to reſtore Religion to its primitive State and Purity.

3. I have before taken notice of the ſubmiſſive Letter, which this Reformer wrote to the King, by Way of Acknowledgement for his former Inſolencies, and wherein he reflected with great Indecency on the Cardinal of *York*: I ſhall here add more fully, what the King was pleaſed to anſwer to that Article, as being very honorary to the Cardinal's Memory. " It is not ſtrange, *ſaith his Majeſty*, that " *Luther* ſhould revile the Archbiſhop of *York*, who has not been " afraid to reproach Saints and Angels. *He adds*, The Cardinal's " Services have been very uſeful both to himſelf, and to the whole " Kingdom: And that as he had loved him very much before, he " would now give him, ſince he had been calumniated after ſuch a " Manner, more ſignal Proofs of his Favour and Affection." And among other Services which the King acknowledgeth of the Cardinal, his Zeal in preventing the Growth of Hereſy, is particularly applauded. *Luther* finding that the King, after the great Indignities which had been offered to him, was not ſo eaſy, as to be mollified by a Submiſſion, which tho', in certain Reſpects, it carried in it a Shew of Repentance; yet, on two Accounts, was highly provoking to his Majeſty; as affronting him in the Perſon of his firſt Miniſter, and charging him in effect with the Publication of a Book under his own Name, whereof he was not the Author. Upon this ill Succeſs of his Letter, *Luther* repents of his penitential Way of Writing, and declares he wrote it to gratify his Friends; that in particular, he had been aviſed to it by *Chriſtiern* King of *Denmark*, the Duke of *Saxony*, and *Eraſmus*, who thought his Stile too harſh and ſevere, and wiſhed him to ſoften it; but he had now ſeen his Error, and would therefore for the Future take another Courſe; for it was a fooliſh Thing, to look for Religion among Courtiers, or to expect that we ſhould find in royal Palaces the Spirit of *John the Baptiſt*.

4. It will, I believe, be acknowledged by all Perſons, that *Luther* ought to have been more temperate and reſerved in his Writings; tho' the Exceſſes, to which his Paſſion or Reſentments ſometimes carried him, with thoſe who would regulate their Judgements by the natural

tural Reaſon of Things, cannot in the leaſt affect the Credit of the Reformation; in defence of which, Monſieur *Claud* appears to have ſaid in a Paſſage before cited, all that can be ſaid, in ſo few Words, by Way of Apology, for the Spirit of *Martyn Luther*.

5. It may be doubted after all, whether the intemperate Zeal of *Luther* did not do ſome Diſſervice in *England*, to his Deſigns of a Reformation? Why the King afterwards came to reject the Pope's Authority, and to take Meaſures which tended to introduce a Reformation of Religion into his own Dominions, is a Queſtion, which will be reſolved into other Reaſons, than thoſe upon which *Luther* proceeded in his Plan of it. Tho' it is probable, the King, who originally, with great Zeal, oppoſed the Doctrine of *Luther*, and the ſeveral Innovations which he endeavoured to introduce in *Germany*, was ſtill more irritated againſt him, and his Deſign; when he obſerved, how great Tumults and Diſtractions, what wild and enthuſiaſtick Sects had ſprung up in *Germany*, by occaſion of his Doctrine. His Majeſty, and the Cardinal might, in certain Reſpects, concur with him in the ſame Sentiments, and did perhaps obſerve ſeveral Things in the eccleſiaſtical State, that required Reformation, which yet they thought ſhould rather be tolerated, than the Breach of publick Peace and Order, or a Method of Reforming, which might open a Way, as it had done in the Bowels of the Empire, to Anarchy, Confuſion, and every evil Work. The King and this Miniſter plainly ſaw, that what the Reformed abroad principally ſtruck at, was the epiſcopal Order: An Order founded at leaſt in apoſtolical Conſtitution, and an uninterrupted Succeſſion whereof had been continued from the apoſtolical Age. They judged, it was better, ſilently to lament the Abuſes, which had been introduced into the Church, 'till the Providence of God might open a legal Way of correcting them, than to give the leaſt Encouragement to a riotous or tumultuous Method of proceeding in an Affair, which ought to have been the Work of Authority; and which, had it been in the leaſt countenanced, before the Government was prepared to enter regularly upon it, might have occaſioned the ſame ſeditious and popular Inſurrections, which had created ſo much Diſturbance in foreign Parts. But this was more eſpecially to be apprehended, if the People, having received any Tincture from the Prejudices generally entertained againſt Epiſcopacy abroad, ſhould concur with the foreign Reformers, in endeavouring to aboliſh and extirpate the epiſcopal Order. A Society, tho' very irregular, and requiring, on many Accounts, a Reformation, yet while the fundamental Conſtitution of it is retained, will be thought by all ſober Perſons, much preferable to any Reformation, that has a direct

Tendency intirely to deſtroy or diſſolve it. As the worſt Sort of Government, under a cruel and tyrannical Prince, is ſtill more eligible, than an utter Subverſion of all Government, wherein Men are reduced to a mere State of Nature, and every Man is priviledged to do that, which ſeems right in his own Eyes.

6. I cannot but take notice here of a Scandal caſt upon the Reformation highly derogatory to the Credit of it. It has been pretended, That the *noble Claim of Right*, which Chriſtians have to judge for themſelves, was the Foundation of it: And that the Church therefore, has no *Authority* to direct the Judgement or Conſciences of Men: If this Argument proves any thing, it proves too much. The Deſign of it is to ſhew, That where Men have a Right to make uſe of their private Judgement, and to be determined by it, they can be under no Obligation to ſubmit to Authority. Let us tranſfer this Argument, for in the Reaſon of it, it is the Same, from religious to civil Affairs. Every Man has as much a Right to judge for the Direction of his Conſcience in the one Caſe, as in the Other. Let us ſuppoſe now, that a Man, a Man of Sincerity, upon certain Scruples of Conſcience, refuſeth to pay Obedience to the civil Magiſtrate, whom God has ſet over him: Will his Sincerity or miſtaken Judgement cancel the Obligation which he is under to Obedience, or deprive the civil Magiſtrate of the Right which he hath to puniſh or coerce him, which yet the civil Magiſtrate ought not to claim or exerciſe, if he that refuſes Obedience hath a Right, that is, an independent and arbitrary Right of Judging for himſelf? for then the civil Magiſtrate would be evidently empowered to exerciſe a Right contrary to Right. Thus in the ſpiritual Society, every Man has undoubtedly a Right of Judging for himſelf; even when God declares his Will by expreſs or immediate Revelation, this Priviledge of private Judgement is not excluded; for before I can fully aſſent to any revealed Doctrine, I am previouſly, in the natural Order of my Idea's, to judge, whether it be really revealed, and in what Senſe: So that abſolutely ſpeaking, there is not any Principle more certain, than the Right, which every Man has of Judging for himſelf, as well in reſpect of Things to which his Aſſent is required by a divine, as by a humane Authority. But then we ſay, this Right of Judging does not, in the Nature or Reaſon of it, exclude our Obligation of ſubmitting to Authority in either Caſe, but is perfectly conſiſtent with it. In exerciſing my private Judgement, I am to conſider all the Arguments which are proper to enlighten, to direct, or determine it. Now, tho' an infallible Authority admits of no Diſpute, when I am once aſſured that it ſpeaks to me; yet this does not hinder, but that Men, eſpecially my Superiors, may alſo afford me ſuch

Light and Evidence for my Direction, as I may be obliged to follow. Nay, 'tis more probable, upon a general Conſideration, that a Number of Men met together in a regular Way, to deliberate concerning any Truth, ſhould form a true Judgement of it, than a Perſon, who ſhould ſeparately conſider it. Private Judgement therefore is ſo far from excluding ſuch foreign Helps and Aſſiſtances, as may be proper to inform it, that it always preſuppoſes the Uſe of them. If by this Maxim, private Judgement is the Standard of the Reformation be meant, as by oppoſing it to all human Authority we are directed to underſtand it, that every Man, who will reſolve to follow the Light of his own Mind, without Regard to any humane Authority whatever, has a Right to become a Reformer, nothing could bring a greater Reproach upon the Reformation. Upon this Maxim, it will follow, by neceſſary and clear Conſequence, that different Perſons may have a Right to propagate different, and even contradictory Principles: Such a Right might poſſibly be claimed by *Muncer* and *Phyſer*, with other *German* Enthuſiaſts, that adhered to them. But thoſe, who proceeded regularly, and with ſobriety, in carrying on the Work of the *Engliſh* Reformation, never pretended to ſet up private Judgement, in oppoſition to the holy Scriptures, as interpreted by the Counſels and primitive Fathers, and to all eccleſiaſtical Authority. In rejecting Epiſcopacy indeed, the foreign Reformers acted without any good Grounds; but this was not becauſe private Judgement gave them a Right to oppoſe that Inſtitution, but through an Error in Opinion; becauſe it did not, as they pretended, appear to them, to be a divine or binding Inſtitution. However, their Error concerning the Epiſcopate, could not alter the Nature of it, nor the Right which the Church had of aſſerting the epiſcopal Powers, and the Obedience due to them. To ſay otherways, upon a mere Pretence of private Judgement, would be to juſtify not only all the Extravagancies, and viſionary Notions of the *German* Anabaptiſts at that Time, but all the abſurd Doctrines and Schemes of Religion, which have been ſince advanced in any Part of the chriſtian World. For the Right of private Judgement, ſimply conſidered, is the Same in all Men; and conſequently all Men, for whatever impious or abſurd Doctrines they contend, are equally to be applauded for acting in purſuance of it.

7. But upon what Principle ſoever, thoſe Perſons who were concerned in promoting the Reformation abroad, might proceed; there is no Appearance that the Groundwork of the Reformation here in *England* was laid in private Judgement, in oppoſition to publick Authority. And when thoſe of our Communion ſpeak concerning

ning the Principles in general, upon which the Reformation proceeded, they ſhould, one would think, rather direct us to ſeek for them, in what was done by our own Reformers after a [q] regular and ſynodical Manner, than to ſuch Proceedings among the Reformers abroad, the Irregularities whereof themſelves only pretended to excuſe from the Neceſſity of their Affairs. The Methods, which were taken here to introduce the Reformation, were all in a publick and authoritative Way; nothing was done, but by the whole Power of the Church of *England*, in a legal Repreſentation of her Clergy: And whoever, upon a Pretence of private Judgement, did then, or at any Time ſince, oppoſe the Deciſions of the Clergy ſo aſſembled, has, according to the Nature of the Offence, been ſtigmatized with the Mark of Hereſy, or of Schiſm, and eſteem'd, if incorrigible by Admonition, as one deſerving to be ſeparated from the Communion of the Faithful: And yet we are told, that to aſſume ſuch an Authority, deſtroys the very Baſe and Groundwork of the Reformation. It is unaccountable, how that ſhould deſtroy the very Baſe and Groundwork of the Reformation, upon which the Church of *England*, acknowledged to be a *noble Part* of the Catholick Church, proceeded in her Reformation; upon which ſhe has ever ſince ſuperſtructed, and does at this very Time ſubſiſt. The civil Powers indeed concurred, as they ought to have done, in aſſiſting the Church in this great Work, and in corroborating her Decrees; but a corroborating Circumſtance of any Right, does by no means ſuppoſe either a Ceſſion or Diminution of that Right. But to ſay, what the Principle which I thought it incumbent on me to obviate ſuppoſeth, if it doth ſuppoſe any Thing, that a Man's private Judgement may give him a Right to oppoſe publick Authority; that, for Inſtance, whoever they are, that believe the three Orders of the Church, are not either of divine or always of uſeful Inſtitution, may, for that Reaſon, lawfully oppoſe, and endeavour to abrogate them, in Oppoſition to the eccleſiaſtical Eſtabliſhment; if this be the Privilege of private Judgement, we may ſafely aver, nothing could be ſaid more contradictory to the Senſe or Practice of the Church of

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[q] *A Tranſcript from the Collections with which my learned Friend Mr.* Harbyn *hath been pleaſed to favour me, cannot but be here very acceptable to the Reader.* "I muſt do the Clergy of this Reign, *ſaith he*, the Juſtice to own, That in all the Steps and Advances that were made towards a Reformation, they always appeared foremoſt, and made Way for the Acts of Parliament by their previous Decrees and Determinations in their Synods. And I think, it does deſerve to be taken notice of, for the Credit of the Reformation and the Honour of *Henry* the Eighth, that, notwithſtanding he was generally ſo impetuous and arbitrary, yet he did not think fit to make any Alterations in Religion, but by the moſt regular and unexceptionable Methods; ſuch as conſulting and adviſing firſt with the Clergy, muſt be allowed to be. And this ſhews, how groundleſs the Calumny is, which attributes all the Variations from Popery in this Reign, to the Luſts and Paſſions of *Henry* the Eighth. From hence too, I think, I have a juſt Occaſion of blaming our Hiſtorian (Biſhop *Burnet*, p. 82.) for an injurious Reflection upon the Clergy of that Reign, when he ſays, *They oppoſed all Motions for a Reformation*.

England, either in the Beginning of the Reformation, or the Times ſucceeding it. And the Church, in aſſuming an Authority to impoſe her Senſe concerning this Article upon her Children, hath acted not only agreeably to her own Principles, but to the Principles of the Church of God in all Ages. How far the Ignorance or Errors, or certain political Conſiderations might excuſe the Reformers abroad, in rejecting Epiſcopacy, it does not directly concern us to enquire: They muſt anſwer to that Charge, if they can, for themſelves. Neither are we to be terrified, with the Conſequences of this Doctrine, to which the Church of *England* adhered in her Reformation, becauſe we are told, we ſhall thereby unchurch our reformed Brethren abroad: This Way of Arguing from Conſequences, will never ſatisfy the Minds of Men who deſire to regulate their Judgements by the pure Light of Truth, and the natural Evidence of Things. If the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation be falſe, then all the Members of the Church of *Rome*, among whom there are certainly many pious, learned, and good Men, are confeſſedly guilty of Idolatry; will any Man, to prevent this hard, and, as it is thought, uncharitable Conſequence? will any Man therefore ſay, the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation is certainly true? The Argument relating to foreign Congregations, ſo far as it proceeds only upon conſequential Inconveniences, is equally applicable. Could it be proved, in particular, that Epiſcopacy is not of divine Inſtitution, or an Ordinance perpetually obligatory; or that any Authority upon Earth might lawfully abrogate it, and ſuperinduce ſome other Form of Church-Government; this would be an Argument that ought to have its due Weight: But Men will never be convinced of the Truth of any Thing, by Inferences of what Nature ſoever, which have no neceſſary or viſible Connection with the Arguments, that ought to prove it. No Man, to illuſtrate what I ſay by another Inſtance, who has not been baptiſed by epiſcopal Hands, will for this Reaſon alone, and he will never be able to produce any other, conclude his Baptiſm valid, becauſe otherways the Baptiſm of a great Number of Perſons, who never had any Scruple concerning it, will be invalid alſo; ſuch a Way of Reaſoning may be agreeable to thoſe, who are under the Conduct of a Guide, whoſe deciſions they are not to diſpute, and who follow him with an implicit Faith; but with Proteſtants, and in an Age of ſo much Light, where a Reaſon is required and expected for every Thing, it only ſheweth, that when Men have Recourſe to ſuch poor and foreign Subterfuges, they are in very great Diſtreſs for Want of Argument.

8. I have

8. I have inſiſted longer upon this Article, as it tends ſo much, and ſo peculiarly, to the Honour of the *Engliſh* Reformation, and to confirm my Conjecture, that the King and his great Miniſter, did not ſo readily come into the Meaſures taken towards a Reformation abroad, becauſe they ſaw the early Tendency of ſome Doctrines to deſtroy the very Being of the chriſtian Church, and to introduce an Adminiſtration into it, without any Authority either from God or Man; they reſolved poſſibly (if they had any ſuch Deſign) when they ſhould ſee a proper Time of Reforming the Church, to do it in ſuch a Manner, that the Reformation of it might appear to all the World, not to be the Effect of popular Clamour, or any tumultuary Proceedings, but of mature Advice and regular Conſultation; That the Diſorders under which the eccleſiaſtical State languiſhed, ought to be healed without applying ſuch Remedies, as would conſume its very Vitals; and that it was better, 'till Matters might be more ripe for ſuch a Reformation, that certain Diſorders ſhould be tolerated, than a Way be opened to any illegal Pretenſions to rectify what was amiſs; thereby to deſtroy the Hierarchy, and leave the Church without any Paſtors, according to the Inſtitution of God, and conſequently without any authentick or valid Adminiſtrations.

9. To return to the State of civil Affairs, wherein our Court was, at this Time, principally intereſted. The ſtrict and intimate Correſpondence between the King and his Imperial Majeſty began now, by ſenſible Degrees, to be diſcontinued. And there followed a certain Coldneſs in the Negotiations between them, which diſcovered a Tendency to that open Rupture, which afterwards happened. Tho' the King, out of a decent Regard to his Ally and Confederate the Emperor, had upon News of the Victory obtained by his Troops before *Pavia*, cauſed publick Demonſtration of Joy to be made in *London*, and a Maſs, with extraordinary Solemnity, to be ſung for the Celebration of it. Yet it was thought, he did not inwardly rejoice on the Occaſion, conſidering, the Emperor, by the Succeſs of that Action, was riſen to a Height of Power, which did not ſeem to conſiſt with thoſe Reaſons of Safety or Intereſt, by which it concerned the Princes his Neighbours to regulate their Conduct. The King was more confirmed in this Sentiment, from the cold Reception which his Ambaſſadors found in their Demands at the Court of *Madrid*. He was therefore reſolved to aſſert the Dignity and Prerogative of the Crown of *England*, in claiming to hold the Balance of Power among the Princes his Neighbours, and in making himſelf Arbiter of their Proceedings, when they ſhould preſume to diſturb the publick Tranquillity. Upon this Ground, and

from the growing Danger wherewith Chriſtendom was threatned by the Turk, he was determined, for the Time, to wave his Pretenſions to the Crown of *France*, and to apply the proper Methods of procuring an univerſal Peace. To this End, for which he was alſo ſollicitous out of a generous Compaſſion towards the *French* King, he gave Orders to his Embaſſadors in *Spain*, to intercede for the Enlargement of that Prince; which yet was not effected without ſuch Conditions, as neither the Court of *England* or *France* could by any means approve; tho' the King had himſelf wrote to the Emperor in behalf of *Francis*, in Terms very proper to affect a generous Mind; for he declared, the greateſt Comfort that King found in his diſtreſſed Condition, was, "That he had fallen into "the Hands of ſo magnanimous a Prince, who would not oblige "him to any Thing, that might not, in Juſtice, be required, or "which he was not capable of executing: That he hoped, there- "fore, ſufficient Security would be accepted for his Freedom, eſpe- "cially, ſince it would be more advantagious to his Imperial Ma- "jeſty that he ſhould have a faithful and potent Friend, than that "he ſhould ſuffer a captive Monarch to live, or die, under ſuch un- "happy Circumſtances."

10. But it is not improbable the King was more reſolute in proſecuting his Deſigns againſt the Emperor, as he apprehended himſelf injured by his Imperial Majeſty in a very nice Point of Honour. Notwithſtanding the Contract between the Emperor and the Princeſs *Mary*, a Match had been propoſed on his Part, with *Iſabella*, Princeſs of *Portugal*, which was thought by the King to reflect ſome Diſgrace on his Daughter; whom the Emperour had obliged himſelf, upon Oath, to marry, ſo ſoon as ſhe ſhould come to Age of Maturity; but to excuſe himſelf in Breach of this Engagement, his imperial Majeſty alledged that at the Petition of his "STATES aſſembled at *Toledo*, He was obliged to comply with "the Deſires of his Subjects, and hoped his Compliance herein "would not be interpreted as any Breach of Friendſhip with the "King. An Apology of more uſe could not have been made towards abſolving *Francis* from the Crime of Infidelity, wherewith the Emperour afterwards charged him. For how doth it appear, that the States, or People of *Spain* had more power, at their Requeſt, than thoſe of *France*, to diſcharge their Prince from any previous ſolemn Contract? Upon a general view of the Caſe, it appears much more reaſonable, that a Soveraign Prince ſhould have a power independent on his Subjects, of diſpoſing himſelf in Marriage, than that he ſhould have a power of diſmembering any part of his Dominions, wherein his Subjects are intereſted,

or even a Power of delivering his Perſon, without their Conſent, into the Hands of a foreign Potentate. All we can infer, from this Repreſentation of *Charles* the Fifth, in his own Defence, is, that Princes like other Men ſometimes form and vary their Judgements both concerning Perſons and Things, only as private Paſſion, or certain political Conſiderations, byaſs the Underſtanding, without any Regard to their real or intrinſick Merit. However, the King of *England*, conſidering the tender Age of the Princeſs his Daughter, and having probably a ſecret Intention of coming to an open Rupture with the Emperor, appeared willing, by mutual Agreement, to diſſolve the Contract between them; and therefore ſhewed no publick Reſentment, however he might diſreliſh it, of the ſeeming Indignity offered to his Daughter. After this, the two Powers, which had been formerly united in the moſt ſtrict Alliance, and mutual Ties of Friendſhip, began to treat each other with much Indifference; and by Degrees, with ſo ſenſible a Neglect, that the Embaſſadors were on both Sides recalled; and the Emperor, who before uſed, at the Concluſion of his Letters to the King, to write your Son and Kinſman; from that Time, without any additional Title, only ſubſcribed *Charles*.

CHAP. XXXI.

1. *Diſguſt againſt the Cardinal by the People, and upon what Occaſion; with an incidental Queſtion relating to Lord* Herbert. 2. *The Cardinal applies to the Lord-Mayor about a publick Benevolence.* 3. *It is oppoſed in the Country: Occaſions an Inſurrection, afterwards ſuppreſſed and pardoned.* 4. *An Artifice towards reinſtating the Canons of* Begham *detected and puniſhed.* 5. *Concerning the Cardinal's Revenues, and his viſiting Monaſteries by his Chaplain Doctor* Allen. 6. *A Vindication of him from another unjuſt Calumny.* 7. *He makes a Preſent to the King of* Hampton Court. 8. *Two learned Antiquaries equally ſuſpected of Partiality.* 9. *Concerning Doctor* Sherton *and others from* Cambridge. 10. *Of certain Foreigners incorporated in the Cardinal's College.* 11. *Large Extract from a Letter of the Univerſity to the Cardinal.* 12. *Reflections upon it.* 13. *The Name of the Cardinal's College altered.* 14. *Letter from Duke of* Venice, *concerning Secretary* Pace.

1. DURING theſe foreign Tranſactions, the King found 1525.
his Treaſury much exhauſted, and was apprehenſive, that 1526.
a new War, the Projects of which he now began to form, would require freſh and very large Supplies. But as the Cardinal had

undertaken, ſo long as he ſhould have the Direction of Affairs, to provide all the neceſſary Funds for the publick Service, the Court was very willing that Province ſhould be left to his own Management, and did not much deſire to interpoſe in an Affair, which ſeldom renders thoſe who are concerned in adviſing it, acceptable to the People. This appeared from the great and general Diſguſt, which at this Time was entertained againſt the Cardinal, becauſe Commiſſions, it was pretended, by his Advice, had been given out, whereby a ſixth Part of the Goods of Laymen, and a Fourth of the Clergy, was to be levied throughout the Kingdom. Of this Impoſt, the People complained heavily, not only on Account of their Poverty, but becauſe the Commiſſions for it were contrary to Law. Upon which, the King reſolved to diſavow the whole Proceeding, and to declare by his publick Letters, that he expected nothing from his People, but by Way of free Benevolence; under which Colour, notwithſtanding, great Sums of Money were required, and particularly from the Citizens of *London*; in Behalf of whom one of their Council pleaded, ſuch Benevolences were expreſly prohibited by a Statute, in the firſt Year of *Richard* the Third: To this it was anſwered, that Laws enacted by Uſurpers, are not preſumed to bind legitimate Princes; that *Richard* the Third was not only a Tyrant, but had cauſed his own Nephews to be aſſaſſinated, and was therefore more fit to ſuffer by the Law, than to make Law: So that his Intention was only to court the Favour of the People by the moſt popular Methods, he having no other Proſpect of ſupporting his unjuſt Power: But that King *Henry* having a juſt and unconteſted Title to the Crown, could be bound no further by any Statute of *Richard* the Third, than himſelf ſhould think fit to approve; It being abſurd to think, that an Act of a factious Aſſembly, confirmed no otherwiſe than by an Uſurper, and a Criminal in the higheſt Degree, ſhould bind a ſovereign and rightful Prince. Theſe are the Reaſons alledged by Lord *Herbert*, as ſpoken in Defence of the Court, but he cites no Authority for them; ſo that it is uncertain whether they were really offered, or whether his Lordſhip has not taken the ſame Liberty, as he hath done in other Places, a Liberty, not ſo common to modern, as to more ancient Hiſtorians, of arguing in a borrowed Perſon, from the probable Reaſon, and Circumſtances of Things.

2. The Cardinal, that he might better learn how the Citizens were diſpoſed towards the Benevolence, began to enquire of the Lord Mayor, what Sum he intended to contribute. But his Lordſhip deſired he might not be obliged to declare himſelf, particularly upon the Matter propoſed, 'till he ſhould have Time to confer with the

Common-Council of the City: Upon which, the Cardinal moved that He, with the Aldermen his Brethren, would come privately to him, and contribute what they ſhould think proper.

3. In the Country the Benevolence was ſtill more oppoſed, and ſome Perſons were ſo highly enraged at it, that they openly took up Arms; but ſubmitting themſelves, at the Perſuaſion of the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, they were brought to *London*, and there ſecured. The King underſtanding that the common Sort of People excuſed their Incompliance with what was expected, not from Want of Affection, but Ability, was determined not to puniſh any of them on this Occaſion, but to bring the Matter before his Council; where the Cardinal, in vindication of himſelf, ſaid, that he had done nothing herein, without the [q] previous Advice of the Judges; who had poſitively affirmed, that the King might lawfully demand any Sum by Commiſſion, and that the Council of State had approved this Method. But the King ſaying, he had been aſſured, that his Subjects were richer, than they appeared to be from the Effect of this Commiſſion, the whole Blame was caſt upon thoſe who had made ſuch falſe Information; and a general Pardon given to ſuch, as had denied to contribute towards the Benevolence. The Delinquents were afterwards brought to the Star-Chamber, where they received a ſevere Animadverſion from the King's Council learned in the Laws, and then were told by the Cardinal, that, "Notwithſtanding their grie-" vous Offences, the King, in Conſideration of their Poverty, had "granted them his moſt gracious Pardon, upon Condition, they "would give in Sureties for their future good Behaviour." And when it was replied they had none to give; the Cardinal firſt, and after him the Duke of *Norfolk*, ſaid they would engage for them; whereupon there was an Order for their Diſcharge.

4. The Cardinal, ſupported both by the papal and regal Authority, ſtill continued to ſuppreſs the leſſer Monaſteries, and to convert them to better Uſes. Among theſe, while Methods were taking to ſuppreſs the Monaſtery of *Begham* in *Suſſex*, certain People in a ſtrange and frightful Diſguiſe, carrying the Canons along with them, made a Shew of reinſtating them, and ſo departed, promiſing the Canons, to come at any Time to their Relief, upon the Signal of their ringing the Abby-Bell. But theſe had not long an Opportunity of carrying on the Impoſture, for the King's Council receiving Intelligence of the Matter, ſo ſtrictly examined the Canons, that at laſt they confeſſed the Authors

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[q] *Lord* Herbert *from* Hall.

of the Cheat, who being ſent for, received a due and ſevere Puniſhment.

5. The Revenues of the Cardinal from the Privileges of his viſitatorial Power, of making Abbots, of proving Wills, granting Faculties, Licenſes, and Diſpenſations; from his Penſions, and Preferments, and other viſible Advantages, were thought, by this Time to be equal to the Revenues of the Crown. But in the Methods of enriching him, under the firſt Article, no one contributed ſo much, as his Chaplain *John Allen* Doctor of Laws; who accompanied with a great Train, and riding in a Kind of perpetual Progreſs from one religious Houſe to another, is ſaid to have drawn very large Sums for his Maſter's Service from them. This being at laſt complained of as a publick Grievance, the King took notice of it in ſo ſharp a Manner, that the Cardinal was enforced, not only to excuſe himſelf with much Submiſſion, but to promiſe not to offend in the like Kind any more; proteſting, withal, that he had made a laſt Will and Teſtament, wherein he had left a great Part of his Eſtate to his Highneſs: Upon which Submiſſion it is ſuppoſed, the King ſent him a Letter written throughout with his own Hand, relating to the Abbey of *Winton*.

6. I do not think my ſelf concerned to make the leaſt Apology for any real Irregularities, wherewith either the Cardinal himſelf, or Perſons employed by him, were juſtly chargeable, and which are founded on any good or reaſonable Evidence. But as to what ſome Hiſtorians have ſaid, to the Diſhonour of the Cardinal, that he did not only ſooth the King in his criminal Pleaſures, but was a Sharer of them, with a vile Inſinuation, as if he were privy and inſtrumental to the Commerce which the King had with Miſtreſs *Blount*, the Effect of which was the Birth of a natural Son to the King, afterwards Duke of *Richmond*; I cannot but obſerve by the Way, this is a Charge of ſo high and very offenſive a Nature, as ought to have been well proved, and from the beſt Authorities, by thoſe, who have reported it.

7. The Cardinal having built the noble Palace of *Hampton Court*, deſigned now to make a Preſent of it to the King: But as the beſt Deſigns are capable of being reſolved into bad Motives, ſome Hiſtorians have ſuppoſed the Cardinal was induced to make this Preſent, upon a Conſideration, that ſo fine and magnificent a Structure would only add unto that Envy, by which he had already ſuffered ſo much. Whereas it might, with more Candour, be preſumed, that as he owed every Thing to the King, he choſe to expreſs his

Gratitude, by an Acknowledgement worthy of his royal Acceptance.

8. Amidſt all the arduous Affairs of State and other great Deſigns of the Cardinal for the Glory of his Maſter, the Good of the Kingdom, and the common Intereſts of Chriſtendom; *Oxford* in particular, had ſtill a conſiderable Share in them: I ſhall here interpoſe no farther in the Controverſy, between our learned Hiſtorian, and the Author of the Antiquities of *Cambridge*, than by obſerving, they both diſcover too great Partiality to the different Places of their Education. The Latter pretends, that a Colony of *Cantabrigians* was ſent, at the Cardinal's Inſtance, to *Oxford*, to inſtruct the Members of that Univerſity in the liberal Arts, who before this Miſſion, were altogether Strangers to them. The Other, having aſſerted, and appealed to the Authority of *Fox*, for what he ſaid, That the *Cantabrigians*, at that Time, were ſo very ignorant, that it could ſcarce be ſaid they were [r] as yet initiated in the Knowledge of Letters, hath obſerved, that thoſe, who come from *Cambridge*, to the Cardinal's College, were only admitted in mere Quality of Scholars or Students; but that not One of them was diſtinguiſhed with the Title of Lecturer or Canon, or with any other ſuperior Character. From whence he infers, that the Deſign of tranſplanting them to *Oxford*, was not, that they ſhould teach the Sciences, but be inſtructed in them. He adds, That it appears from Letters of the Cardinal, which yet he does not cite, that the Perſons whom he had entertained in his College from *Cambridge*, behaved themſelves in ſuch a Manner, that he heartily repented of his having adopted them into it. This might poſſibly be true, and yet nothing to the Purpoſe, for which our learned Hiſtorian cites it. For the Queſtion between the two Antiquaries is not concerning the Morals of the Members from *Cambridge*, but their Learning; and, even in this reſpect, the Reaſon of the Cardinal's Diſguſt taken at them, might proceed not from their Ignorance, but becauſe they employed what Learning and Knowledge they had with a diſtinguiſhed Zeal, towards exploding certain Doctrines then received and eſtabliſhed, but which in general, no one eſpouſed with greater Ardour, than the Cardinal. His Deſign at preſent being ſo far from taking any Meaſures tending to introduce a Reformation, and eſpecially to ſeparate from the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, that in ſolliciting the neceſſary Powers towards ſuppreſſing religious Houſes, in order to found a College, he pro-

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[r] Academiam illam — Bonarum Literarum Cognitio ingreſſa vixdum fuerit. *Ant. Ox.* p. 249.

ceeded expreſsly upon this Suggeſtion, that the Society which he deſired to erect, would be a Means of promoting good Learning, and thereby of extirpating the many Hereſies and Schiſms, which had ſpread themſelves over the chriſtian World. And yet it happened, by the Providence of God, who frequently over-rules the Deſigns of Men, to effect ſuch Ends, as were not only beſide their Intention, but directly oppoſite to it, that none were more active and inſtrumental in opening a Way to the Reformation in *England*, than the very Members of that Society, which the Cardinal founded, with an Intention of doing eminent Service thereby to the papal Cauſe.

9. Yet our Antiquary acknowledgeth, that among thoſe, who came at this Time from the other Univerſity to viſit *Oxford*, there was a Doctor of Divinity *Robert Sherton*, who preferred a Supplication, that he might be admitted here to the ſame Degree. But it doth not appear, that he either took upon him to inſtruct any Perſons in the Univerſity, or that he had here any Office of Diſtinction conferred on him. And our Hiſtorian extends the like Obſervation to all the Reſt of the Members from *Cambridge*; ſeveral of whom, whoſe Names he deſcendeth to enumerate, being Batchelors of Arts, were admitted to the ſame Degree, as were others reſpectively, who were Maſters of Arts. But there were Students who came very Young from the other Univerſity and before they were Graduates, who after they had been incorporated and reſident among us ſome Time, made extraordinary Progreſs and Advancement, in ſeveral Parts of Learning.

10. The Foreigners incorporated in the Cardinal's College were *John de Coloribus* a Dominican, *Nicholas de Burgo* Batchelor of Divinity, and *Peter Garcia de Lalo*, of the Univerſity of *Paris*; the Firſt of theſe took his Degree of Doctor in Divinity, and wrote a Book againſt *Luther*, by the Cardinal's ſpecial Nomination, among others, whom he alſo appointed to that End. But as he proceeded in Divinity in the Year Fifteen hundred and ſeventeen; it is uncertain, whether he came originally to reſide in *Oxford* at the Cardinal's Invitation. Yet his Learning and Merit afterwards gave him a great Share in his Eminency's Favour, and recommended him to be a Member of his new erected College, tho' it is uncertain in what Capacity. The Second reſided in *Oxford* for the Space of eight Years; he was an *Italian* born, tho' tranſplanted from *Paris*. He ſucceeded *Thomas Brynknell* in the Theological Lecture, founded by the Cardinal; which he read in *Magdalen* College: And when the Queſtion concerning the Divorce came to be agitated, ſhewing

himſelf a zealous Advocate for it; he ſo provoked the Women in *Oxford*, who apprehended the Rights of the Sex intereſted in the Diſpute, that they openly inſulted him, and even threw Stones at him, as he walked the Streets. Upon which, preferring a Complaint againſt them, no leſs than Thirty of thoſe Women were impriſoned and kept under confinement three Days and as many Nights. To theſe our Antiquary, making no further Mention of *Garcia*, addeth *Nicholas Cratzer* a *Bavarian*, the famous Mathematician; *Matthew Culphurinus* a *Grecian*, both of them Lecturers in the Cardinal's New College: Where, with ſome other learned Men, they were the happy Inſtruments of promoting uſeful and ſolid Learning; 'till a peſtilential Diſtemper, beginning to rage, cauſed them to retire and diſperſe. And on the ſame Account ſeveral of the *Cantabrigians* leaving the Univerſity, returned no more to proſecute their Studies in it.

11. Theſe were the initial Steps in the Cardinal's College, from which the Univerſity of *Oxford* had conceived the greateſt Hopes, towards the general Advancement of Learning. The Structure of which, if that ſhould be conſidered, was not inferior to the moſt magnificent royal Palaces; tho' nothing can be ſaid ſo much, or ſo well, in Honour of the Cardinal, with Regard to his whole Deſign in this noble Foundation, as in the Terms wherein the Encouragement, he thereby gave to Learning, is celebrated, in ſeveral Letters of the Univerſity to him. From[f] one of them our Hiſtorian has drawn a large Extract, Part of which is to the following Effect. " That if ever a Way was opened to true and ſolid Learning,
" this is the Time wherein the Diſpoſitions of Providence to
" that End, appear more remarkable: Since no Age ever diſcovered
" a more forward Inclination in Men to Letters, or afforded greater
" Advantages for learned Improvements; For what can more
" excite the Ardor of Men in purſuit of them, than to underſtand,
" that their Endeavours do not only recommend them to the Approbation
" of their Superiors, but to the ſenſible, to the moſt
" generous, Effects, of their Favour and Encouragement. What
" indeed can contribute more to animate Men in their Search after
" Knowledge, than when they conſider they are purſuing thoſe very
" Methods, by which your Eminency hath gradually raiſed your
" ſelf to ſo tranſcendent a Pitch of Glory. When we reflect, that
" the higheſt Authority is adorned in the Perſon of your Lordſhip,
" with the moſt extenſive Goodneſs, and that your
" Lordſhip's Erudition is equal to your great Dignities, and how

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[f] *Hiſt.* Ox. *p.* 250, Vid. Ep. 136.

“ great Addreſs, and more than human Wiſdom you ſhew, in managing the moſt important and intricate Affairs of State, we cannot, but in the moſt humble and devout Manner, render our Thanks to Almighty God, for his Grace, in conferring ſuch ſpecial and extraordinary Gifts upon Men; and upon one, who, in his early Age, being incorporated in this Univerſity, and having conformed to the Rules and Diſcipline of it, is now become a Patron and Protector and common Father to us. The Benefits of whoſe paternal Care over us, have not only exceeded our Expectations, but all that we could reaſonably propoſe, or deſire; for who has raiſed in any Seat of Learning whatever, or in any Age, ſo noble a Monument of Piety and Goodneſs, as what at preſent is erected upon the Foundation of your New College. It had been indeed a noble Deſign, and worthy of a great Mind, had it only been formed upon the Plan ſometime ſince communicated to us, in the Name of your Eminency, by the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, who told us, the Deſign of your Grace was to found a College, wherein all convenient Proviſion ſhould be made for the Support of about Two hundred Students. This Report filled us with thoſe Sentiments of Joy and Gratitude, which were proper on the Occaſion — But — now above what that Prelate reported to us, we are informed by the Letters of your Grace, you deſign a large Augmentation to the ſeveral Salaries of the Members; and that beſides ſome more private Lectures, you deſign to found ſeven for the publick Service and Benefit of the Univerſity: And that for the Lectures relating to Theology and the common Law, your Lordſhip will make perpetual Eſtabliſhment; that the moſt learned Profeſſors ſhall in convenient Time be invited from foreign Nations; that moſt ample Stipends are already provided for the reſpective Readers; and that all the Schools ſhall be erected at your ſole Expence: When we recollect what is already done, and upon what we are aſſured remains to be done in this great Deſign, we no longer conſider your new Society as an additional College to other Colleges, but as a Univerſity ſuper-added to a Univerſity; and, as if *Oxford*, by ſuch an extraordinary Acceſſion to it, were really founded anew; eſpecially, ſeeing your ſole Donation far exceeds the Benefits collectively taken, of the ſeveral Founders in all preceeding Ages: And, ſeeing the Rules and Diſcipline upon which the Members of your Society ought to form themſelves, are moſt admirably calculated, for the Advancement of ſolid and academical Learning.

12. Theſe were the Sentiments, at that Time, of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, concerning the Cardinal, and his great Deſigns in founding his College. It may poſſibly be thought, there are ſome Expreſſions in this, and other Letters from that learned Body, which appear forced and hyperbolical, and as ſetting his Eminency off in too glaring a Light. I would only recommend it to be conſidered, that the Univerſity were the beſt Judges concerning the Reaſons of their paying ſo much Honour to the Cardinal; that his continual and great Benefactions to them were in themſelves highly commendable and praiſe-worthy; that the great Qualities which they extol in him were ſuch, as were acknowledged to him by the whole World; and that notwithſtanding they ſpeak of him, in very high Strains of Eloquence and Admiration, yet they confined themſelves to ſuch of his Talents or Actions, as the Circumſtances, they were in, and the Relation they had to him, rendered it proper for them to celebrate. But had they thought fit to deſcend to ſuch Parts of his Character or Conduct, wherein they were leſs concerned, certainly their Teſtimony ought, upon many Accounts, to have had more Weight, than of all the other Hiſtorians, who have tranſmitted any Memoirs of this great Man to us; eſpecially ſuch of them, whether more ancient or modern, as appear to have written either with a Byaſs in general, or from ſome particular Motives of Prejudice, againſt the Cardinal.

13. The College to be founded by the Cardinal, which by the firſt Bulls from the Pope, and Letters Patents from the King, authoriſing him to ſuppreſs the leſſer Monaſteries, was called *The College of Secular Prieſts*, was now by other Powers from the King concerning the Foundation of it, to aſſume another Name, That of *Cardinal College*; and for the future, the Secular Clergy in it, were to be called by the Name of the *Dean and Canons Secular of the Cardinal of* York, and under that Denomination to be incorporated into one Body, to ſubſiſt by a perpetual Succeſſion. Theſe Powers containing ſeveral Things relating to the Privileges granted by the King to that Society, to the Qualifications of thoſe who ſhould be admitted into it, and to certain Regulations, whereby the Dean and Canons were to proceed and govern themſelves, I have thought fit to tranſcribe Copies of them at large in the [s] Collections.

14. I ſhall conclude this Period with a ſummary Account of a Letter from [t] *Andrew Gritt* Duke of *Venice* to the Cardinal, who

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[s] Coll. Nº 74. Book II.

[t] Coll. Nº 75. *a* Book II.

writes to his Eminency, That Secretary *Pace*, who had reſided there for ſome Time in Quality of the King's Orator, and had been eſpecially recommended by Letters from the Cardinal, was preparing to return to *England*; that nothing could have been more agreeable to him, than a Licenſe to that End from his Majeſty, he having been for ſome time in a very ill State of Health; and the Phyſicians who had attended him, all concurring in Opinion, nothing would contribute ſo much to reſtore him, as a Change of Air, eſpecially for that of his native Country. The Letter contains little more than a Character of this reverend Perſon, his excellent Qualities, and the earneſt Deſire and Sollicitude, which the Duke expreſſed, on that Account, for his Recovery, with an handſome Teſtimony, both concerning his Diligence and Fidelity in executing his Commiſſion; tho' ſoon after his Return from *Italy*, and by ſome Error, or ſuppoſed Error in his Conduct there, he was ſo unhappy as to fall under the Cardinal's great Diſpleaſure.

CHAP. XXXII.

1. *Concerning the Treaty of* Madrid *upon which the* French *King had his Liberty.* 2. *The King, by his Ambaſſadors at the Court of* France, *diſſuades the Execution of that Treaty.* 3. *An Ambaſſy from* Francis *notifying his Deliverance.* 4. *The Cardinal's Addreſs and Inſtructions on that Occaſion.* 5. *Reaſons alledged on the Part of the* French *King for a Breach of the Articles to which he had ſubmitted.* 6. *Whether juſtifiable; and concerning the Obligation of Oaths.*

1525. 1526. 1. IN the Beginning of this Year the Treaty of [x] *Madrid* was concluded between the Emperor and *French* King: Upon which, tho' he was reſtored to his Liberty, upon hard, and very diſadvantagious Conditions; yet it is ſuppoſed, he had not obtained it, at leaſt ſo ſoon, but by the earneſt Interceſſion of the King of *England*. Among other Conditions of that Treaty, it was agreed, "That the ſame Day *Francis* was ſet at Liberty, his two Sons, the Dauphin, and the Duke of *Orleans*, ſhould be delivered as Hoſtages into the Emperor's Hands: After which, *Francis* was to deliver up the Dukedom of *Burgundy* to the Emperor, and reſtore the Duke of *Bourbon* and all his Friends; to marry the Emperor's Siſter, *Leonora*, and to indemnify his Imperial Majeſty againſt all Demands on the Part of the King of *England*."

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[x] *This memorable Treaty in* French *is inſerted in* Rymer. Convent. *T.* 14. 308.

Theſe Articles being ratified in Form, and both Sides having taken an Oath to obſerve them, the *French* King, on the Eighteenth of *March*, was exchanged on the Borders of *France*, for his two Sons with much ceremonious Solemnity, and the niceſt Precautions on both Sides. Being at Liberty, it is ſaid, he immediately mounted a ſwift Horſe, and putting Spurs to him, rode with a Precipitation, and expreſſed himſelf after a Manner, rather diſcovering an exceſſive Tranſport of Joy, than becoming the Sedateneſs and Majeſty of ſo great a Prince: For he made Exclamation upon full Speed, *I am a King, I am a King*, deſigning hereby to declare, that he had now recovered the Freedom and Dignity belonging to a crowned Head; or as others have inferred from the Event, That being now at Liberty, he ſhould not think himſelf bound by the Conditions of a Treaty, to which he only ſubmitted through Conſtraint.

2. So ſoon as the *French* King was returned into his Dominions, the King of *England* ſent [y] Sir *Thomas Cheney* to congratulate him on the Occaſion; but his principal Buſineſs was to diſſuade the Execution of the Treaty of *Madrid*, as being too advantagious to the Emperor, and, on the Part of *France*, againſt all Conſcience, Honour, Law, and Reaſon. But *Cheney* is directed to make this Repreſentation as of himſelf, not by command, and to add, that he maketh no Doubt, but the King of *England* will interpoſe his good Offices towards obtaining more honourable Conditions for the *French* King, with a Compoſition, for Delivery of the Hoſtages in the Emperor's Hands, on Payment of a reaſonable Sum of Money. And in the next Place, the Ambaſſadors are to move *Francis* to confirm and ratify the Treaty lately concluded between *Louiſe* the Regent his Mother, and the King their Maſter.

3. *Francis*, on his Part, did not omit the neceſſary Forms of Reſpect to be paid, upon his Deliverance, to the King of *England*; but having recovered his Liberty, ſent a ſpecial Embaſſy to notify it to our Court, and to acquaint the King with the ſeveral Articles of the Treaty, upon which it was obtained, acknowledgeing by a Letter, under his own Hand, to Cardinal *Wolſey*, that the King and his Eminency had been the chief Inſtruments of procuring his Enlargement, and at the firſt Audience which *Cheney* and *Taylor* had of his Majeſty, he made a verbal Acknowledgement to the ſame Effect.

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[y] *Doctor* Taylor *was joined in Commiſſion with him.*

4. The Complaiſance expreſſed on all Accounts by our Ambaſſadors, was not leſs amicable and obliging: The Cardinal on this Occaſion, diſcovered the uſual Addreſs, and Fineneſs of his Policy. But upon what Motives our Court proceeded in this Ambaſſy to *France*, and by what Meaſures our Ambaſſadors were to regulate themſelves, will beſt appear from the Cardinal's Inſtructions to Sir *Thomas Cheney*, wherein Dr. *Taylor* his Collegue was concluded. Sir *Thomas* is directed, firſt to mention the amicable Enterview that had been between the two Kings in the Year Fifteen hundred and twenty; to acquaint his Majeſty, that the intimate Friendſhip contracted then between them, had made ſo deep and laſting an Impreſſion upon the King of *England*, that no Accidents which have ſince intervened, could deſtroy or efface it: That the King often reflected, with much Pleaſure, on thoſe friendly Offices, which had at that Time paſſed between them, and could not be ſatisfied after he had received Advice of his Return into his Dominions, until he had ſent to ſee him; that the Confinement he had been under, had rendered a Viſit to him leſs practicable, than before. But that as he had for a long Time born a ſenſible Part in his Misfortunes, he now rejoiced with him on Occaſion of his Delivery; that it had been given in Charge to his Ambaſſadors, they ſhould make an Offer of any Service, in his Name, to the King of *France*, which might either be for his Advantage, his Pleaſure, or Honour. Sir *Thomas* is further directed not to declare himſelf to this Effect, as in a formal or elaborate Speech, but in the Way of a friendly and familiar Meſſage. After he had conformed to theſe general Inſtructions, he was to deſcend to the main Article of his Charge; and with all requiſite Caution and Prudence, to make Overtures towards a Breach of the late Treaty with the Emperor. And here, in the firſt Place, they were to uſe all proper Means of certain Information, concerning the preſent State of Affairs in *France*, and what were the true and ſpecifick Articles of the Peace; whether they were the very ſame, which had been commonly reported? and how they found the Court and People of *France* affected by them? what Difficulties had ariſen in reſpect to the Performance of them; and if any Expedients had been propoſed either in order to qualify, or infringe them? or, laſtly, whether they were really inclined and determined to execute, what had been ſtipulated? Then they were charged to inquire, what Appearances there were of faithful and ſincere Dealing between the two Powers; and whether they preſerved a Correſpondency free from mutual Jealouſies and Suſpicions? After they had well informed themſelves concerning theſe Particulars, they might eaſily, by way of free Conference, diſcover, how they ought to regulate themſelves, and proceed in the ſecond Article of their Charge: and that, herein,

they ſhould deliver their Sentiments, rather as if they were occaſioned by what the King might incidentally ſay, than if they had proceeded from a formed Intention; and might therefore better ſerve as introductory to the Matter before them: That as they found proper Opportunities, and the King might be in a favourable Diſpoſition, they ſhould, but with all the Secrecy and Reſervedneſs the Nature of the Thing would admit, touch upon ſuch Articles as related to an Alienation of the Rights, Honours, or Territories belonging to the Crown of *France*; the Renunciation of the King's Claim and Title to *Naples*; or to any Thing elſe, at which they might ſuppoſe Umbrage would not be taken. And here, with an Air of Concern and Surpriſe, as at ſomething, that was perfectly new to them, they are to obſerve, that theſe are very large and high Conditions, ſuch as had not been known before, and which in the Opinion of wiſe Men, either were not really agreed to, or not with an Intention of being executed. By expreſſing themſelves after this Manner, the *French* King and his Council would be inclined to open themſelves with more Freedom, and probably offer Reaſons, if that ſhould be deſigned, to juſtify the Breach of the Treaty. From whence the Embaſſadors might eaſily infer, whether they ought, at that Time to make any further Advances in the Matter, or to wait a more convenient Seaſon of proſecuting it.

They are to repreſent at large, what an Acceſſion of Honour, and exorbitant Power would accrue to the Emperor, if the Treaty ſhould in all the Parts of it be performed: That this would be the ready Means of rendering him the ſole Monarch of Chriſtendom, at leaſt of putting the greateſt Part of it into his Poſſeſſion: Still they are to expreſs themſelves, as if what they ſaid were rather occaſionally ſpoken, than with premeditated Deſign, 'till they diſcover an Inclination in the *French* King or his Council, either to evade, or divert their Propoſals. But if they find Reaſon to proceed, then they are to deſcend to a diſtinct Enumeration of the Dominions which the Emperor had, before the Treaty, in *Europe*, or of thoſe Additions which would ſtill be made to them, in Virtue of it; namely, the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, the Duchy of *Milan*, the Seigniory of *Jeames*, the Country of *Aſt*, with other Poſſeſſions in *Italy*; which being united to the Empire, he might ſoon be enabled to eſtabliſh his Sovereignty throughout all *Italy*. And, as to *Germany*, thoſe Parts of it which were not already in his Poſſeſſion, might eaſily be reduced, he having on the lower Part, *Artois*, *Flanders*, *Zealand*, *Holland*, *Brabant*, *Hainault*, and other Provinces; from which lieth a direct Paſſage to the Duchy and Country of *Burgoign*, bordering upon *Bourbonois*, and ſo to *Averne*, which by Means of the Duke of *Bourbon* would ſoon be at the Emperor's Devotion. On the other Side, are the Realms of *Caſtile*, *Arragon*, *Granat*, *Gallicia*, *Aſturia*, and other Parts of *Spain*. So that the Kingdom of *France* would be bounded by his Imperial Majeſty in three Parts, and ſituate, in a Manner, in the very Center of his Dominions. In caſe therefore he ſhould make War upon *France*, the *French* King would be obliged to defend his Dominions in three Parts, having the Sea on the Fourth. Upon which, they were to repreſent, that a Realm in ſuch a Situation, did not appear ſo much veſted with Sovereignty, as in a State of perpetual Servitude; whoſe King was only a Priſoner more at large, always in danger of being oppreſſed; theſe Things were to be inſinuated after a Manner, not which might ſeem in the leaſt to derogate from the Rights or Honour of his Imperial Majeſty, but only which ſhould tend to inflame the *French* Court. But if after all, the *French* King ſhould be ſcrupulous, and not diſcover a determinate Reſolution to obſerve the Articles of the Treaty; or if his Council, appeared to remain in ſuſpenſe about the Matter, then they are directly, and without any diguiſe, to demand, whether he is determined to perform all the Conditions of it; or whether in Conſcience, Honour, Law, or Reaſon, he thinketh himſelf thereunto bound? Upon their Anſwer to that Demand, *Cheney* is directed to ask Doctor *Taylor*'s Opinion in the Caſe, according to ſuch Knowledge and Learning as he had in the Laws: To which *Taylor* ſhould make Anſwer, That a Promiſe or Contract made in Captivity was of little Effect. Upon this Propoſition, he was to explain himſelf at large, to the End thoſe who were preſent, might be induced to declare their Sentiments in the Caſe, with more freedom.

There is no doubt, but theſe Inſtructions were drawn up, by the Cardinal; tho', in the * Author, from whom I borrow them, they do not bear his Name; his Manner, and his Stile (but as to that, I have taken the Liberty of varying from my Copy, which is but it ſelf an Extract) plainly appear in them. His adviſing the *French* King, to violate a Treaty, which he had made in Captivity, but ſolemnly ſworn to obſerve, is what I will by no means undertake to defend. But if the Cardinal herein conſulted the Maxims of humane Policy, more than of moral Equity, his Conduct, tho' indefenſible, is ſupported by too many Precedents; and yet the Embaſſadors being ſuppoſed to ſpeak the Senſe of the *Engliſh* Court in general, it will ſeem hard to caſt the whole Imputation upon the Miniſter, whoſe Province it was to draw up their Inſtructions.

* *Mr* Strype.

5. However, there wanted not ſome ſpecious and colourable Reaſons, upon which *Francis* pretended a Diſcharge from the Obligation of his Oath. In a Memorial, which he cauſed to be publiſhed,

liſhed, and ſent to all chriſtian Princes, the Effect of it was, “That he had indeed unfortunately, in a juſt War, been taken Priſoner; yet he proteſted, during his Confinement, that if the Emperor required unjuſt and impoſſible Conditions, he would not think himſelf obliged to perform them; but rather take the Opportunity, when he ſhould be free, of revenging himſelf for the Conſtraint put upon him. Yet, as he apprehended, by Reaſon of his Abſence, new Troubles might ariſe in *France*, he had endeavoured to procure his Liberty the beſt Way he could; and if any Thing were to be diſapproved, in the Methods he had taken to that End, they ought rather to be charged upon the Emperor, who had impoſed unreaſonable Conditions on him; than upon himſelf, who had found no other Means of Eſcaping; notwithſtanding he had, for the Satisfaction of his Honour, upon his Return, demanded of his chief Nobility and Counſellors, how he ſhould acquit himſelf of his Engagement, both according the Rules of Equity, and thoſe, whereby he was to govern himſelf in Regard to his royal Dignity; who, upon mature Deliberation anſwered, That a Contract which is unreaſonable, and highly detrimental to the Contractor, when impoſed on him by any Perſon, or Perſons, in whoſe Power he may be, ought to be held as violent and involuntary, and conſequently as in itſelf of no Force to oblige: Beſides, when he was conſecrated at *Rheims*, he took an Oath not to alienate any Eſtate of the Crown. From which Oath, as being previous to the Other, and withal more free and obligatory, he could not, by any Means, or ſubſequent Act, depart; eſpecially, ſeeing the Inhabitants of *Burgundy*, the Country demanded by the Emperor, would not conſent to be transferred. Therefore if he was urged by the Emperor to do any thing contrary to theſe prior Obligations, he muſt conſider it ſtill as a more ſpecial Effect of divine Providence, that he had recovered his Liberty: For the Emperor could not be ignorant, that he was under the greateſt Reſtraints of Religion, not to violate the Rights of his Crown. Neither could the Emperor believe, that the States of his Kingdom would ſuffer him to do it, contrary to the Obligation of their Oaths. However, that none could think him falſe or perjured, ſo long as the Hoſtages, as an Equivalent for all that was ſtipulated, had been delivered into the Emperor's Hands. Neither was it ſufficient to ſay, that the Emperor, in demanding *Burgundy*, only inſiſted upon his own Right; ſince that Duchy was long ſince annexed to *Normandy*, and incorporated into the Dominions of *France* by King *John*, and conſequently governed by the ſame Laws, among which the ſalick Law being principal, the Pretenſions of

“ the Emperor, as claiming from a Daughter, were excluded. More-
“ over, this Affair had been communicated to ſome able Perſons
“ out of the Kingdom, who underſtood well the Nature of ſuch
“ Caſes, and that he had received much Satisfaction from them.
“ In concluſion, as there remained nothing more in his Power to
“ be done, he had offered a condign Ranſome in Money, and
“ other good Conditions, which might both ſerve to redeem his
“ Children, and to teſtify the ſincere Deſire he had for recovering
“ his late married Wiſe, who was alſo detained from him. Which
“ ſeveral Premiſſes being duly conſidered, he appealed to all chri-
“ ſtian Princes and States, as his Judges and Protectors, whether
“ he deſerved Blame or the Emperor; who had impoſed on him
“ ſuch unjuſt, and impracticable Demands.”

6. Theſe were the Reaſons, whereby *Francis* endeavoured to elude the Tenor of his Oath, ſo far as it regarded the Performance of certain Conditions ſtipulated in the Treaty of *Madrid*: But as to the Promiſe he made upon Oath, of returning into the Hands of the Emperor, in caſe they ſhould not be performed, he ſaith nothing, in his own vindication. How far the Conſent of his States was requiſite to enable him to perform that Oath, depended upon the Conſtitution of his Kingdom, which no perſonal Act of his could give him any Right to alter or infringe. All Caſuiſts, I believe, will agree, that he could have no independent Power of ratifying a Contract, which he could not independently make, or conſiſtently with the [z] Oath he had taken upon his Acceſſion to the Crown. So that his Fault ſeemed rather to have conſiſted, in making a colluſive and inſidious Agreement, if he really thought he had no Power to make that Agreement, than in his ſubſequent Refuſal to execute it. The moſt ſtrong, ſacred and inviolable Teſt, that can be impoſed upon the Conſciences of Men, is that of an Oath; but then no Oath can be preſumed to oblige to an unlawful Act, or contrary to an antecedent Obligation. 'Tis the Height of Impiety to ſuppoſe, that any Man, or any Number of Men, ſhould have a Power of binding themſelves in the Name of God, contrary to the Will of God, or which is the ſame Thing, to the Rules of moral Equity. It is a divine Maxim, but inconteſtably founded in the natural Reaſon of the Thing, that an *Oath is for Confirmation*, that is, either of ſuch Things, wherein we have an arbitrary Power of determining our Choice, and may either act or ſuſpend Action; or elſe concerning ſuch Things, to which we were

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[z] *It was upon this Conſideration the Pope abſolved him from part of his Coronation Oath. A Copy of this Abſolution may be ſeen in the* Collections N° 75. Book II.

under a prior Obligation, whether we had taken an Oath to obſerve them or not. Of this Nature are all poſitive Teſts of Obedience to the civil Magiſtrate under a legal Eſtabliſhment; they do not ſo much *create* a new, as confirm an antecedent Obligation; to which we had been bound from the Nature and Ends of civil Government, and the poſitive Laws of it, whether we had taken any ſolemn Teſt to that End or not. But to ſuppoſe any Oath could be formed in ſuch a Manner, as to oblige contrary either to the Law of God, or Man; is to ſuppoſe the greateſt Soleciſm in Morality imaginable, that Men may be obliged, whether by their own Act, or the Command of others, to an Impoſſibility. For in moral Life, every Thing is preſumed impoſſible to be done, that cannot lawfully be done. In caſes indeed, where we are at Liberty to act as we pleaſe, without Injury to others, or any Breach of our Duty towards God, or Man; there, an Oath may be ſaid both to create, and, from the ſtronger Sanction it gives to any Promiſe, to confirm an Obligation. And ſo far as *Francis* the Firſt had an arbitrary, and independent Right of performing his Stipulations, he was without doubt, bound by all the Laws of Honour and Conſcience, and unleſs he would incur the Guilt of Perjury, to perform them. And of this, he was ſo ſenſible, that he entirely founded the Reaſons of his not performing them, but how juſtly I do not determine, either upon a natural, or upon a moral Incapacity.

CHAP. XXXIII.

1. *Inſtructions to Dr.* Taylor *by the Cardinal, concerning a League with* France. 2. *More concerning the Treaty of* Madrid. 3. *Two Projects of Peace drawn up by the Cardinal.* 4. *Propoſals for the Recovery of* Francis *his Sons, Hoſtages in the Emperor's Hands.* 5. *Concerning the Treaty of Marriage between the* French *King, and the Princeſs* Mary.

1. WHILE our Embaſſadors were ſtill in *France*, other Inſtructions were drawn up by the Cardinal and ſent to Dr. *Taylor*, concerning a League to be made between *England* and *France*. He was directed to acquaint the *French* King, that the Kindneſs which he had been pleaſed to expreſs as well for the Cardinal, as for the King his Maſter, ſhould not fail of a juſt and ſuitable Return. That no Prince had his Honour or Intereſt more at Heart, than the King; who would pretermit nothing, that might be for the Advancement of them: And as a ſincere and ſtedfaſt Friend, united in the ſtricteſt Bonds of Amity, would concur with 1526. 1527.

him in every Thing; and that the Cardinal, on his Part, would apply himſelf, with all Aſſiduity, to cultivate the Amity and good Correſpondence between them. Then he proceeds to acquaint the Embaſſadors with the Overtures, which himſelf had made at our Court, in preſence of the *French* Embaſſadors, concerning a reciprocal Obligation to be entered into by the two Powers; and that what he propoſed, had been well received, as well by the Embaſſadors, as by the Commiſſioners appointed, on the Occaſion, by the King of *England*, on his own Part.

2. What he adds concerning the Treaty of *Madrid*, diſcovers more particularly the Grounds and Reaſons of that Advice, which he gave in the former Letter of Inſtructions to *Cheney*. He writes, “It is very hard, that Treaty ſhould be interpreted to oblige, contrary to the Tenor of former Treaties, and that it ſhould bind the *French* King, and yet leave the Emperor at large. That when the Emperor had *Francis* under Reſtraint, he would certainly make the beſt Conditions, that could be impoſed, for himſelf: That a Form of Articles had been drawn up, and was now lying before the *French* Embaſſadors, and the King of *England*'s Commiſſioners, wherein there might appear ſome things liable to Exception at the *French* Court; That Article, for Inſtance, whereby the King of *France* ſhould oblige himſelf, not to treat, or conclude any thing with the Emperor, without the Knowledge and Conſent of King *Henry*: To obviate which Difficulty, the Cardinal acquaints *Taylor* he had contrived to make the Conditions of the Treaty in this reſpect reciprocal, and that a ſpecial Article ſhould be inſerted to that End; in Virtue of which, the King of *England* ſhould bind himſelf by Promiſe, not to take any Advantage on that Account: That both the Chancellor of *France* and Himſelf, had thought the Addition of this Clauſe, a proper and good Expedient. But it having been communicated to the *French* Court, that their Approbation or Diſlike of it might be known, no direct or ſpecifick Anſwer had been returned, but only Letters of Inſtruction and Commiſſion, authoriſing the *French* Ambaſſadors, to conclude a reciprocal Obligation according to the Tenour of them; but which was of an Import and Nature very different from what the Cardinal had propoſed. However, that upon Advice of their Charge as to this Article, he had laid the Matter of it before the King and Council, and effectually moved the King to concur in it. For to remove all Grounds of Scruple or Doubt, and to ſhew, how much his Majeſty honoured, and how deſirous he was to oblige the *French* King, he had agreed to the mutual Obligation, according

“ ding to the very Inſtructions ſent to the *French* Ambaſſadors; and
“ had receded from the Cardinal's Plan of it; which yet contained
“ as large, and ample Terms, and equally beneficial to the *French*
“ King, tho' expreſſed in other Words: That the King of *En-*
“ *gland* had articled to make War upon the Emperor, for the Re-
“ covery of the Hoſtages, his two Sons, in the Emperor's Hands:
“ That they ſhould be ranſomed for a reaſonable Sum of Money;
“ and, that the Imperial Army in *Italy* ſhould be oppoſed by a
“ formidable Power.

3. With theſe Inſtructions the Cardinal ſent to Dr. *Taylor* two Projects, drawn up by himſelf, of a Peace, which he had communicated to the *French* Ambaſſador *Seigneur de Vaulx*; who deſired, he might have the Liberty of tranſmitting them to *France*, promiſing within eight Days to return an Anſwer concerning them to the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners: Although, in his own Judgement, which he would not diſſemble, theſe Forms were drawn up in as full and effectual a Manner, and as much for the Service and Intereſts of the *French* King, as that, which had been ſent from him to the *French* Ambaſſadors. Yet the Cardinal would conclude nothing 'till the *French* King was firſt advertiſed, and his Pleaſure ſhould be ſignified concerning the Matter; affirming expreſly, that the Delays wherewith he might be charged, did not proceed from a Deſire of protracting the Time, or any ſiniſter Intention, but only from Fear of tranſgreſſing the Bounds of his Commiſſion. And that our Ambaſſadors might be more fully inſtructed in the Specialties of the Treaty, he had alſo ſent Copies of it to them; that Dr. *Taylor* ſhould affirm, what the *French* King and his Council would certainly find true, that the Forms (which ſoever of them they might approve) would be equally beneficial: That he ſhould make earneſt Inſtances for a ſpeedy Reſolution in the Caſe, and with all Haſte and Diligence notify them to our Court.

4. Concerning the Redemption of the young Princes, the Sons of *France*, our Ambaſſador is to ſhew, “ That it was the King's
“ Intention to have ſent honourable Ambaſſies to the Emperor,
“ with a Deſign of making Propoſals for the Requiſition of them,
“ upon a pecuniary Ranſom, excluſive of Lands or Territories;
“ as well as of demanding Satiſfaction for the Moneys owing by
“ the Emperor to the Crown of *England*: That to facilitate the
“ Delivery of the young Princes, it had been thought requiſite to
“ ſend Letters of Inſtruction to our Ambaſſador reſiding at the Im-
“ perial Court, which one *Osborn Ichingham*, a Gentleman be-
“ longing to the Ambaſſador, who had knowledge of the Roads
“ and

“ and Language of the Country, had been appointed to carry, and was ordered in his Way, to call on Dr. *Taylor* at the Court of *France*; and that the *French* King might be certainly informed, after what Manner, and with what Zeal, the King of *England* had moved the Emperor to comply with his Deſires, he had ſent by the ſame Hand, a Copy of his Letter to the Emperor, wherein he ſometimes uſed ſoft and gentle Inſinuations, and leaſt thoſe ſhould not take Effect, he afterward expreſſed himſelf with more Warmth, and even after a menacing Manner: That the Ambaſſador, in declaring this Part of his Charge, ſhould on no Account vary or digreſs from the King's Meaning, and that he ſhould *ſubſtantially* (a Word much uſed by the Cardinal) conſider and digeſt the Contents of the King's Letter, hoping the Emperor would be cautious how he ſhould make a Difficulty of granting the King's Requeſts. Several Expreſſions in his Letter, being well attended to, carrying in them a plain Intermination, in caſe of the Emperor's Refuſal, of the King's Deſign to enter into the *Italick League:* That he ſhould produce this Letter before the King and Council, but not permit a Copy of it to be taken: That if a Copy of it ſhould be deſired, he ſhould excuſe his not granting it, from the Preſumption and Inconveniency of the Thing, without the King's Licenſe; but that they might, if they ſhould ſo deſire, read it, in his preſence; which would be ſufficient to inform them how, and with what Sincerity and Vigour the King was reſolved to proceed, in this Affair. If they ſhould demand whether the King had written concerning any other Matters, beſides thoſe ſpecified in the Letter, he ſhould ſay his Majeſty had given other ſecret Charge to his Ambaſſador with the Emperor, how to conduct himſelf in every reſpect, ſo as the End propoſed might be more effectually attained. The Particulars of which Charge was ſuch, that neceſſary Reaſons of Prudence required, they ſhould not be divulged abroad: That the King had hopes of bringing the Emperor to Reaſon by gentle and amicable Overtures, but if thoſe failed, he would have Recourſe to more ſevere and violent Methods: That after he had made theſe Declarations, and found the *French* King fully determined to accept one of the two Forms of the League, he ſhould haſten *Ichingham* on his Way to the Emperor. But if the *French* King ſhould ſay he would ſhortly ſend Orders to his Ambaſſadors at our Court, to conclude the [a] League, then he ſhould improve and forward that Motion as much as he could do conveniently; directing *Ichingham* to proceed on his Journey by ſlow

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[a] *This Letter was written* July *the* 15*th, and the League concluded* Auguſt *the* 8*th*, 1526.

“ Advances, until ſuch time as it might be preſumed the Meſſen-
“ ger, with the *French* King's Inſtructions, had reached the Court of
“ *England*. For it would not be convenient, that he ſhould arrive
“ in *Spain*, with the Letters which he had in charge from the King,
“ 'till the reciprocal Engagement had been previouſly concluded.
“ That he ſhould therefore uſe ſuch Precautions concerning *Iching-*
“ *ham*'s Movements on his Journey, that he might well think the
“ Treaty confirmed ſome time before his Arrival in *Spain*: That
“ my Lord of *Bath*, having had his Audience of Leave from the
“ King of *Spain*, and holding himſelf, on all Accounts, in Readi-
“ neſs to depart, would ſet forward, in two Days, towards the
“ *French* Court.” And becauſe ſome Circumſtances in the Treaty were apprehended prejudicial to the King, and other Things omitted which might concern him, in caſe he ſhould hereafter enter into the League of *Italy*, it was therefore thought requiſite, Commiſſioners ſhould be ſent from the *French* King, the Pope, and the *Venetians*, to their reſpective Miniſters reſident in *England*; and the Cardinal had projected the Form of a Commiſſion, a Draught whereof he had ſent unto him, to be laid before the *French* King and his Council; ſo that if they ſhould demand of the King to enter into the League, the Conditions of it might be qualified in ſuch Reſpects as ſhould appear neceſſary. He was further to ſignify, the like Forms had been ſent to the Pope and *Venetians*, and that the whole Matter had been fully opened to the *French* Ambaſſadors here reſident: That a Copy of them had alſo been tranſmitted to the Biſhop of *Bath*, and if they ſtill inſiſted that the King ſhould come into the League, the Commiſſions, to the Effect beforementioned, ſhould be [c] expedited with all ſpeed. This Letter is ſubſcribed by the Cardinal, and dated from his Palace at *Weſtminſter*.

5. The Import of the League propoſed by him, was to oblige the Emperor to reſtore the Children of *Francis* on reaſonable Conditions; and the King rather choſe to enter into this League, than to join in the common Confederacy, many Articles whereof did not concern him. The King of *France* gladly embracing theſe Demands, requeſted, with the Picture of the Princeſs *Mary*, that the Treaty of Marriage with her, which had been propoſed, ſhould be forwarded; deſiring farther, that upon his Marriage, ſhe ſhould be immediately given into his Hands; but to this proviſional Requeſt the King of *England* did not think fit to agree, in Regard

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[c] *I have here followed the Extract taken by Sir* Michael Hicks *from the Cardinal's original Letter, as I find it in Mr.* Strype, *but with the ſame Liberty, in Reſpect to the Style, that I have commonly taken as to other Extracts in the Body of the Hiſtory, but not in the* Collections.

to the immature Age of his Daughter, who was now only in the eleventh Year of her Age. Three Treaties were at this Time concluded between the King's Commiſſioners; and the Biſhop of *Tarbe*, the Viſcount of *Turenne*, and *Anthony Veſey* Preſident of *Paris*, on the Part of *France*.

We have ſeen Cardinal *Wolſey* gradually advanced, from a Man, though not in an indigent Condition, 'till he arrived at length, to the higheſt Poſts of Truſt, of Honour, and Advantage, in the publick Adminiſtration. We have ſeen what Influence he had in ſeveral foreign Courts, greater perhaps, than ever happened, or ever will happen, to any Miniſter, in any Court: And which is ſtill more ſurpriſing, we have ſeen him, for the Space of twelve Years, (not to carry the Obſervation beyond the Time when he was made Archbiſhop of *York*) preſiding at the Helm of Government, regulating Treaties of Peace and Commerce, the Operations of War, and all publick Affairs relating both to the civil and the eccleſiaſtical State, after a Manner, which renders it difficult to determine, whether he was really ſuperior in the Character of *Wiſdom*, of *Addreſs*, or *Sedulity*. All this Time he was ſo happy, as to continue in the good Graces of a Prince, not the moſt celebrated in Hiſtory, for a ſteddy and conſtant Affection towards thoſe, whom he had ſometime diſtinguiſhed as the peculiar Objects of his Favour. But the Sequel of this Work will ſhew, that Cardinal *Wolſey*, with all his great Talents, was not wholly exempt from the adverſe Caſualties common to Men in very high and invidious Stations: Not that we are to enter directly upon the Hiſtory of his Fall, from this Period; for the chief Direction of Affairs was ſtill committed to him; and he even received freſh Augmentations both of Power and Preferment: But becauſe an Incident happened, about this Time, which gave the firſt Occaſion of his declining, tho' not immediately, in Favour at Court, I ſhall open my third and laſt Book, wherewith his Action and Life conclude, with ſome Account concerning it.

THE

THE LIFE OF Cardinal WOLSEY.

BOOK III.

Memoirs concerning Him, from the firſt Occaſion of his declining in Favour at Court, to the Time of his Death.

Chap. I.

1. *Scruples raiſed concerning the King's Marriage by the Biſhop of* Tarbe. 2. *The Original of the Cardinal's Fall.* 3. *The* Spaniards *alſo object againſt the Legitimacy of the King's Marriage.* 4. *Whether both Courts, were not more influenced by political than ſtrictly by religious Conſiderations?* 5. *The papal Power at that Time, in reſpect to matrimonial Diſpenſations.* 6, 7, 8, 9. *Several Inſtances of it.* 10. *The Pope's diſpenſing Power, in ſuch Caſes, then generally acknowledged.* 11. *Amplification of the Cardinal's Powers towards the Suppreſſion of Monaſteries, with a Grant to the Dean and Chapter of his College.* 12, 13, 14, 15. *Several other Grants in Favour to it.*

1. IN the Progreſs of the Treaty between the King's Commiſſioners and thoſe of *France*, concerning the Eſpouſals of the Princeſs *Mary* to the [a] *French* King, or the Duke of *Orleans*, for the Alternative was not yet determined; the Biſhop of *Tarbe* raiſed ſeveral Scruples, in reſpect to her Legitimacy; which firſt opened the Way to a moſt ſurpriſing Change in 1527.

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[a] *Hiſt of Reform.* Vol. 1. B. 2. p. 37.

the King's Conduct and Councils, and, in particular, to the Cardinal's Diſgrace.

2. From this Incident therefore, I ſhall calculate the Time of his tending towards a Declenſion in Favour at Court: For if what *Cavendiſh* reports be true, That the King's Affection for Mrs. *Ann Bolein*, which had been long concealed, began now to *break-out*, and that the Cardinal endeavoured to divert it with repeated Perſuaſions upon his Knees; it is not improbable, this very Inſtance of his Zeal, as a faithful Servant, might yet render him leſs acceptable to his Maſter. Men, eſpecially, thoſe of more violent Tempers, are not commonly apt to take in good Part, from any Perſon, ſuch Advice, however reaſonable and well-intended, which oppoſeth their prevailing Inclination. There may be alſo juſt Grounds of Surpriſe from this Lady's ſubſequent [b] Behaviour to the Cardinal, at *Grafton* in *Northamptonſhire*, that the Proſpect of her ſharing in the Glories of a Throne with one of the greateſt Monarchs in the World, would not render her much diſpoſed to favour a Perſon, who, as ſhe might be informed, had declared himſelf an Enemy to her Exaltation. Neither would the Cardinal's ſecret Enemies at Court neglect the Opportunity of engaging a Lady, who was now known to be the Object of the King's Love, in their Deſigns againſt him, ſo ſoon as they ſhould once underſtand, ſhe was offended with him, and upon what Occaſion. Biſhop *Burnet* himſelf inſinuates, as if there was Cauſe to ſuſpect, the Demur of the Biſhop of *Tarbe*, might be previouſly concerted between the *French* and the *Engliſh* Court, that the King might have better Colour, from ſo open and ſo publick an Exception againſt his Marriage, to ſollicit a Divorce: And if he was already, according to *Cavendiſh*, paſſionately in Love with *Ann Bolein*, as there was no Reaſon to queſtion upon whom his Choice would fall, it might be eaſily known, where the greateſt Danger was to be apprehended from any Oppoſition, that ſhould be made to it.

3. Yet the Legitimacy of the Princeſs *Mary* was not only queſtioned by the Miniſters of *France*, probably by expreſs Direction of that Court out of Regard to the Nicety and Importance of the Affair in general, as well as for the Reaſon above ſpecified; but the like Exceptions were alſo made to her legitimate Birth by the Emperor and the Council of *Spain*; upon which they grounded the Reaſons for diſſolving the Contract of Marriage between Her and his Imperial Majeſty, alledging the unlawful Marriage of King

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[b] *See Additional Pap. B.* & Cavend. 76. *Ed.* 1641.

Henry to the Relict of his Brother *Arthur*, of whom this Princeſs his Daughter was born. Upon this it was queſtioned, not only whether her own Birth, but whether That of the Children which might deſcend from her, would be Legitimate? concerning which Scruples neceſſary Reaſons of Prudence required all Occaſions of Diſpute ſhould be prevented.

4. Though it is highly probable, the Exceptions which were made by each Court, conſidering the Principles of them both, and their Attachment to the papal See and Authority, at that Time, did not proceed ſo much from any religious Conflicts of Mind about the Matter, as from Conſiderations purely Political; in the *Spaniard*, That the Emperor might be at Liberty to marry a Daughter of *Portugal*, where his Intereſt, and perhaps [c] his Affection might then more incline him; and in the *French* Miniſter, That the King of *England*, in Regard to this Difficulty, might condeſcend to more favourable Conditions in Behalf of his Maſter.

5. Nothing is more evident, than that Diſpenſations for Marriages, within the prohibited Degrees, were frequently granted by the Popes: And that this was one of the Means which contributed much to repleniſh the papal Exchequer. The very Bull which *Henry* the Eighth ſollicited from *Clement* the Seventh, in order to diſſolve his Marriage with Queen *Catherine*, doth ſuppoſe ſuch a diſpenſing Power in the Pope. For it allows the "King to [d] contract Marriage with any other Woman, though nearly allied unto him, either in a ſecond or more remote Degree of Conſanguinity, or in the firſt Degree of Affinity, or joined to him by lawful or unlawful Commerce, provided ſhe be not the Relict of his Brother." The Exception even as to her, is not made on Account of any moral abſolute Incapacity of their marrying together, but upon a Suggeſtion, that a Licenſe to that End had not been canonically obtained or confirmed with full and ſufficient Powers.

6. The Emperor himſelf afterwards procured a Marriage between *Philip* his Son and *Mary* then Queen of *England*, by Virtue of a Diſpenſation from Pope *Julius* the Third, becauſe they were allied in the third Degree, and *Charles* himſelf had contracted to marry

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[c] *They, who will conſult Biſhop* Godwyn'*s Annals of this Reign, and be determined by his Judgement, in the Caſe, will find ſufficient Grounds for what is here ſurmiſed, in reſpect to both theſe two powerful Springs of human Action.* Johannes Luſitaniæ Rex ſororem habuit Iſabellam, pulchram, nobilem, & ingenti pecunia dotatam (900 ſcilicet Aureorum Millibus) Mariam Regis noſtri Filiam impuberem adhuc, & Forma haudquaquam feliciſſima, indotatam tamen ducere opportuit; ea ſcilicet pecunia doti adnumerata (400 Aureorum Millibus) quam Cæſarem a Rege mutuo accepiſſe memoravimus. *Godw. Annal. Hen.* 8. *p.* 30.

[d] *See* Speed.

her, when he was under Age. After [e] her Death, King *Philip* deſirous to preſerve his Intereſt in *England*, ſeriouſly treated concerning a Marriage with Queen *Elizabeth*, Siſter to his late Wiſe, with Promiſe that he would obtain a ſpecial Diſpenſation from the Pope, which the *French* King ſecretly oppoſed; but as the Queen gave [f] *Philip* a Repulſe, *Francis* might have ſaved himſelf that Trouble.

7. By Virtue of theſe Diſpenſations it is, that the Houſe of [g] *Auſtria*, for certain Reaſons of State, marry among themſelves, and ſo incorporate into one Family, as Members of the ſame Body; ſo that *Philip* the Second of *Spain*, might have called the Archduke *Albert*, both Brother, Couſin, Nephew, and Son. For either by Blood, or Affinity, he ſtood in one or other of theſe Relations to him; being Uncle to himſelf, Couſin-german to his Father, Huſband to his Siſter, and Father to his Wiſe. And it ſo happened, that by Reaſon of the canonical Reſtraints and Limitations which were made by ſeveral Popes, few of the Princes, or of their Family in *Europe*, could then intermarry without firſt obtaining a Diſpenſation from one or more Canons; which gave an Opportunity to thoſe Popes, who would traffick with the Powers committed to them, to make their own Terms with the Parties concerned.

8. A certain Archbiſhop of *Germany*, Legate there from the See of *Rome*, was once mightily perplexed about a Diſpenſation of this Kind: He ſent to his Holineſs Pope *Zachary*, to deſire he might be directed by his Judgement and Deciſion in the following Caſe. [h] A *German* had produced and pleaded a Diſpenſation from Pope *Gregory* his Predeceſſor, to marry a Woman, that had been firſt married to his Uncle, and afterwards to his Couſin, from whom ſhe had been divorced; ſhe was moreover his Kinſwoman in the third Degree, and had been a Nun. But it doth not appear what Anſwer the *Roman* Oracle returned to a Caſe, wherein there was ſuch a Complication of canonical Impediments.

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[e] Cambd. *Annal.* Eliz.

[f] *Notwithſtanding this Repulſe, if Credit may be given to certain Hiſtorians, King* Philip *was the Occaſion, as herſelf acknowledged, of preſerving the Life of this Queen. For when it was propoſed, under the Reign of her Siſter, and during her Confinement in the* Tower, *that ſhe ſhould be put to Death, from a Suſpicion, which the Event proved not to be ill-grounded, that upon her ſucceeding to the Crown, ſhe would extirpate the* Romiſh *Religion, King* Philip *oppoſed the Execution of ſo cruel and unjuſt a Deſign; but upon what Motive it is not ſo eaſy to reſolve with Certainty. Some have thought what he had principally in View, was to prevent the Acceſſion of* Mary Stuart *Queen of* Scotland, *then married to* Francis *the Second, to the Crown of* England, *becauſe the Union of ſo many Kingdoms under one Power, would render them an Over-balance for the Houſe of* Auſtria, *and quite fruſtrate the vaſt Deſign, it was then forming, of univerſal Empire. And indeed from the Time of* Henry *the Eighth, nothing has more contributed to preſerve and ſupport the proteſtant Religion, than the mutual and ſucceſſive Jealouſies between the two popiſh Powers of the* Empire *and* France.

[g] *Sir* Edw. Sands, *Europ. Spec.*

[h] *Epiſt ad* Zach. *Pap.* 2. *Tom. Conc.*

9. To theſe Inſtances of the Pope's diſpenſing Power in matrimonial Affairs, I ſhall add one referred to before, concerning *Charles* the Eighth King of *France*, who had married the Daughter of *Maximilian* King of the *Romans*; but afterwards that he might obtain the Duchy of *Britain*, ſollicited to marry *Ann* the Heir thereof, tho' ſhe was already contracted, nay, had been openly married to *Maximilian*, by his Proctor in the Church. By this Diſpenſation, a double Injury and Diſgrace was done to *Maximilian*; his Wife, for ſo he reputed her, both in Honour and Equity, was not only taken from him; but he had the Mortification to ſee his Daughter, who had been ſeveral Years acknowledged Queen of *France*, diveſted of her Dignity, and ſent home again to be ſupported at his Expence. *Philip de Comines*, who mentions the Proceedings relating to this Affair, more at large, adds, there were great Diſputes and Arguments, at that Time, on both Sides, whether ſuch Diſpenſations were agreeable to the Laws of Holy Church or not? and obſerves, many Calamities proceeded from the Marriage of thoſe Ladies; and that the Perſons deſcended from them both, were very unhappy.

10. But however the Pope's Power in ſuch Caſes was controverted by Men of Letters, or Speculation; and who, perhaps, might on ſome Account, directly or indirectly be intereſted in them; yet that thoſe who profeſſed Obedience to his Holineſs, did in general acknowledge ſuch a Power in him, and ſubmit to it, when exerciſed by him, can bear no Diſpute. And there was ſtill leſs Reaſon to ſuppoſe the King of *England* ſhould diſpute it, who above all the Princes in the World had profeſſed the moſt profound Regard for the papal Authority, and had been indeed the moſt ſtrenuous Aſſertor of it. It is probable therefore, that other Reaſons might occaſion the Scruples, which the King made concerning his Marriage, beſides thoſe which directly affected his Conſcience; and that it was not the Biſhop of *Tarbe*, but a young and ſhining Beauty in the Queen's Service, which had ſtruck his Majeſty with a Light, to which his Eyes had not been before opened. But the Grounds of this Conjecture will be more fully conſidered in another Place. I ſhall proceed at preſent to obſerve what further Advances were made at this Time towards perfecting the Cardinal's great Deſign, in the Structure of his College.

11. And here I find a large Amplification of his [i] Powers to that End, by a Grant from the King in this Year, bearing Date the firſt

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[i] Coll. Nº 75. a. Book II.

Day of *May*, wherein are recited ſeveral former Patents, by which he was authorized ro convert the religious Houſes ſpecified therein, with all their Rights and Revenues to the Uſe of his College. And on the fifth Day of the ſame Month following, there is a large [k] Patent granted concerning the Conſtitution, the ſpecial Powers and Privileges of that Society, and, eſpecially, thoſe appropriated to the Dean and Canons, concerning which, thoſe who would be more particularly informed may conſult the Collections. To this Grant the Cardinal himſelf, with the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *London*, of *Bath* and *Wells*, with the Chief of the Nobility in the Kingdom, are Witneſſes.

12. On the Tenth of the ſame Month, there is a Grant to the Dean and Canons of the [l] Cardinal's College of the Rectories or Churches of *Guige*, *Mountney*, *Blakamore*, *Staneſgate*, *Steple*, *Tiptree*, *Tolſhunte*, *Horkeſley*, *Wormingford* or *Wythermonford*, *Wyck*, *Alnethley*, *Rhynam*, and *Elmonden* in the County of *Eſſex*; *Marybone* in the County of *Middleſex*; *Hormed* in *Herefordſhire*; and of *Chettiſham*, *Swillon*, *Falkenham*, *Snape*, *Freſton*, *Bedyngefelde*, and *Demarſton* in the County of *Suffolk*; ſo that he or they might appropriate, conſolidate, annex, or unite them, with all their Rights and Emoluments perpetually to their own Uſes; provided, that ſeverally in ſuch Churches or Rectories, there ſhould be a perpetual Endowment for one or more Vicars; and that a competent Sum of Money, according to a Proviſion made by Statute in that Behalf, ſhould be annually diſtributed among the poor Pariſhioners by their reſpective Ordinaries.

13. By another [m] Patent under the Privy-Seal of the ſame Date, and after the ſame pompous Enumeration of the Cardinal's Titles, as in the Former, is granted to him, his Heirs and Aſſigns, the Rectories or Churches of *Newington*, *Morden*, *Tewdeley*, *Brencheſley*, *Leigh*, *Yalding*, *Depingbury*, and *Weſt Greenwich* or *Deptford* in the County of *Kent*, and one Moiety of the Church of *Godſtone* in the County of *Surrey*, with *Begham*, *Hayleſham*, and *Helingle* in *Suſſex*, that they may in like Manner and under the ſame Conditions appropriate, conſolidate, annex, or unite them, for the Uſe and Benefit of the ſaid Society.

14. In another ſeparate [n] Patent of the ſame Date, are granted the Churches of *Hedyngton*, *Marſton*, *Sydeley*, *Churchehill*, *Fritzwell*,

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[k] Coll. N°75. *b.* Book III.

[l] Rym. Conv. T. 14. 172.

[m] Id. 173.

[n] Id. 173, 174.

Ellesfelde, and *Saunforde* in *Oxfordſhire*; *Worneall*, *Ocle*, *Bryll*, and *Borſtall* in the County of *Bucks*.

15. By [o] Another *Great Preſton* and *Little Preſton*, *Welton*, *Weſt Haddon*, *Start Norton*, *Colde*, *Aſhebye*, *Daventre*, and *Thorpe Mouwel* in *Northamptonſhire*, *Foxton*, *Scalforde*, *Denton*, *Baſſet*, and *Rakedale* in the County of *Leiceſter*, *Bysbrok* in *Rutlandſhire*, *Ravenſton*, *Chicheley*, *Newport Pagnel*, *Bradwell*, *Aſtwood*, *Willney* and *Ellesberg* in *Buckinghamſhire*; *Aſton Bromwich* in *Warwickſhire*; *Weſt Bromwich* in the County of *Stafford*, and *Chaddelworth* and *Kingstown* in *Berkſhire*.

CHAP. II.

1. *Concerning the ſuppreſſed Monaſteries.* 2. *Certain Monaſteries not of royal Foundation, yet ſo entitled, and why.* 3. *A Letter of the King to the Cardinal.* 4. *The Cardinal excuſeth himſelf to his Majeſty; who writes to him a ſecond Letter.* 5. *The King's Scruples in reſpect to the Alienation of Things given to pious Uſes.* 6. *A Queſtion propoſed.* 7, 8, 9. *The Benefits ariſing from Monaſteries to the State.* 10. *Concerning the* Engliſh *College at* Rome. 11. *Upon the ſame Subject.* 12. *The Original of* Peter Pence. 13. *Monaſteries anciently Schools of Learning.* 14. *A Citation from Biſhop* Burnet. 15. *A Reflection upon it.* 16. *The Monks too ſeverely uſed.* 17. *A Cenſure upon what was cited from Biſhop* Burnet *by* Anthony Harmer. 18. Fuller *cited.* 19. *Some Reaſons for ſuppreſſing Monaſteries conſidered.* 20. *Concerning the Extent of the Legiſlative Power.* 21, 22. *Of Sacrilege.* 23. *A Cenſure in particular of it by* Calvin. 24. *By* Luther; 25. *And* Cambden.

1. THE Impropriations mentioned in the preceeding Chapter, tho' affording very conſiderable Returns to the Cardinal's College, were yet, comparatively, inſignificant, when we conſider the Revenues ariſing to them from the ſuppreſſed Monaſteries; the Names of which I might have recited out of the ſeveral Patents authoriſing the Suppreſſion of them: But moſt of them are ſpecified in a Copy, to which I refer the Reader, out of the Cardinal's Bundles in the [p] Rolls, from an Inquiſition of *Cromwell*, afterwards Earl of *Eſſex*, tho' not made 'till the Year following, wherein their ſeveral Orders are mentioned, and ſuch of them, as were of

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[o] Id. 174, 175.

[p] Coll. Nº 76. Book III.

royal Foundation, diſtinctly marked, with the reſpective Counties, wherein they were ſituated.

2. But it is obſervable, that ſeveral Abbeys, which were ſaid to be of royal Foundation, were not yet really founded by the Kings or Queens of *England*, but only were complimented with that honourable Title, on Account of the Confirmation, which the Kings of *England* from Time to Time, had formerly granted of their ſeveral Charters. There is a remarkable Inſtance of this in a Patent of King *Henry* the Seventh, wherein *Taviſtock* is ſaid to be founded by the King's Progenitors: Whereas [q] *Ordulph* Earl of *Devonſhire*, was known to be the Founder of it before the Conqueſt.

3. There is a Letter from the King to the Legate, concerning an Election of the Prioreſs of *Wilton*, that may very properly be inſerted here, as relating both to the preſent Subject, and expreſſing a Tenderneſs of Conſcience in the King, on Account of the religious Houſes ſuppreſſed for building the Cardinal's College. His Majeſty, on that Occaſion, is pleaſed to take upon him the Office of a Monitor; and giveth ſuch wholſome Advice as might have become a truly religious Prince; but to which he afterwards ſhewed very little Regard himſelf, when he deſtroyed, beſides many other Foundations, according to [r] Mr. *Cambden*, Six hundred forty five Monaſteries; appropriating the Revenues of them not to other pious or publick Uſes; not to the Advancement either of Religion or Learning, except, comparatively ſpeaking, in a few inconſiderable Inſtances; but for the Benefit of private Perſons. The Prioreſs of *Wilton* was in Right of that Title, a Baroneſs; there were but three more Abbeys in the Kingdom, of that Conſtitution, [ſ] *Shaftsbury*, *Barkin*, and *St. Mary's* in *Wincheſter*. It ſeems, the Cardinal had elected [t] a Perſon to that Dignity, concerning whom the King had ſome way previouſly expreſſed his Diſlike; tho' the Cardinal was ignorant, or pretended Ignorance of his Majeſty's Sentiments, on the Occaſion.

4. In Anſwer to the King's Admonitions in the Letter referred to, of which the ſofteſt Thing that can be ſaid is, they are expreſſed with a friendly Severity, the Cardinal excuſed himſelf to his Majeſty, in ſo humble, ſubmiſſive, and inſinuating a Manner, that his Majeſty was thereby induced to write him another Letter on the Oc-

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[q] Fuller 293.
[r] Cambd. Brit.
[ſ] Fuller B. 6, 293, 294.
[t] *See the King's Letter to the Cardinal*, Coll. N° 77. Book III.

caſion with his own Hand, which I ſhall here recite from [u] Lord *Herbert*.

“ As touching the Matter of *Wilton* — Seeing it is in no other
“ Strain than you write of, and you being alſo ſuddenly (with the
“ falling ſick of your Servants) afraid and troubled, I marvail
“ not that it overſlipped you, as it did. But it is no great Matter,
“ ſtanding the Caſe as it doth. For it is yet in my Hand, as
“ I perceive by your Letter. And your Default was not ſo great,
“ ſeeing the Election was but conditional. Wherefore, my Lord,
“ ſeeing the Humbleneſs of your Submiſſion, and though the Caſe
“ were much more heinous, I can be content for to remit it; being
“ right glad that according to mine Intent, my Monitions
“ and Warnings have been benignly and lovingly accepted on your
“ Behalf, promiſing you, that the very Affection I bear you, cauſed
“ me thus to do. As touching the Help of religious Houſes
“ to the Building of your College; I would it were more, ſo it
“ were lawfully; for my Intent is none but that it ſhould appear
“ ſo to all the World, and the Occaſion of all their mumbling
“ might be ſecluded and put away. For ſurely there is great Murmuring
“ of it, throughout all the Realm, both good and bad.
“ They ſay, not that all that is ill gotten is beſtowed on the College;
“ but that the College is the Cloak for covering all Miſchiefs.
“ This grieveth me, I aſſure you, to hear it ſpoken of
“ him, which I ſo entirely love. Wherefore methought I could do
“ no leſs than thus friendly to admoniſh you. One thing more I perceive
“ by your one Letter, which a little methink toucheth Conſcience,
“ and that is, that you have received Money of the Exempts
“ for having their old Viſitors. Surely this can hardly be
“ with good Conſcience. For, and they were good, why ſhould
“ you take Money; and if they were ill, it were a ſinful Act. Howbeit
“ your Legacy herein might peradventure *apud Homines* be a
“ Cloak — but not *apud Deum*. Wherefore you thus moniſhed by
“ him who intirely loveth you, I doubt not will deſiſt not only
“ from this (if Conſcience will not bear it) but from all other
“ things which ſhould tangle the ſame, and in ſo doing you will ſing,
“ *Te laudant Angeli & Archangeli. Te laudat omnis Spiritus.* And
“ thus an End I make of this, though rude, yet loving Letter, deſiring
“ you as benevolently to take it, as I do mean it: For I enſure
“ you (and I pray you think it ſo) that there remaineth at this
“ Hour no Spark of Diſpleaſure towards you in my Heart, and
“ thus fare you well and be no more perplexed. Written with the
“ Hand of your loving Sovereign and Friend *Henry R.*

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[u] *Hiſtory of* Hen. 8. *p.* 164.

5. The King, in this Letter, doth again intimate his Scruples, concerning the Lawfulneſs of applying the Revenues of religious Houſes towards building the Cardinal's College. It is difficult to account, how he came, in the Sequel of his Reign, to act after ſuch a Manner; as if the Alienation of Things, ſolemnly devoted to pious and publick Uſes, might lawfully be diverted out of their proper Channel, and turned to the Uſe of mere private Perſons; or Sacrilege were only a nominal Appellation, and there were not really any Grounds for it in the Nature or Reaſon of the Thing. There is one Way indeed of accounting for this remarkable Change in the King's Sentiments, tho' I do not preſume to ſay there were no other Motives to it; and that is from the different Light, wherein we ſee Things, when our Paſſions are moved, or we are immediately intereſted in them, from the Light, wherein they appear to us, when we conſider them as pure naked Objects of Speculation, whereby we do not apprehend our ſelves perſonally affected. There are few Men, who will examine themſelves according to this Obſervation, but may find, that there are other Rules of Judging, from which they have formed, or perhaps frequently changed their Principles, than thoſe, which ariſe from the proper Grounds of Certainty, the Perſpicuity, and Evidence of the Things themſelves that have been the Subject of their Enquiry.

6. But not to add any Thing here by Way of Queſtion, on either Side, how far the Demolition of Monaſteries was lawful on a religious Account? it may ſtill be diſputed, whether they ought to have been demoliſhed, in Regard to certain Conſiderations merely Political.

7. It is ſaid, in the firſt Place, That the Crown was frequently ſupplied with Gifts, Penſions, and other conſiderable Services from them: That they contributed very much to the Relief of the Poor, and thereby to eaſe the People in general of that heavy Load, under which they have ſince ſuffered, by the neceſſary Proviſions made for their Support, tho' the Rates to that End were never ſo exceſſive or more the Subject of Complaint, than at preſent[x].

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[x] *By the Diſſolution of religious Houſes, the Crown hath already loſt a Hundred thouſand Pounds Yearly, in Tenths, Firſt-Fruits, and Penſions, or rather much more, the Statute being made before the Diſſolution, whereby the King was to have a conſiderable annual Return out of their Eſtate: Their temporal Lands being ſo great, that the Abby of* St. Alban*'s might have yielded every Year Ten thouſand Pounds,* Glaſtenbury, St. Edmundsbury, St. Auguſtin*'s,* Ramſey, *and the Reſt of the great Monaſteries, each of them ſeveral thouſand Pounds. But if we were to proportion the Loſs of the Crown according to the Value of the improved Rents, it might modeſtly be computed at a Million.* Mr *Stephens* his Manuſcripts.

8. Neither was the Benefit of theſe pious Foundations inconſiderable, with Reſpect to Perſons of Quality, or, on other Accounts, of ſuperior Condition. The Fathers and Brothers to young Ladies of high Birth, were ſometimes, to preſerve the Honour and Dignity of the Family, or for a convenient Augmentation to the Fortune of other Children, to diſpoſe of them in this Way. *Nevil* Earl of *Warwick*, famous for a numerous and happy Iſſue, had three Daughters who entered into the monaſtick Order; two of which, *Elizabeth* and *Jane*, were only Nuns, but the other Siſter *Margery*, was Abbeſs of *Barkin*. Perſons of ſmall Eſtates and large Families ſtill found, in greater Number, the Advantage of providing for their Daughters in the ſame Method. And to ſuch, whoſe Quality, or other Circumſtances of Life, may render it leſs proper or eaſy, to put their Daughters in a common Way of Trade, the ſame Opportunity in a well-regulated Society, would, no doubt, appear very deſirable. And perhaps, I beg Leave to repeat it again, no publick Foundations could now be laid upon a more pious and truly charitable Plan. The Benefit, which the People had of inſtructing their Children in general, in theſe little Seminaries of Learning, was by no means to be contemned, there being few, if any Convents, where ſome of the Members were not employed in teaching the Children about thoſe Parts, without any Charge to their Parents.

9. Before the two famous Univerſities of this Kingdom, or other Univerſities in any Kingdom of *Europe* were founded, or ſupplied with any Number of Colleges, Libraries, Schools, Statutes, or Orders for Education of learned Men, in that Manner as they have been inſtituted for ſome Hundred Years paſt, it was the Piety and Practice of our Forefathers to build Colleges, Houſes of Religion, and Hoſpitals, and ſuch like Seminaries, in ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom; for that they did it with a ſincere Intention to advance Religion, Learning, Hoſpitality, and Charity, we cannot without being highly uncharitable our ſelves, make the leaſt Diſpute. What is here obſerved, has been acknowledged by ſome of the moſt inveterate Adverſaries to Popery, who write, “ That they were Houſes and “ Societies of better Uſe and Purpoſe than they are commonly taken “ to be: That they were Schools of Learning, Colleges of Learners and Teachers, when there were no Univerſities, or ſuch as “ were very meanly furniſhed, that they were the principal Places “ for learned Men and Divines; and not only for Prayers, and private Devotion: That when firſt founded, they were Convents “ of honeſt and ſtudious Men, and Schools of a more learned Edu-

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[y] *Mr.* Stephens *his Manuſcript.*

“ cation, where elder Perſons inſtructed Youth in the Knowledge
“ of moral and divine Subjects, where, before the Art of Printing
“ was diſcovered, they wrote Books, exerciſed Diſputations, and
“ in ſuch a Manner inſtilled the Principles of Religion and Lear-
“ ning into their Inferiors, that fit and able Men, Biſhops and ſub-
“ ordinate Paſtors might be choſen out of them for the Government
“ and common Edification of the Church.

10. In purſuance of ſo good and excellent a Deſign, our Forefathers had appropriated to them a fine College at *Rome*, well endowed with Lands in *Italy*, and ſupplyed annually with a liberal Penſion from *England*. This College was intended as a Place of Education for Scholars of ſuperior Diſtinction, and who by the Progreſs they ſhould make in the more uſeful and polite Parts of Learning, might upon their Return to *England*, be duly qualified for any Service, whether in Church or State. It was originally founded by King *Ina*, and enlarged by ſucceeding Princes, and for Maintenance of it, the [y] *Peter Pence* was annually granted to be paid by every Family in the Kingdom. This Contribution called *Romeſcot*, as Tributary-Money for that Uſe to *Rome*, was conſtantly paid upon the Anniverſary of the Feaſt of St. *Peter*. *Malmsbury* reports, That *Ina* King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, when he had firſt formed a Deſign of inſtituting this Subſidy towards the Support of the College, laying aſide his royal Dignity, travelled in a common and promiſcuous Company of poor Pilgrims to *Rome*, that he might acquaint the Pope with it. But ſome, ſaith Sir *Henry Spelman*, aſcribe the Original of *Romeſcot* with more probability to [z] *Offa* King of the *Mercians*. The principal Reaſon of this Conjecture is, That the Abbey of St. *Alban's*, founded by *Offa*, upon his diſcovering where the Body of the *Engliſh* Proto-Martyr St. *Alban* had been interred (not, as the Hiſtories of thoſe Times report, without a ſupernatural Direction) was exempted with all the County of *Hertfordſhire*, from the Payment of this Duty, at the [a] Inſtance of *Offa*, where he went in Perſon to ſollicit from Pope *Adrian* the Canonization of that Martyr, and to acquaint him with his Intention of erecting a Monaſtery in Honour to his Memory.

11. But there appears to be no Difficulty in accounting for the ſeeming Difference among our other Hiſtorians, nor of reconciling

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[y] Spelm. Gloſſ. *from* Malmſ.

[z] Mathew *of* Weſtminſter *agrees with* Malmsbury, *in aſcribing the Original of* Romeſcot *to* Ina: *And adds, That the* Engliſh *School at* Rome, *was founded for the Uſe of the Royal Family and Clergy of that Nation; that being there inſtructed in the Catholick Faith and Doctrine, no heterodox Opinions might be introduced, among the People, contrary to the Principles of Catholick Unity.* In Ann. 727. *p.* 137.

[a] Mat. Weſt. In Ann. 794. p. 147, 148, 149.

Mathew of *Weſtminſter* to himſelf, as to this Enquiry. *Ina* might originally found the College, and as King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, endow it with the Revenue called *Peter Pence* or *Romeſcot* within his own Dominions; and *Offa* might afterwards, ſubject to the ſame Payment, thoſe Parts of the Nation which belonged to himſelf as King of the *Mercians*; and in that Reſpect, ſo far as his Right or Authority extended, be the original Founder of ſuch Payment. For it is plain, from the later Account which this Author gives at large, of King *Offa*'s Pilgrimage, and his principal Deſign in it, that there was [b] before that Time an *Engliſh* School, and in ſome good Eſteem and Condition at *Rome*.

12. So that *Peter Pence* was not, as *Polydore* and *Baronius*, and the Generality of our own Hiſtorians, as well as of Papiſts in general, have affirmed, a Duty paid to the Pope, as Succeſſor of St. *Peter*; neither was it a Rent or Tribute, whereby the papal Supremacy was, on any Account, acknowledged; but a Revenue, originally appropriated by the two Kings beforementioned, and afterward confirmed by their Succeſſors, towards the Support of the *Engliſh* School or College at that Time in *Rome*, which at this Day ſubſiſts, tho' in a much meaner Condition, not only by the Subſtraction of *Peter Pence*, but through the Depredation made upon it by Pope *Sixtus* the Fifth, who took away one half of the Lands belonging to it, upon a Pretence of making a Bridge over to *England* from the Continent, when the *Spaniſh* Invaſion was attempted in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*. A Time, wherein thoſe who would write the *Hiſtory of Sacrilege*, may eaſily be ſupplied with numerous and ſufficient Materials.

13. When the Univerſities came to be enlarged, better endowed, and regulated for the publick Advancement of Learning, there was leſs Occaſion for theſe more private Seminaries of Education. But 'till that Time, moſt of the Learning in this and other Nations, was derived to them through theſe Channels. And even after the Univerſities were in a more flouriſhing Condition, they might have been ſubſervient, as Schools of Education preparatory to them, or been otherwiſe employed to ſeveral Ends more beneficial to the State, than by a Diſſolution of them in the Manner taken to that End, by *Henry* the Eighth.

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[b] Tandem, divina Regem inſpirante Gratia, in Scholam *Anglorum*, quæ tunc *Romæ* floruit, ingreſſus, dedit ibi ad ſuſtentationem Gentis, Regni ſui illuc venientis, ſingulos Argenteos de Familiis ſingulis, omnibus in poſterum Diebus, &c. 148.

14. It is not eaſy therefore to apprehend what induced our learned Author of the *Hiſtory of the Reformation*, to inveigh with ſo much Acrimony againſt the Monks in former Times, as if they were not only the moſt idle and illiterate Part of Mankind, but profeſſed Enemies to Learning. But the Force of theſe ſatyrical Reflections, which he has made on the Occaſion, will appear to better Advantage, in his own Words. " The Monks, *ſaith he*, being ſettled, " gave themſelves up to Idleneſs and Pleaſure, having in their Hands " the chief Encouragements of Learning, and yet doing nothing " towards it, but on the contrary decrying it and diſparageing it " all they could.

15. It might have been expected, that the ſevere Treatment which the ſeveral monaſtick Orders met with in the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth, would, inſtead of drawing ſo heavy a Cenſure upon them, for which, as it is generally expreſſed, there were no juſt Grounds, rather have moved ſome Degree of Compaſſion in the Breaſt of an Author, ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed for Temper, Moderation, and an extenſive Charity towards Perſons of a different Perſuaſion. If Concluſions may be drawn to the Diſadvantage of any Society of Men upon Earth, without Diſtinction of Perſons, from the Defects or Irregularities of certain Members, the World muſt neceſſarily be led into very falſe and uncharitable Judgements concerning them. That there were idle and ignorant Monks, is a Truth which cannot be diſputed: But it is contrary to Truth to ſay, that the whole Body of Monks were idle and ignorant; or even to ſay of them in general, that inſtead of doing any Thing towards the Advancement of Learning, they decryed and diſparaged, it all they could. It will be difficult to find many of them in Hiſtory, if any ſuch can be found, upon whom this Imputation, in the Terms it is expreſſed, can be juſtly charged.

16. I do not ſpeak this out of any Favour to the Order of Monks, now extinct in *England*, and to which I have no Manner of Relation, except that wherein I ſtand bound by the common Ties of Humanity, to injured and abuſed Perſons, in Prejudice of Truth and Juſtice, whatever their particular Opinions or Forms of Worſhip may be. But there was ſomething in the Uſage, which the poor Monks met with, upon the Suppreſſion of the Monaſteries in *England*, which renders their Caſe really deplorable, tho' at this Diſtance of Time, to all compaſſionate Minds; they were turned out of their Habitations, where they had all the Opportunities of a holy and devout Life; of exerciſing a Conſcience void of Offence towards God and towards Man, of doing much Good, and

avoiding many dangerous Temptations; in ſhort, where, in all Reſpects, they had a very comfortable Livelihood, and many of them lived in great Splendor. Out of all theſe happy Circumſtances, wherein Providence had placed them, they were turned to ſeek their Bread and Support, in a Way, for which their Manner of Life devoted to the Service of God, had rendered them altogether diſqualified; to ſay nothing of the Infirmities of Age, or natural Incapacities which many of them might be under for Labour or the ordinary Affairs of ſecular Life.

17. But the Cenſure beforementioned, cannot be better refuted, than in the Words of the learned Author, under the borrowed Name of *Anthony Harmer*, which I ſhall take the Liberty of reciting.

" This is a very hard Cenſure to paſs upon a whole Order of " Men, who were once very honourable, but always ſerviceable in " the Church. On the contrary, after they were thus ſettled, name" ly, by *Dunſtan Ethelwald* and *Oſwald*, in the Reign of *Edgar*, they " ſet themſelves with great Induſtry to reſtore Learning, and root " out that univerſal Ignorance which had then prevailed in *England*, " and effectually performed it. Inſomuch, that whereas before " that Time, ſcarce any ſecular Prieſt in *England*, could read or " write a *Latin* Epiſtle, within few Years, as *Elfric* a learned Diſci" ple of *Ethelwald* boaſteth, the Face of Things was ſo changed by " the Endeavours of *Dunſtan*, and his Maſter *Ethelwald*, that Lear" ning was generally reſtored and began to flouriſh. At that Time, " and long after, the Monaſteries were the Schools and Nurſeries " of almoſt the whole Clergy, as well Secular as Regular. For " the Univerſities, if there were any, were then very mean Socie" ties, and the whole Learning of the Nation was then in a Man" ner confined to their Cloyſters. As the Univerſities encreaſed, " they gradually decreaſed. Yet ſtill retained and cultivated Lear" ning, 'till about the Middle of the thirteenth Age, when the " mendicant Orders aroſe, who by their Hypocriſy, juggling Tricks, " and extraordinary Induſtry, ran down both them and the ſecular " Clergy. Within Two hundred Years the Mendicants be" came contemptible, and then both the Monks and Seculars be" gan to recover their antient Credit; and, long before the Refor" mation, had made great Progreſs in the Reſtoration, of Learning. " They had all along brought up their Novices in Learning; every " great Monaſtry having for that Purpoſe, a peculiar College in " one of the Univerſities, and even to the Time of their Diſſolu" tion, they continued to bring up great Numbers of Children at " School, at their own Charge, for the Service of the Church; and

“ immediately before the Reformation, many of the great Monaſteries were ſo many Nurſeries of Learning, and the Superiors of them very learned themſelves, and Promoters of Learning in others. Such were *Kidderminſter* Abbot of *Winchelcomb*, *Goldwell* Prior of *Canterbury*, *Voch* Abbot of Saint *Auſtin's*, *Wells* Prior of *Ely*, *Holbeuch* Prior of *Worceſter*, *Iſlip* Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, *Webb* Prior of *Coventry*, and many others. I do not hereby apologize for the Lazineſs of Monks in the middle Ages, but maintain, that both in the Time of King *Edgar*, and ſome Time after, and immediately before the Reformation, they deſerved a contrary Character to what the Hiſtorian giveth of them, and that even in the worſt Times, they were far from being Enemies and Oppoſers of Learning, as he would have it believed.”

18. *Fuller* obſerves, the Monks were formerly our ſole Hiſtorians; and it is certain, many valuable Remains of *Engliſh* Antiquities, would have periſhed, had they not been tranſmitted down to us by their Hands. Neither is his *Obſervation* to be wholly contemned, “ That ſomething in this Kind too, was owing to the Art and Induſtry of the Nuns, who preſerved and embelliſhed many curious and hiſtorical Paſſages with their Needles.”

19. As to what was pretended for the Suppreſſion of Monaſtries, becauſe the reſpective Members of them were become in general very diſſolute and corrupt; The Grounds of this Charge may probably be very true; but if it had been univerſally true, or in every particular Inſtance, it would only prove, Monaſteries ought to have been reformed, or converted to more pious, at leaſt to ſome good and publick Uſes. But do then the Sins and Impieties of Men, juſtly expoſe them to a Forfeiture of their legal and ſtated Rights, except in Caſes, where the Law has antecedently directed ſuch Forfeiture, and ſpecified the Crimes for which it ought to be incurred? Or will any Perſon who is now in Poſſeſſion of ſome Part of the Eſtates formerly belonging to the ſuppreſſed Monaſtries, ſubmit to have their Title to them tried by this Rule, and to have them alienated from themſelves or their Family for ever, in caſe they have been guilty, or may be found guilty of any criminal or even ſcandalous Diſorders? I am of Opinion, in this Caſe, there is not one ſuch Proprietor who would think it reaſonable that perſonal Frailties ſhould ſubject him to the Loſs of thoſe legal Rights, wherein both himſelf, and his Poſterity, are intereſted.

20. I am ſenſible, the Legiſlature acting in a full and regular Capacity, has a Power over the Eſtate of every Subject, which ought not to be reſiſted; and that the Acts of it flowing from ſuch a Plenitude of Power, may, in Fact, diſſeize Men of their moſt undoubted Rights. But though the ſupreme Powers muſt be ſubmitted to, and not oppoſed; tho' there is no Law to which they are accountable for their Adminiſtration, they ought not, however, to enact any Laws contrary to the Rules of moral Juſtice and Equity. Now the Rules of moral Juſtice and Equity, if I miſtake not, will be found to require, That no Man ought to be diſpoſſeſſed of what he peaceably enjoys, in caſe he is guilty of no legal Offence, upon which he was antecedently incapable of having ſuch Right continued any longer to him. So that the Queſtion is not, whether we are to conſider Lands or other Things ſolemnly appropriated to religious Uſes, as held by a divine Right, and upon that Account inalienable; but, if there are not certain human Rights, whether by Gift, Deſcent, Purchaſe, or Cuſtom, which Men may lawfully hold and retain, and of which they cannot in Juſtice be diſpoſſeſſed, however the ſupreme Legiſlature acting according to the Extent of its Power, may actually transfer their Right or Property in them. Now the Monaſtries it is ſaid, were held by as firm, regular, and legal a Tenure, as any Men, or Corporation of Men, now hold, or can hold the Eſtates or Privileges, wherewith they are inveſted.

21. If we conſider the Suppreſſion of Monaſteries, in reſpect to the Charge of Sacrilege, ſeveral Arguments have been employed to ſhew, that the Alienation of Lands and Revenues appropriated to them, to other Uſes, than thoſe for which they were originally granted, eſpecially to profane Uſes, were certainly ſacrilegious. And here they do not fail, among other Inſtances of the like Profanation in Scripture, to urge the Examples of *Achan*, of *Ananias* and *Saphira*, and of *Belſhazzar*, whoſe ſeveral Crimes, for which they were viſibly puniſhed by a ſevere Judgement of God, were known to conſiſt in their applying ſuch Things to common Uſes, which had been conſecrated or deſigned for the ſpecial Service of Religion.

22. To theſe Examples of Scripture, which are ſo many ſtanding Menaces of God's Wrath againſt ſacrilegious Perſons, and repreſent him continually, as having a Rod of Vengeance in his Hand ready for the Execution of it; they add, the Opinion of ſeveral learned Men, concerning the great Impiety and Danger of Sacrilege; of Men, who cannot be ſuſpected of being influenced in their Judgement

ment upon the Caſe, by any partial Conſiderations, reſpecting the Intereſts of the *Romiſh* Church.

23. Among theſe they particularly inſtance in *John Calvin*, who hearing of the Violences that were uſed in *England* in ſuppreſſing religious Houſes, and other Alienations of Things ſacred, could not forbear to paſs a Cenſure upon them, part of which the Reſpect owing to a Crowned-head, will not permit me to mention. Perhaps I may incur Cenſure my ſelf, for adding from him the Part following. That "King *Henry* was worſe, than all the Miniſters of the "*Roman Antichriſt*; for thoſe, who live under the ſervile Obe-"dience paid to him, at leaſt retain ſome exterior Form of Piety. "But he is a Perſon, whom no Rules of common Decency have "been able to reſtrain; and it is viſible to the whole World, that "he hath had no Fear of God before his Eyes.

24. The Words of *Luther* againſt him, upon the ſame Article, are no leſs virulent, but too unbecoming the Dignity of his Perſon to be recited.

25. *Cambden* of a Temper and Judgement much more ſedate than either of theſe Reformers, hath made the following pious Obſervation. "When the Churches and Colleges were pulled down, "their Revenues were ſold and made away, and thoſe Goods and "Riches, which the chriſtian Piety of the *Engliſh* Nation had conſe-"crated unto God, ſince they firſt profeſſed Chriſtianity, were in "a Moment, as it were, diſperſed, and, to the Diſpleaſure of no "Man be it ſpoken, *profaned*." But it is unneceſſary to multiply either Authorities, or Citations upon this Head.

CHAP. III.

1. Reaſons for alienating Things, under certain Reſtrictions, that have been formerly appropriated to pious Uſes. 2. The Legality of ſuch Alienations on a civil Account. 3. In a qualified Senſe. 4, 5. Anſwer to the ſcriptural Examples of Sacrilege. 6. Alienations even of Church-Lands, in certain Caſes, agreeable to the Canons. 7, 8. The Aſſurance of Abby-Lands *farther cited. 9, 10, 11. Certain occaſional Remarks on that Treatiſe. 12. With a tranſient Character of the Author. 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18. Whether he hath not been ill uſed by Biſhop* Burnet, *and concerning the State of the Queſtion between that learned Prelate and Him. 19, 20, 21, 22. Concerning the Progreſs of* Lutheraniſm *in* Oxford; John Clerk, Delabar, Nicholas Udale, *and ſeveral others.*

1. HAVING obſerved ſome of the moſt popular Arguments, that have been urged againſt the Lawfulneſs of alienating Things appropriated to pious Uſes, the Laws whereby I propoſed to regulate my ſelf, as an Hiſtorian of Opinions, do now oblige me to produce ſuch Arguments, as have been commonly offered on the other Side, to ſhew, that Things, which have been appropriated to ſuch Uſes, may yet, on certain Conſiderations, be lawfully alienated; and that ſuch Conſiderations actually took Place, when the Monaſteries, for to thoſe I principally confine my ſelf at preſent, were ſuppreſſed and alienated by King *Henry* the Eighth.

2. Firſt, for the Legality of ſuch Alienations in a civil Senſe, it is ſaid, That the Legiſlature, in reſpect to the Rights of particular Perſons, may have, and ought to have a diſcretionary Power, where ſuch Rights, tho' legally granted and confirmed, are yet found highly prejudicial to the Safety or Intereſts of the State in general: For theſe being the proper and eſſential Ends of Government, the Rights of private Perſons are, in the plain Reaſon of the Thing, to be ſubmitted to them. For otherwiſe, what in Honour to the divine Wiſdom and Goodneſs ought not to be ſuppoſed, God hath inſtituted civil Government for an End, which would be really impracticable. It is upon this Principle, that the ſupreme Power in any Nation, for neceſſary Ends of Government, may reſtrain, coerce, or aſſeſs particular Perſons, in ſuch manner, as is moſt proper for attaining ſuch Ends; That even innocent Perſons, the Heirs of Eſtates, which otherwiſe ought to deſcend to them by Right of Inheritance, are yet legally and juſtly deprived of them, by Occaſion of certain capital Offences in their Parents. Becauſe it has been thought neceſſary to the common Good, which is to be preferred before all private Conſiderations whatever, that ſuch exemplary Acts of Severity ſhould be inflicted on them, for the greater Terrour of thoſe who may hereafter be inclined or excited to offend in the ſame Kind. Now after a Reformation had been introduced in *England*, it was thought not ſo much convenient, as abſolutely neceſſary for the Good of the State, that a Sett of Men, who profeſſed Obedience to a foreign Power, and were the chief and avowed Inſtruments of promoting his Deſigns, ſhould be deprived of the Means, by which they were capacitated to promote them.

3. I have given this Argument all the Force, which it appears to me capable of receiving: But however juſt it may appear, not only towards ſhewing the Lawfulneſs, but the Neceſſity of ſuppreſſing the monaſtick Orders, and diſſeizing Perſons of their legal Rights

who had acknowledged a foreign Authority, or are ſuppoſed to have acknowledged a foreign Authority even in Things of a civil Nature; yet the Queſtion is ſtill left undetermined, whether ſuch of them, as would afterwards diſclaim that Authority, might not have been put under ſome good Regulation in the ſame Way of Life? or, if that had not been practicable, whether the Revenues ariſing from the Diſſolution of their reſpective Societies, ought not to have been applied to ſome other pious and publick Uſes.

4. As to the Examples beforementioned from the holy Scriptures, they ſeverally anſwer, to the following Effect.

1ſt, That as to the Sin of *Achan*, who ſurreptitiouſly took the Silver and Gold conſecrated to the Service of God, we are to diſtinguiſh between ſuch Things, as God has appointed for his Service, by a particular Deſignation, and to a particular End, and ſuch Things, which have only in general ſome pious and more diſtant Relation to it. That, in this Way of Arguing, as we ought to do every Thing to the Glory of God, there would ſcarce be any Thing, upon which a Kind of divine and indelible Character might not appear to be impreſſed, which would occaſion endleſs Trouble and Diſquiet to Men of ſcrupulous or tender Conſciences: The Notion, therefore, of Sacrilege, is to be circumſcribed within certain ſtated and reaſonable Bounds; and the moſt, which can be inferred from this Inſtance of *Achan* is, that Things immediately conſecrated to the Service of God, as the Utenſils for Inſtance, to be employed in his ſolemn Worſhip, are not, without ſome Degree of Profanation, to be put to ordinary or ſeparate Uſes: That this is a Principle, concerning which, the common Rules of Piety have directed Mankind in all Ages: That *Nebuchadonozor* himſelf was ſenſibly ſtruck with the Light and Power of it, when having taken the ſacred Veſſels of the Temple at *Jeruſalem*, he did not put them into his Treaſury, or convert them to any private Uſes, but placed them at *Babylon*, in the Houſe of his Gods: That, as to the Caſe of *Belſhazzar*, who to celebrate a publick Feaſt which he had made with much Pomp, drank Wine in them, his Action was confeſſedly of the ſame profane and ſacrilegious Kind, and is not pretended by any, either to be innocent or excuſeable.

5. They grant the Sacrilege of *Ananias* and *Sapphira* conſiſted in detaining Part of a certain Poſſeſſion, they had ſold, for their proper Uſe, which ought to have been put in the common Treaſury of the Church; "That Diſtribution might be made unto every "Man, according as he had need." So that this was a complicated Act, not only of Impiety, but of Injuſtice, and a notorious

Breach of Charity; and in this latter reſpect, had an immediate Reference to Things or Poſſeſſions more directly appropriated to charitable Uſes. But then, they ſay, this only proves the Crime of Sacrilege, in alienating ſuch Things as have a particular and ſolemn Deſignation to ſome common Ends of Charity; but does not limit the ſupreme Authority, in whoſe Hands ſoever it is lodged, from directing them, tho' in another Way, to Ends really more beneficial.

6. Nothing is more evident from eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, than that Alienations of Church-Lands have not only been practiſed, but allowed by the Canons. " In the ſixth Canon of the eighth Coun-" cil, in the Time of Pope *Adrian* the [b] Second, it is declared, That " the holy Veſſels may be alienated for the Redemption of Captives. " The like Saint *Gregory* declares to *Demetrius* and *Valerianus* Clerks of " the Church of *Firman*, concerning ten Pounds, given by *Fabius* the " Biſhop, of Money belonging to the Church, for the Redemption " of them, and their Father *Paſſivus* the Biſhop; of which they were " afraid Repayment might be demanded; but St. *Gregory* acquitted " them of it." And, as it may be pretended theſe Inſtances are only concerning Charities, the Author of the *Aſſurance of Abbey Lands* proceeds to ſhew, that according to the Canon-Law, Alienations in all Caſes appear to be valid, where the Conſent of the Clerks of the Church and the Grant of the Biſhop is previouſly obtained: Otherwiſe, as he argueth, Pope *Urban* had not decreed, that Alienations of all Perſons, by Intruſion, or even of thoſe canonically elected by the Name of Biſhop or Abbot, who ought to have been conſecrated according to the Uſe of his Church, ſhould be void, if made without the common Conſent of the Clerks of the Church. For there would have been no need of that Exception, if ſuch Alienation had not been good and valid with the Conſent of the ſaid Clerks.

7. This, continueth he, is ſtill more clear in the third Council of *Orleans*, where the Canon expreſſeth, that " it ſhall not be law-" ful to Abbots, Presbyters, or other Miniſters, to alienate eccle-" ſiaſtical Goods or Things in holy Miniſtry, or to pawn them " without the Permiſſion or Subſcription of the Biſhop." By which it is implied, that the Biſhop, or Abbot, in concurrence with thoſe over whom they preſided, might, in the Senſe of this Council, alienate ſacred Veſſels or other Goods belonging to the Church.

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[b] *Aſſurance of Abbey Lands*, p. 17.

8. In the Council of *Carthage* it is decreed, that “ the Presbyters ſhall ſell nothing belonging to the Church, the Biſhop not “ being privy to it: Nor the Biſhops, not conſulting their Canons, “ without Neceſſity.” From whence it is inferred, that in the Judgement of this Council, Neceſſity may even legitimate an unjuſt or uncanonical Alienation: And then this Author proceeds to obſerve, what he had principally in his Intention, when he wrote that Book, That no greater Neceſſity could happen, at any Time, than that which occaſioned Pope *Julius* the Third, to grant the Powers to Cardinal *Pool* for Aſſuring the Abbey Lands to the Poſſeſſors, how *unjuſtly* ſoever they had obtained them.

9. I would farther obſerve, That in the Treatiſe and Chapter to which I refer, the Author has taken care to obviate two popular Objections againſt what he has here advanced. The Firſt is from a Decree of Pope *Symmachus*, which he ſaith, the Author of a Letter to Dr. *Burnet* principally inſiſteth upon: A Letter, which was written to ſhew the Danger, which Perſons poſſeſſed of Abbey-Lands, might be under of having them reſumed, in caſe Popery ſhould come to be re-eſtabliſhed in *England*.

“ A Synod was held at *Rome*, under that Pope, called *Palmaris*, “ becauſe celebrated in the Porch of the Church of St. *Peter* called “ *Palmaria*. In this Synod, at the Requeſt of the Council, *Symmachus* cauſed to be read by *Hormiſda* the Deacon, the Conſtitution of *Odoacer*, King of the *Heruli*, wherein, under Pain of Excommunication, he had forbid any to alienate the Rights of the “ Church. This was exploded by the Synod, becauſe it was the “ Law of a Lay-perſon concerning Church-affairs, eſpecially becauſe no Lay-men could appoint the Penalty of Excommunication. So *Symmachus* produceth his own Conſtitution, as it is “ in the Decretal, only the laſt Clauſe is very different in *Binnius* “ from what it is in the Decretal.” For in the Council it is thus, *We Will the Law of this Conſtitution only to be obſerved in the apoſtolick See, in all the Churches of the Provinces, according to the Conſideration of Souls, the Uſe and Cuſtom being obſerved, which the Rectors ſhould ſee to be agreeable in all the Churches throughout their reſpective Provinces.* But in the Decretal it is thus, *This Canon is not only to be obſerved in the apoſtolick Church, but is ſaid to be convenient to be obſerved in all the Churches throughout the reſpective Provinces.* “ From which it appears, that this was the Pope's peculiar Conſtitution made before, and approved by the Synod, and extended “ only to the Suburbian Dioceſs of *Rome*, and was not univerſally obliging; which, as well as other Reaſons, might induce a

“ late learned [c] Author to aſſert, that there was a Time when the “ Pope entered not into the Cognizance of the Goods of the “ Churches, which depended not on his Dioceſs.

10. The other Difficulty propoſed, is from a Reſolution of Pope *Zozimus*, that the Authority of the *Roman* See cannot change Statutes of the Fathers, or eſtabliſh any Thing contrary to them; to which this Author replieth from *Thomas* of *Aquin*, in Anſwer to the Queſtion, Whether the Pope may change the Statutes of holy Fathers in general Councils, or diſpenſe with them? *That thoſe Things which the Statutes of the Fathers have decreed to be of Divine Right, cannot be changed. But thoſe Things which the holy Fathers have determined of poſitive Right, are left under the Diſpoſition of the Pope, that he may change them or diſpenſe with them, according to the Opportunities of Times or Countries; and that the Words of the Decrees may be altered, and yet the Intention of the Decrees be obſerved, which is the Benefit of the Church; as it happens in all poſitive Laws, where ſubſequent Statutes derogate from the former.*

11. The Author having laid down this general Groundwork, proceedeth to an Induction of Particulars; and ſheweth, from Variety of Inſtances, that Revenues have from Time, to Time, been alienated both from Churches, and religious Houſes, on which they were conferred by their firſt Dedication. But the Reader may conſult the Facts at large in the Treatiſe, and judge for himſelf concerning the Conſequences drawn from them.

12. I ſhall only take the Liberty to obſerve, That the Learning and ingenuous Manner of Writing in this Author, ſeemed to require, that he ſhould have been treated with more Reſpect, than is ſhewed to him, in the Preface to the third Volume of our learned Hiſtorian. Among other Inſtances of a ſeeming Neglect to him, he is there called in direct Terms, a mercenary Writer. This Character, which affects him in ſo tender a Point, as that of his Reputation, ought to have been well proved: And yet there is no Proof, not ſo much as any Conjecture or Appearance of Proof, brought to ſupport it. Did his Writings recommend him to any Poſt in the State, or the firſt Dignities in the Church? to which, I preſume, it will not be diſputed, had he qualified himſelf in other Reſpects, he had, at leaſt, a competent Share of Learning and good Senſe. Such a Method as this, of confuting an Adverſary, is very ſhort and eaſy; but perſonal Reflections, eſpecially when no-

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[c] *Aſſ. Abb. Lands*, ch. 2.

thing is ſaid to juſtify them, are not the moſt proper to enlighten a Reader, who deſires only to know on which ſide the Force of the Argument lieth. Or doth our learned Hiſtorian ſuppoſe, that it is the Right only of the dignified Clergy, to give themſelves magiſterial Airs, and that Laymen or Clergymen of inferior Degree, either are not qualified to write, or if they do write, ought to be treated with Contempt and Reproach?

13. But the Reaſon of this Uſage, which the Author of the *Aſſurance of Abbey-Lands*, has received from a learned Prelate, may perhaps more eaſily be accounted for, when we enquire, whether his Lordſhip had really the Advantage of him in Point of ſtrict Argument; of which, becauſe it relates to a Caſe that the Nature of my Work has obliged me more particularly to conſider, I ſhall, with all poſſible Brevity, endeavour to give a true State.

14. Doctor *Burnet*, afterwards Biſhop of *Salisbury*, in his *Hiſtory of the Reformation*, had endeavoured to prove, that no Subject of *England*, Proteſtant or Papiſt, had any perfect or firm Security, that the Abby-Lands in his Poſſeſſion, would not, or rather ought not, upon the Principles of the Church of *Rome*, to be reſumed, in caſe Popery ſhould again become the eſtabliſhed Religion of theſe Nations. Dr. *Nathaniel Johnſton* apprehending it might be of ſome Service to remove the Suſpicions of certain Perſons on this Head, and ſuch Terrors from the Apprehenſions of Popery, as he thought really groundleſs, in the Reign of King *James* the Second, endeavoured to maintain againſt Dr. *Burnet*, and the Author of a Letter to him, that Papiſts, or others poſſeſſed of Abbey-Lands, had not only as firm and good Security for them as the Laws of the Land could require, but ſuch, as was agreeable to the Laws of the Church; and had as full and ample Confirmation given to them, as the papal Authority could give. And whereas the Biſhop had inſinuated, that the Confirmation of the Poſſeſſors, by Virtue of Cardinal *Pole*'s Legatine Powers, was deluſory and ſuſpicious, Doctor *Johnſton* endeavours to prove the contrary, by appealing to thoſe Powers, and to the Uſe and Application, which, in conſequence was made of them: And ſheweth, after all, that a full, ſatisfactory, and effectual Confirmation was given to them by Authority of Pope *Paul* the Fourth.

15. To this the Biſhop anſwers, That Dr. *Johnſton* was a *mercenary Writer*. Yet, to do his Lordſhip Juſtice, he has endeavoured to ſhew, that what this Author has written, is of no conſequence to eſtabliſh the Security of Abbey-Lands here in *England*, to the preſent Poſſeſſors.

16. His Lordſhip's principal, and indeed only Argument which carrieth in it the Appearance of Probability, is taken from a Bull of Pope *Pius* of the Twelfth of *July* 1555. In this Bull, which bears Date two Years after that which conſtituted *Pole* Legate in *England*, the Pope condemns all Alienations of Church-Lands, and even all Leaſes for one or more Lives, or for a longer Term than three Years. This he extends to all Cathedrals, Monaſteries, and Hoſpitals, and annuls all Leaſes reſpecting Caſtles, Towns, and Cities, even though made by Popes themſelves, or their Authority and Order; and by the Preſidents, Prelates, or Rectors of Churches, Monaſteries, or Hoſpitals, of what Rank or Degree ſoever, Cardinals by Name being expreſſed; from whence his Lordſhip draws a Concluſion, as if it would not admit any Diſpute, that whatever Pope *Pius* the Fifth did, or upon his own Principles could do, towards aſſuring the Abbey-Lands to the preſent Poſſeſſors, was all Colluſion, without any manner of Force or Significancy.

17. And indeed, had this learned Prelate only recited that Part of the Bull, the Reader might have been apt to make the ſame Inference, that his Lordſhip has done; but the Limitation in the Words of the Bull immediately following, in his Lordſhip's Extract, plainly ſuppoſeth, that Pope neither did, nor could hereby intend, to reſtrain himſelf or the Church from the Exerciſe of that extraordinary Power, by which Alienations of Abbey or Church-Lands had been formerly made. The Limitation is, that nothing ſhould be done [d] to the Prejudice of the Church, the Solemnity by Law required not being obſerved; or where Alienations had been already made by an incompetent Authority; evidently implying, that what the Pope did, or directed by his Legate to be done, according to the Solemnity of Law, ſhould notwithſtanding, to all Intents and Purpoſes, have the Force of Law; and that Alienations might ſtill be made by a competent Authority; in reſpect to which, no one will preſume that *Pius* the Fifth had a Deſign to limit, or exclude his own Authority.

18. How Biſhop *Burnet* came to cite this Bull, for the Invalidity of the Grant by *Pius* the Fifth, in order to aſſure Abbey-Lands to the Poſſeſſors of them at that Time, which in the natural Conſtruction of the Words, doth ſuppoſe the Pope had, and claimed a Power to that End, is a Quſtion for which I readily profeſs my ſelf altogether incapable of accounting.

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[d] In Damnum Eccleſiæ, ſeu non ſervatis ſolemnitatibus a jure requiſitis, aut alias nulliter hactenus factas, ſcilicet, Alienationes.

19. I ſhall

19. I ſhall conclude my hiſtorical Obſervations, relating to this Year, with an Account of the Progreſs, which now appeared to be made more openly towards a Change of Religion in *England*; eſpecially in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, where the *Lutheran* Doctrines began to be propagated by ſome Perſons with much Zeal; but no where more than in the Cardinal's College, and particularly by the Members, who had been received into it from *Cambridge*. Among theſe Members, *John Clark* had a Right of claiming the Precedence. He was one of the younger Canons of that Society, at whoſe private Lectures, and publick Diſputations, ſeveral Perſons, and ſome of conſiderable ſtanding in the Univerſity, were frequently obſerved to attend; and who was ſo much and generally eſteemed for his great Piety and uncommon Erudition, that they uſed ordinarily to conſult him in doubtful Caſes, and to that End frequently either repaired to him in Perſon, or if that could not be conveniently done, communicated their Doubts to him in Writing.

20. In the Reſolution of which Doubts, as in his other Endeavours towards a Reformation, one Dr. *Delabar*, a Member of *Alban-Hall* was very aſſiſtant. This *Clerk* had been incorporated Maſter of Arts in the Univerſity, but was ſoon after expelled from the ſaid College for profeſſing and teaching the *Lutheran* Doctrines. To which, thoſe, who adhered, began about this Time to have private Conferences; wherein, after they had firſt recommended themſelves and their Deſigns to God, by Prayer, they conſulted about the moſt proper Methods of promoting theſe Doctrines, taking an Occaſion, at proper Intervals, of explicating one or other of them, out of *Luther*'s own Books.

21. Among theſe aſſociated one *Nicholas Udale* and *John Dyott*, with others of *Corpus Chriſti College*, of which, when the Founder received Advice, he was ſenſibly grieved, leaſt he ſhould be thought to have erected a Seminary of heretical Opinions: For that great Prelate, who had applied himſelf more to the Advancement of Piety and Learning in general, than to particular Controverſies in Religion; who had embraced, from a general Principle of Obedience, the common and received Doctrines; and, who was now at an Age, wherein Men are not only leſs ſubject to change their Opinions, but more timorous in caſe of any extraordinary Innovations, did, it muſt be acknowledged, conſtantly, and with a ſteddy Reſolution to the laſt, adhere to the Religion then eſtabliſhed both by the eccleſiaſtical, and civil Authority.

22. With the Followers of *Luther* beforementioned, ſeveral Perſons, from other Societies, concurred in promoting the ſame Deſign; ſome of which were afterwards brought to recant, but others choſe rather to be expelled from the Society, and even to be impriſoned for Life, and at laſt to be committed, with their Books, to the Flames, there to diſclaim the Doctrines which they had profeſſed. But all the violent Methods, which were taken to ſuppreſs them, proved ineffectual, as well as the publick Sermons or Diſputations, whereby the moſt learned of thoſe, who ſtill profeſſed Obedience to the papal See, endeavoured to convert and reſtore them.

CHAP. IV.

1. *A Tendency on our Part towards a Breach with the Emperor.* 2. *One Reaſon of it from the Captivity and ill Uſage of the Pope.* 3. *And from a political Conſideration.* 4. *Abſtract of a Letter from the Pope to the King.* 5. *The King adviſed to ſend the Cardinal to* France, *and upon what Motives, according to* Cavendiſh. 6. *His magnificent Appearance, and the Manner of his Entertainment in* France. 7. *The chief Articles of his Charge.* 8. *His Aſſiduity and Devotion.* 9. *An Honour done to him by the Lady Regent.* 10. *His Negotiations highly approved by the King.* 11. *Yet the Time of the Nuptials which had been treated and agreed upon, not ſpecified.* 12. *A Letter of the Biſhop of* Bath *to the Cardinal, concerning an Expedient propoſed by the Queen Regent.* 13, 14. *Articles of the ſecond and third Treaty.* 15. *On what Account the Cardinal charged.* 16. *An Acceſſion of ſtill greater Power to him.* 17. *What Uſe he made of it.*

1. THERE being no Proſpect of a ſpeedy Accommodation between the Emperor and King of *France*, by Means of the Expedients, which were offered on the Part of our Court; King *Henry* was reſolved, in caſe his Imperial Majeſty ſhould ſtill perſiſt in rejecting his juſt and reaſonable Demands, to have Recourſe to the laſt Argument of ſovereign Princes; and effectually to act according to his late Engagements, after ſuch a Manner againſt the Emperor, in concert with *France*, that he ſhould be compelled by Force of Arms to more equitable Conditions of Peace. 1527.

2. The King of *England* was more inſtigated to this Reſolution, both from a Motive of Zeal for the papal See, and by the Cardinal's Perſuaſions, on Account of the ill, and as it was then thought, moſt impious Uſage, which his Holineſs the Pope had received from

the Outrage and Inſults of the Imperial Forces in *Italy*. *Charles* Duke of *Bourbon* having demanded Paſſage for his Troops into the Kingdom of *Naples*, through the Pope's Territories, with Proviſion for them, yet for which they ſhould be obliged to make Payment, his Holineſs refuſed to comply. Upon which, that General marched directly to the Walls of *Rome*, and laid Siege to it, with an Army of Thirty thouſand Men, but attempting to ſcale the Walls, was himſelf killed with a Muſquet-ſhot. The Soldiers inſtead of being intimidated by the Death of their General, became more enraged; tho' it is not improbable, the Proſpect of Plunder might contribute much to that impetuous Fury, wherewith they aſſaulted and took the Town by Storm: After which, for ſix or ſeven Days, wherein they committed all Manner of Rapine and Cruelty, killing about Five thouſand Perſons, there was none to oppoſe or reſtrain them. The Pope, with thirteen of the Cardinals, when they firſt entered the Town, had retired to the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, to which they immediately laid ſuch cloſe Siege, that his Holineſs with thoſe Cardinals, were forced to a Capitulation, whereby, in two Months time, they were obliged to pay to the Army Four hundred thouſand Ducats; and for Security of Payment, or 'till Part of the Money at leaſt ſhould be advanced, and Hoſtages exchanged, they were all of them ſtill to remain as Priſoners in the Caſtle; even after the Capitulation ſhould be effectually performed, the Pope was to continue under Confinement, and to be removed to [e] *Gaeta*, or ſome other Place in the Kingdom of *Naples*, 'till the Emperor's Pleaſure might be further known concerning him.

3. This Violence offered to the common Father of the Church, and Vicar of *Jeſus Chriſt*, as he was then acknowledged by chriſtian Princes, made a great Noiſe in the World, and moved ſeveral of them not only to commiſerate his Condition, but to think of proper Expedients for his Relief. Among theſe, none was more forward, or appeared animated with more Zeal for the Honour and Dignity of his Holineſs, than the King of *England*: The Cardinal not omitting, at ſo critical a Conjuncture, to give Proofs of that devout Attachment to the papal See, which he had ever profeſſed, and to excite or ſecond any good Motions in the King to ſo pious, and, as he apprehended it too at that Time in reſpect to certain political Conſiderations, ſo neceſſary a Work. For it now evidently appearing, that the Ballance of *Europe* inclined towards the Empire, and that there was not a ſufficient Weight according to the preſent State of Affairs, to counterpoiſe it, there ſeemed no Method left

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[e] Guicciardine, l. 18.

for eſtabliſhing the common Tranquillity upon a good Foot, but by uniting vigorouſly with *France*, for the Support of his Holineſs, and the *Italian* League, againſt the Imperial Arms.

4. The Pope having notice of the King's pious and filial Diſpoſition towards him and his Intereſts, wrote a Letter by Way of Acknowledgement in Anſwer to One, which he had received from the King, declaring, " how deſirous he was to gratify his Majeſty in
" the Requeſts preferred by his Secretary, eſpecially in ſuch of them,
" as might be moſt acceptable to him. And that the King's great
" Goodneſs, towards himſelf, was ſo well known to the World,
" it needed no Recital. He concludes with intreating the King
" as an affectionate Son, to proceed in the pious Work, which
" he had begun; to aſſiſt him in his Diſtreſs, and to purſue the
" common Ends reſpectively propoſed by them, towards attaining
" the univerſal Good of Chriſtendom; and which might eſpecial-
" ly contribute to reſtore the Dignity of the Holy See.

5. In purſuance of theſe Ends, it was thought adviſeable by the Council, that the Cardinal ſhould go in Perſon upon an Embaſſy to the Court of *France*; that by his Wiſdom and Weight, the Matters to be propoſed on the Part of *England*, might be effected with greater Facility, and to more Advantage. Tho' *Cavendiſh*, who did not want Opportunities of informing himſelf concerning the more ſecret Springs of Motion in our Court, imputes the Advice of the Council, concerning the perſonal Deſignation of the Cardinal for this Embaſſy, to another Motive. He ſaith, " *Ann* of *Bolein* lay
" in continual Wait for a convenient Occaſion of enſnaring him;
" and that the Intent of the Lords was no other, but to remove
" him from the King, that by the Aſſiſtance of their chief Miſtreſs
" they might render him obnoxious to his Majeſty, and ſo in his
" abſence bring him into Diſgrace, or at leaſt into a leſs Degree of
" Authority and Eſteem at Court.

6. As to the preparatory Diſpoſitions which were made[f] for his Journey, the Number and Magnificence of his Train, wherein there was near a thouſand Horſe, the Inſtructions which he gave to his Retinue concerning the Regulation of their Duty and Behaviour towards himſelf; his Character of the *French* Nation; his Reception of the Cardinal of *Lorrain* near *Bolein*, with other Ceremonials of his Progreſs, 'till he met the *French* King and his Mother at *Amiens*; the Honours which were there done to him, and their Removal

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[f] July 11, 1527.

from that Place to *Campeign*, with an Adventure which *Cavendiſh* relates concerning himſelf, relating to a *French* Gentleman and his Lady, by whom he was received with great Freedom and Civility, eſpecially by the Lady, who made him ſenſible ſhe was no Stranger to the *Engliſh* Cuſtom, a Cuſtom ſomewhere much celebrated by *Eraſmus*, of promiſcuous Salutations, without Offence, of both Sexes when they meet. Theſe and other circumſtantial Paſſages of this famous Embaſſy, I leave to the Deſcription, wherein they are moſt of them very particular, of our Hiſtorians, who wrote about that Time.

7. It will be of more Importance to acquaint the Reader, what Inſtructions the Cardinal had relating to the [g] Matters concerning which he was empowered to treat.

1ſt, He was charged to require the Reſolution of *Francis* upon the Treaty of Marriage formerly mentioned.

2d, To concert proper Meaſures towards making a Peace with the Emperor, in which the Means of enlarging the Children of *France*, now Hoſtages in *Spain*, were to be particularly provided for.

3d, To agree upon proper Meaſures for procuring the Pope's Liberty.

To the firſt Article the *French* King anſwered, that the Age of his Son the Duke of *Orleans*, rendring him a more agreeable Match to the Princeſs *Mary*, the Treaty of Marriage ſhould proceed between them two.

To the Second it was anſwered, That *Francis*, in order to recover his Children, would be content, with other Conceſſions, to diſclaim his Title to *Milan*.

To the Third it was ſaid, the Pope ſhould be enlarged either by Treaty or Force with all Expedition.

8. But theſe Conventions were made, before the Cardinal was conducted to *Campeign*: From which Place, he gave the King an Account of his Negotiations. In preparing his Diſpatches for our Court, *Cavendiſh*, who was then with him, writes, That from Four in the Morning to Four in the Afternoon, he wrote Letters without

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[g] *Beſides the Articles here ſpecified, the Cardinal was charged with certain Inſtructions relating to the Divorce; the King himſelf now beginning to raiſe Scruples about his Marriage. What I here aſſert is upon the Credit of Mr.* Maſter, *who writes, That upon the Cardinal's going into* France, *the Biſhop of* Bath *returned into* England, *to relate to his Majeſty, firſt the Proceedings of the Cardinal with the* French *King in the Treaties; and ſecondly, to ſhew unto him certain Devices concerning his own and ſecret Matter.* Maſt. 116.

Intermiſſion, not allowing himſelf Time to eat; That when he had finiſhed and delivered them to an Expreſs for *England*, he went after his accuſtomed Manner to his Devotions; and afterward having walked for the Space of an Hour, or more, in the Garden, and ſaid evening Song, he took a ſhort Repaſt, and then compoſed himſelf for Reſt.

9. I omit to mention particularly the Feaſts and other mutual Entertainments made between the *French* King and the Cardinal; one of which, on the King's Part, to which his Eminency was invited, was the Hunting of a wild Boar; when the Cardinal, among a Croud of Ladies of the firſt Quality, had the Honour to ſit in the Lady-Regent's Chariot, who was alſo herſelf a Spectator of the Diverſion.

10. The King of *England* receiving much Satisfaction from the Report which the Cardinal made of his Negotiation, wrote a Letter to him with his own Hand, acknowledging, on many Accounts the great Services, his Eminency had done to himſelf, and to the Kingdom in general, and, particularly, in the three Treaties lately concluded.

11. The firſt Treaty was concerning the Marriage of the Princeſs *Mary* to the Duke of *Orleans*, but the Time of celebrating the Nuptials was not expreſly ſpecified; neither the Circumſtances relating to her Dowry, or her Tranſportation, and the Eſtabliſhment of her Family: It was however provided, that in caſe this Treaty, by reaſon of any unforeſeen Accident, ſhould not take Effect, the other Treaties ſhould, notwithſtanding, ſubſiſt in their full Force.

12. Young as the Princeſs then was, being only in the eleventh Year[h] of her Age, I find a Letter from the Biſhop of *Bath* to the Cardinal ſignifying, the *French* King expreſſed a great Deſire, ſo ſoon as Preliminaries concerning the Marriage might be adjuſted, to have her delivered into his Hands: The Queen-Regent was alſo very earneſt for having the Marriage ſolemnized, [i] alledging there would be no [k] Danger to the Princeſs, herſelf having married at the ſame Age. She moves, that the King her Son may meet the Lady *Mary* at *Calais*, with a ſmall Retinue, and without much Expence; and then after the Eſpouſals ſhould be celebrated, ſhe offers an Ex-

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[h] *She was born* Feb. 26, 1516. Stil. Com. Hall, Feb. 18, 1515-16.

[i] Maſt. Coll. p. 113.

[k] *See the Letter of the Biſhop of* Bath *to the Cardinal, concerning the Propoſals made by the Queen-Regent,* Coll. Nº 78. Book III.

pedient for aſſuring the Marriage in ſuch a Manner, without any Injury to the Princeſs, her Son being a Man of Prudence and Honour, that neither Party could afterwards violate the Contract; and then the Princeſs might return to her Father in *England*, 'till ſhe ſhould be of a more mature Age. This Expedient, tho' propoſed with all the Decency, the Nature of the Thing would admit, appeared ſo ſtrange to our Ambaſſadors, that it is uncertain, whether they, ſo much, as wrote to our Court for any particular Inſtructions on that Occaſion.

13. By the ſecond Treaty it was agreed, That whenever a Peace ſhould be concluded between the Emperor and King of *France*, the King of *England* ſhould not be charged with the Protection and Aſſurance of it; except the ſaid Peace could not otherwiſe be made; and, in that Caſe, it was provided, King *Henry* ſhould take upon him to protect and warrant it; but ſtill with this Reſtriction, that nothing, by Virtue thereof, ſhould be attempted, either againſt the Kingdom or Subjects of *Francis*. Among other Articles, there is one particularly that reſpected the Benefit of our Trade and *Engliſh* Merchants: It is ſtipulated, That if *Charles* having refuſed the Conditions offered to him by the two Powers, they ſhould for that Reaſon make War upon him; then, ſo long as the War ſhould laſt, the *Engliſh* Merchants ſhould have the ſeveral Privileges, Immunities, and Exemptions in all Places, ſubject to the Crown of *France*, which they enjoyed for the Year laſt paſt in *Flanders*, *Brabant*, *Holland*, and *Zealand*.

14. By the third Treaty, it was concluded, That no general Council ſummoned by the Pope, while he was under conſtraint, or by the Emperor, ſhould be acknowledged, as having any Authority; and that the Clergy on both Sides, ſhould be obliged ſolemnly to diſclaim and enter their Proteſt againſt ſuch a Council; but eſpecially, it was provided, that all Acts and Inſtruments tending to the Diminution or Prejudice of the Cardinal's Legatine Character, ſhould be declared of no Effect, and all Perſons be puniſhed, who ſhould circulate or report them. That whatever Decrees or Regulations were made by the Cardinal of *York*, and the *Engliſh* Prelates relating to the Church of *England*, during the Pope's Captivity, ſhould be obligatory, and received as ſuch; but provided, that the Prelates ſhould be called together by the King's Authority, and have his previous Conſent to their Decrees. It was likewiſe agreed, That for the ſame Period, or ſo long as the Pope ſhould continue in Captivity, the Powers of the *French* King and the *Gallican* Church ſhould be of the ſame Nature and Extent.

15. And here it has been obſerved, the King of *England* felt the firſt Impulſe towards affecting that eccleſiaſtical Supremacy, for which he afterward endeavoured to procure a legal Eſtabliſhment. So that the Cardinal has been charged by Papiſts with being the Author of this Innovation, as they call it, as well as of the general Diſſolution of Monaſteries, in conſequence of the Powers granted to him for ſuppreſſing certain Monaſteries of leſs Value towards building his College. For his Eminency having reſolved, in Conference with certain other Cardinals at *Compeign*, that the Regulation of Church-Government, according to the Form here preſcribed, was at the Time neceſſary; He took upon him, in purſuance of that Plan, the Adminiſtration of eccleſiaſtical Affairs in *England*; yet, that he might not appear to act altogether independently of the Pope, during his Confinement, he procured a Bull from his Holineſs, whereby he was authorized to act in Quality of his Vicar-General, in all Parts of the King's Dominions.

16. By this Character, he received an Acceſſion of Power and Authority, beyond what he could exerciſe in his Capacity of the Pope's Legate; for now, while the Pope was under Reſtraint, he was empowered to do, whatever his Holineſs could have done in Perſon: And all the eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions he ſhould make, aſſiſted by the *Engliſh* Prelates, and by conſent of the King, were held as ſacred and binding, as if the Pope had been preſent, and immediately given his expreſs Sanction to them.

17. In Virtue of this extenſive Power, the Cardinal drew within the Verge of it, all Matters cognizable in other eccleſiaſtical Courts, whether belonging to the Archbiſhops of the two Provinces, or their Suffragans: So that even the Biſhops were his Commiſſaries in their own Dioceſſes. An Inſtance whereof we have this Year in one *Forſter* of the Dioceſe of *London*, who was cited before the Cardinal's Commiſſioners at *Weſtminſter-Abbey*, among whom [l] *Tonſtall* Biſhop of *London* was one, to anſwer to the Charge of heretical Pravity. [m] The Copy and Manner of his Abjuration, diſcover what Precautions were uſed to ſuppreſs all Doctrines contrary to ſuch as were received and eſtabliſhed; and that there might not be, in any Kind or Degree, the leaſt Deviation from them.

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[l] Strype Mem. Eccl. H. 8. p. 70.

[m] Coll. N° 79. Book II.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

1. *A Diſpute between the Cardinal and Archbiſhop* Warham, *concerning Cauſes Teſtamentary.* 2. *A former Compoſition between them.* 3. *The Archbiſhop's two Letters of Complaint to him.* 4. *What Uſe was afterwards made of the Power which he exerciſed.* 5. *The great Trouble and Charge at that Time of proving Wills.* 6. Guicciardine *cited.* 7, 8, 9, 10. *The Cardinal prepares to return to* England *from* France: *With a remarkable Artifice, which he appears to have practiſed upon his leaving the* French *Court, and the Succeſs of it.* 11. *He arrives in* England, *and reports his Embaſſy.* 12. *Ambaſſadors from* France *at our Court.* 13. *Specious Overtures from the Emperor; with our Demands.* 14. *The Acknowledgement of the Pope, upon his Liberty, to the King and Cardinal: A ſolemn Proceſſion and Maſs on that Occaſion.*

1527. 1. THE Cardinal had not only a Court of Inquiſition concerning Hereſy at *Weſtminſter*, but another at *Whitehall*, for Matters *Teſtamentary*, which was looked upon as a new Infringement upon the Rights of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*: In whoſe Courts it had been the conſtant Uſage to prove Wills and Teſtaments. While the Cardinal exerciſed this new Juriſdiction, one *Jane Roper*, Executrix to her late Husband *John Roper*, was ordered to appear before the Commiſſaries of the Prerogative Court: And ſoon after the Cardinal's Commiſſaries cited her before them, in the Chappel of *York Place*, either to prove the Will there, or ſuffer it to be declared of no Effect, and conſequently to be herſelf incapacitated, as an Executrix. Of this, by Advice of her Council, ſhe preferred a Complaint to Archbiſhop *Warham*; and it was alſo repreſented to his Grace, by other Hands, ſuch Proceedings would terminate at laſt in the utter Extinction of his Authority in Teſtamentary Caſes, and that they would wholly and abſolutely depend on the Cardinal's Will and Pleaſure: This occaſion'd a great Clamour againſt the Cardinal, in the Places more immediately depending on the Archbiſhop. The Officers of his Courts apprehending their Rights invaded, and ſeeing their Perquiſites drawn into another Current, made repeated Inſtances to him for Redreſs; and he was more vigilant and active in concerting proper Meaſures to that End, as being ſenſible that ſuch an exorbitant Power, if no Stop could be put to it, might tend to the Prejudice or Diminution of his Authority, in other Reſpects.

2. Here it may be proper to obſerve, That the Archbiſhop had ſometime before come to a Compoſition with the Cardinal, mutually confirmed by their Hands and Seals, to the End their reſpective Courts ſhould not interfere; and that ſuch Perſons, as ſhould have any Cauſes depending in them, might have them expedited with more Eaſe. By Virtue of this Compoſition, the Prerogative Court was to remain entire to the Archbiſhop, only the Cardinal's Commiſſaries were to ſit, and aſſiſt in it, with thoſe of his Grace. This, by ſome Friends of the Archbiſhop, was thought a Condeſcention which they did not well know, how to reconcile with that ſtrict Regard, which his Grace owed to the Rights and Privileges of his See.

3. The Archbiſhop, notwithſtanding, finding himſelf, on other Accounts, aggrieved, wrote two Letters by Way of Remonſtrance to the Cardinal, concerning the Injuries done to him; in [n] one of which he reminds him of this Compoſition, and repreſents in the Other [o], if the Cardinal ſhould thus proceed to inhibit his Court, "his Officers would have nothing to do; and that himſelf ſhould "be only as a Shadow or Image of an Archbiſhop." But finding no ſufficient Redreſs by this or any other Method of Complaint to the Cardinal, he at laſt thought himſelf obliged to lay the State of the Caſe before the King, who directed him, in his Name, to go to the Cardinal, and if he had done any Thing amiſs to admoniſh him of it. It is ſaid, his Admonition only tended to irritate the Cardinal againſt him; and had, in other Reſpects, ſo little Effect, that the King himſelf afterwards took an Opportunity of talking with his chief Miniſter upon that Subject, after a Manner, that made a better and more laſting Impreſſion upon him.

4. This Power, which the Cardinal aſſumed, by Commiſſion from the Pope, was afterwards exerciſed by *Cromwell* in Virtue of his Commiſſion to be the King's Vicar-general; according to the Tenour of which, all Eſtates to the Value of Two hundred Pounds or more, were not to be proved in the Courts depending on the Biſhops, but in the Court of the Vicar-general; to which Innovation, it is moſt probable, the Cardinal's Precedent chiefly tended to lead the Way.

5. During this Conteſt between the Cardinal and the Archbiſhop, the Trouble and Expence of proving Wills was ſo great, that it became a Subject-matter of common Complaint; and afterwards

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[n] Coll. Nº 80. Book III.

[o] See Coll. Nº 81. Book III.

as one of the ſix Grievances, wherein the Laity had been oppreſſed by the Clergy, was exhibited in Parliament; where Sir *Henry Gilford* ſolemnly proteſted, that before he, and other Perſons concerned, could obtain a Probate of Sir *William Compton*'s Will, they were obliged to pay a thouſand Marks.

6. *Guicciardine* writes, that the Cardinal had yet larger Views of extending his eccleſiaſtical Authority. That he ſollicited a Bull from the Pope, by Virtue whereof he might be made Legate in *England*, *France*, and *Germany*; upon which, the Imperialiſts reported, that he deſigned to make a Schiſm from the Church of *Rome*, and erect a ſeparate Papacy in the Churches ſubject to his Authority. But this Story of *Guicciardine* ſeems to confute it ſelf, it would have been very ſtrange, that the Cardinal ſhould ſollicit a Power from the Pope, whereby he might be enabled to ſet up a Power independent of the Pope, and excluſive of his Juriſdiction. This can only be accounted for by thoſe who contend, there is no Inconſiſtency in ſuppoſing, the Subjects of a temporal Prince, may in certain Caſes be empowered to take Arms againſt him, and even to depoſe him, by his own Commiſſion.

7. The Cardinal, upon the Return of *Gurner*, whom he had ſent Expreſs with Letters to *England*, having finiſhed his Negotiations at the Court of *France*, made, with all ſpeed, the neceſſary Preparations for his Departure. But the very Morning before he took his Journey, being at Maſs in his Cloſet, he conſecrated the Chancellor of *France* a Cardinal, with all the neceſſary Solemnities: Tho' he had ſometime before entertained a ſecret Quarrel againſt the Chancellor, which in the Sequel broke out with ſome Violence; for the Cardinal openly laid to his Charge, that he had endeavoured to oppoſe the League agreed to by the two Powers, before his coming over. At this the Cardinal was ſo much provoked, or rather affected the Air of one in Paſſion, that he animadverted upon the Chancellor with great Freedom, and Severity, and told him, in plain Terms, "It was not He that ſhould infringe the amiable Friendſhip be-" "tween the two Kings; and if the King of *France*, being there" "preſent, ſhould follow the Chancellor's Council, He would not" "fail ſhortly to feel the Effects of maintaining War againſt the King" "of *England*, of which he might aſſuredly depend." Having made this angry Speech, which he delivered after a bold and confident Manner, he departed abruptly, and in much ſeeming Heat, out of the Council.

8. The Cardinal underſtood the Meaſures, whereby it became a Perſon of his Character and Station to regulate himſelf, ſo well, and was ſo great a Maſter of his Paſſions, ſo far eſpecially as related to his political Conduct; that it cannot be ſuppoſed this Tranſport, wherewith he now appeared to be carried away, was ſo much the Effect of an unguarded Temper, as of a ſecret and refined Artifice. He was willing, for the Glory of his Maſter, and the Service of his Country, to ſtrain a Point of Decency, and to be charged with an Action, which may be thought difficultly reconcileable to thoſe Maxims of polite Behaviour, that are ſuppoſed to obtain in the Courts, and, eſpecially, in the Councils of ſovereign Princes.

9. He had obſerved, by the Progreſs of his former Negotiations with the *French* Miniſters, that they were in a Diſpoſition, or rather neceſſitated, almoſt at any Rate, to make a firm and amicable Peace with *England*; upon this he carried his Reſentments higher, and expreſſed them with a more aſſuming Air, than perhaps either Reaſons of Prudence or good Policy, would otherways have allowed. But he found that was a proper Time to bring the *French* Court over at once by Menaces, to the Conditions propoſed on the Part of *England*, which could not be obtained without much Trouble, and many unneceſſary Delays, by a more gentle Way of Proceeding, or in a Courſe of free and prolix Conferences.

10. The Event ſhewed, that he was not miſtaken. The Meſſages, the Entreaties and Interceſſions, which were made to him, before he would be perſuaded to return to the Council, plainly diſcovered (what he knew very well before) that he was on no Account to be diſobliged. At laſt, he was only prevailed with to return at the Inſtance of the Lady-Regent, who went to him in Perſon, and whoſe Commands could not be diſputed. After this, he acquired ſuch an Aſcendant over the *French* Miniſters, that whatever he propoſed, was effected with the greateſt Facility.

11. Upon his taking Leave of the [p] *French* Court, he received rich Preſents from the King, who afterwards conducted him about a Mile on his Way, accompanied with the King of [q] *Navarre*, the Pope's Legate, and the prime Nobility of *France*. In his [r] Return, coming to *Calais*, he eſtabliſhed a *Mart* there, for the Benefit of Trade to all Nations; But upon what Foot ſoever that Project was formed, it doth not appear to have been attended with any laſting or conſiderable Effects. Towards the End of *September* his Eminen-

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[p] September 16.

[q] *Lately married to the Ducheſs of* Alanſon *the* French *King's Siſter.*

[r] Cavendiſh.

cy arrived at Court; where the King honoured him with many ſignal Proofs of his Eſteem and Affection: After he had ſtaid two or three Days at Court, he retired to his Houſe at *Weſtminſter*: And in the Beginning of *Michaelmas* Term, aſſembling in the Star-chamber all the Noblemen, Judges, and Juſtices of the Peace of every Shire throughout *England*, he made a long Oration to them, concerning the Reaſons and the Effects of his Embaſſage; and repreſented, that the honourable and advantagious Conditions, which he had obtained for the King and his Country in the Treaty made with *France*, were ſuch, for which all true *Engliſhmen* ought to rejoice and be thankful.

12. The *French* King, that he might correſpond with our Court in the Magnificence of his Embaſſy, ſent eight Perſons of the firſt Quality and Merit in *France*, attended with Six hundred Horſe, to ratify the Peace at our Court, which was then at *Greenwich*; where they were received by the King with the higheſt Marks of Honour, and entertained after a more ſumptuous Manner, than, as *Bellay* Biſhop of *Bayon*, and one of the Ambaſſadors confeſſeth, he had ever ſeen. They had a Commiſſion to preſent our King with the Order of St. *Michael*, which was conferred on him with the uſual Ceremonies, and in Return of this Order, his Majeſty ſent *Garter King of Arms* with the [s] Order of St. *George*, to admit the [t] *French* King a Companion of it.

13. The Emperor having received Advice concerning the Treaties between the two Kings, thought it incumbent on him to uſe all the proper Means towards preventing the Ratification of them. And upon that View, expreſſed an Inclination to comply with every Thing, that could in Reaſon or Juſtice be expected from him: Therefore on the Fifteenth of *September*, he offered the following Compoſition to the *French* and *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors reſiding at his Court, “ That the Article as to the Reſtitution of *Burgundy* in the

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[s] *When the Enſigns of this Order were delivered to the* French *King on the Tenth of* November 1527, *Dr.* Taylor *then at the* French *Court, made a pompous Speech, wherein he has a Tranſition, by Way of Panegyrick, upon the Cardinal, in theſe tumid, if not rather profane Terms.* Quippe, qui admiranda ac divina ſua prudentia ibi effecerat, ut duo potentiſſimi Reges & quaſi Duo hujuſce mundi Cardines, antea quam familiariſſimi, jam familiariores atque etiam antea amiciſſimi, ſua Cura longe eſſent amiciores, viz. Dum tertiam ſacratiſſimæ illius Celeſtis Triadis perſonam, hoc eſt Spiritum Sanctum, hoc Facto, in Terris repreſentans, mire effecerat, ut hæc duo clariſſima hujus mundi Ornamenta in præclariſſimos Divorum Georgii & Michaelis Ordinis felici amiciſſimorum inter ſe Officiorum Reciprocatione hodie co-optarentur hodieque clariſſimis illorum ordinum Inſignibus viſenda, ac aliorum Regum Faſtigiis multo Auguſtiora, in publicum prodirent & procederent. Ex Oratione. *Manſ. penes Dom.* Harley.

[t] “ *The* French *King among other Compliments to the Cardinal, when they met at* Amiens, *having* “ *the Collar of his Order about his Neck, and holding the Image of St.* Michael *hanging thereat in* “ *his Hands, ſaid, Since the King my Brother and I be thus knit in Heart, it were well, methinks,* “ *we ſhould be tied* per Colles & Jambes— *take and give each other this Order.* Maſt. Coll. p. 116.

“ Treaty of *Madrid* ſhould be expunged: That the King of *France* “ ſhould pay the two Millions of Crowns, which had been offer-“ ed for the Ranſom of his Sons, out of which ſo much ſhould “ be deducted as would ſatisfy the Demands, which the King of “ *England* had upon the Emperor.” Theſe and ſome other Articles being on all Sides approved, the Ambaſſadors of *France* alledged, that they had not ſufficient Authority from their King to ſign them; but they would write for an Amplification of their Powers: The Emperor was not much diſſatisfied that the Concluſion of the Peace was delayed upon this Pretence; during the Interval, he had Recourſe to his uſual Arts, in order to divide the two Kings; and with that View ſent privately to the Cardinal an Offer of a large Sum to be advanced above his ordinary Penſion, which amounted annually to twenty four thouſand Crowns. But the Cardinal, where the Honour and Intereſts of his Maſter were apprehended to be ſo nearly concerned, generouſly rejected the Bribe, which was deſigned to enſnare and corrupt him. [u] They, who have followed the common Prejudices againſt the Cardinal, have reſolved ſo juſt an Inſtance of his Vertue and Fidelity, into a Motive of Revenge; both as he had been diſappointed by the Emperor in his Expectations of the Papacy, and the Archbiſhoprick of *Toledo*. Therefore on the Twelfth of *December*, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors made the following expreſs Demands to the Emperor at [x] *Bruges*, “ That he would immediately “ refund the Moneys, which their Maſter had lent to him in the “ Time of his Exigency; and pay a Penalty of five hundred thou-“ ſand Ducats, for not performing his Contract of Marriage with “ the Princeſs *Mary*; that he ſhould make good, the Indemnity to “ which he had obliged himſelf, on Condition the King ſhould “ declare War againſt *France*; and that he ſhould not only deliver “ the Pope, but make full Satiſfaction for the Damages, which his “ Holineſs had ſuſtained.” To all which Articles, the Emperor gave evaſive Anſwers, except to that concerning the Pope, for whoſe Diſcharge Orders had been already given, and ſhould be effectually executed: For the Emperor being ſenſible how great Offence he had given to the Princes of Chriſtendom, by the Hardſhips put upon the Pope, was now more inclined, of his own Accord, to give them Satiſfaction in that Particular. Though before his Orders could be executed, and the very Night before they were deſigned to be ſo, the Pope made his Eſcape in the Habit of a Merchant; but his Hoſtages ſtill remained under Confinement, ’till the Sum agreed on for for his Ranſom ſhould be paid. In order to advance which, the Pope made a Creation of ſeveral Cardinals, and granted Licenſes, in the Kingdom of *Naples* and other Places, for an Alienation of eccleſiaſtical Goods and Poſſeſſions; opening a Way, as ſome have thought, to thoſe ſacrilegious Invaſions on the Rights of the Church, which certain Princes even of the reformed Perſuaſion, ſeem to have practiſed, without the leaſt Scruple or Remorſe.

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[u] *See* Polyd. Virgil.
[x] Herbert.

14. The Pope had no ſooner obtained his Liberty, but he acknowledged, by a publick Notification of it to the King and Cardinal, that they had been the great Inſtruments of procuring it, deſiring the King to continue his Favours and Protection to the papal See. Upon which Occaſion, and the Ratification of the Peace, the Cardinal repaired with much Pomp and Ceremony, to celebrate a Thankſgiving in the Cathedral Church of [z] St. *Paul*'s: And the Town, on the ſame Occaſion, gave other publick Demonſtrations of Joy; the Cardinal himſelf ſang [a] Maſs, aſſiſted with twenty four Mitres of Biſhops and Abbots, who paid all the Addreſs to him, that was then thought due to his legatine Character. The King kneeling to receive the Hoſt upon a Carpet, and at the ſame time the Great Maſter of *France* repreſenting his King's Perſon. The Cardinal divided the Sacrament between them, as a perfect Teſt or Bond of Security for Performance of the Treaty, by which a perpetual Peace was eſtabliſhed between them. Maſs being ended, which was ſolemnly ſung, both by the Quire of that Cathedral and of the King's Chapel, the Cardinal openly read the Articles of Peace, and there, in Sight of all the People, took hold of the gold Seal, and ſubſcribed them with his own Hand; as did the Great Maſter of *France* after him, in the ſame Manner; upon which they departed and dined with the Cardinal. They, who would be acquainted, not only with the Magnificence of the Cardinal's Entertainments, but with his free, pleaſant, and ingenious Manner in them, may conſult *Cavendiſh* and other Hiſtorians, who delight in Particularities of that Kind. I ſhall only obſerve further, concerning the *French* Ambaſſy, that when they came to take Leave of the Cardinal at *Weſtminſter*, in order to return to *France*, he diſtributed among them, by the King's Order, ſeveral Preſents, all which amounted to a very conſiderable Sum. Some had to the Value of two or three hundred Pounds, and ſome of four hundred Pounds in Plate: And thoſe of the loweſt Degree, had at leaſt to the Value of twenty

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[z] *Where a ſolemn Maſs was ſung, the King being preſent in his Robes, and in all the State becoming his Dignity.*

[a] *The Ceremonials of the Proceſſion, and other religious Rites, preparatory to this ſolemn Maſs, may be ſeen in the Collections*, Coll. N° 82. Book III.

Crowns. Beſides the Gowns of Velvet, and rich Furrs, Chains of Gold, fine Horſes, and ſeveral other Gifts, which they had before received of his Majeſty. And from hence we at once form an Eſtimate of the Splendour and Wealth of the Court of *England* at that Time, and of the King's high Approbation of the Cardinal's Conduct, in negotiating ſo very acceptable a Peace.

CHAP. VI.

1. *Of the King's ſecret Affair, as it was then termed.* 2. *The Importance of it.* 3, 4. *His Scruples not firſt moved by the Cardinal; tho' he was ſincere in ſolliciting the Divorce.* 5. *He might afterwards ſee Cauſe to change his Opinion.* 6. *The Origin, as* Cavendiſh *ſuppoſes, of the King's Diſcontent.* 7. *The Cardinal cautious in declaring his Opinion.* 8. *Aſſembles the Biſhops.* 9. *They adviſe all the Univerſities ſhould be conſulted.* 10. *Commiſſioners ſent to them.* 11. *A pertinent Reflection from Biſhop* Taylor. 12. *The Author's peculiar Deference to the Judgement of our two Univerſities.*

1527. 1528. 1. THO' the Affair relating to the Divorce, was then called the King's *Secret Matter*, by thoſe, who had received any Inſtructions from his Majeſty concerning it; yet, it began now to be talked of more openly; and the Cardinal had ſo conſiderable a Share in it; and ſo much of the Change which afterwards happened in the eccleſiaſtical State, depended upon it; that the Reader will particularly expect I ſhould ſet this Matter, ſo far as I am able, in a good Light, both in reſpect to the Origin, and the Progreſs of it.

2. I have already obſerved, that while the reſpective Treaties of Marriage with the Princeſs *Mary* were depending in the Courts of *France* and *Spain*, Scruples concerning her Legitimacy were moved by the Miniſters of both Courts. This was a nice and tender Point; concerning which it imported the King, for many weighty and political Reaſons, as well as for the Peace of his own Mind, to procure all the Satisfaction that might be had. The Princeſs was Heir-apparent to all his Dominions, and a Diſpute about her Legitimacy might prove the Occaſion of involving them in all thoſe fatal Conſequences which uſually attend a controverted Title to a Crown. But the Arguments of Conſcience, were thoſe which the King alledged to have the greateſt Weight with him, and upon which he began not only to be diſſatisfied in his own Mind, but to move Scruples to other Perſons concerning the Validity of his

Marriage. Though ſome will have it, he only took that Occaſion, of publiſhing thoſe Scruples, which, as himſelf declared, had ſome Years before much diſturbed him. It is ſaid to have contributed not a little to his Diſquiet, that being converſant in the Writings of *Thomas* of *Aquin*, he had found that great Schoolman looked upon the *Levitical-Laws* prohibiting Perſons to marry within certain Degrees of Blood or Affinity, to be of moral Obligation; with which therefore the Pope could have no Power of diſpenſing; or if he ſhould claim or aſſume the Exerciſe of ſuch a Power, his Diſpenſation could not be attended with any legal or valid Effects. Theſe Scruples of the King, cauſed him to reflect upon his Want of Male-Iſſue, and the Death of ſuch Children, as had been already born to him, which he conſidered as a judicial Effect of God's Diſpleaſure againſt him, for having contracted an unlawful Marriage, and lived ſo many Years impenitently in a continued State of Sin.

3. Theſe were the Reaſons, both political and moral, which might have induced the King to queſtion the Legality of his Marriage, and conſequently to ſeek a Divorce, tho' no Perſon about him, had really moved the Scruples wherewith he was poſſeſſed. There can be no Neceſſity of Suppoſing, as ſome Writers have done, that thoſe Scruples were firſt moved by the Cardinal. Or if they had been indeed really moved by him, he ought not to have ſuffered any Imputation for acting according to the Dictates of his Conſcience, and as became a good Prelate and faithful Miniſter. Whether his Conſcience was well or ill informed, I do not take upon me to inquire; it will appear there were very great Difficulties on both Sides of the Queſtion; and, for that Reaſon, it would be very unjuſt to condemn Perſons on either Side, for not acting upon an honeſt and conſcientious Principle.

4. Now nothing is more evident, than that the Cardinal was, originally, when the King began to open his Diſcontents, much inclined to queſtion the Lawfulneſs of his Marriage; and afterwards in the Proceſs towards a Divorce, he ſollicited it with a Zeal and Application, that left no Room to doubt, but he acted in this[b] Affair, not only from a Light, but a Force of Conſcience, that could not eaſily be reſiſted.

He importunes and beſeeches the Pope, "as he eſteemed him a "Chriſtian and good Cardinal; as worthy of the *Sacred College*, and

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[b] *Biſhop* Burnet, *who will not be ſuſpected of Partiality to the Cardinal, acquits him from the Imputation, that has been caſt on him on this Account.* Hiſt. Ref. vol. 1. p. 38.

" no uſeleſs and unprofitable Member of the Apoſtolick See; as
" he believed him to be a Lover of Right and Juſtice, his faithful
" Creature, and, in a Word, one that deſired eternal Salvation;
" that he would, at this Time, have Reſpect to his Counſel, and fa-
" vourably grant the King his moſt godly Requeſts; inſtead of
" promoting which, had he not known them to be right, holy,
" and juſt, he would rather have undergone all Sorts of Pu-
" niſhment; nay, he would pawn his very Life and Soul for
" them." He could not have employed ſtronger Terms to denote either the Conviction of his Mind, or the Deſire of his Heart.

5. If he afterwards changed his Principles relating to this difficult Point, or became more cold in proſecuting the Divorce, he might perhaps find, or apprehend that he had found ſufficient Reaſon for ſuch a Change, from ſome new and clearer Light. Why ſhould Cardinal *Wolſey* be excluded a Privilege, which ſo many great Names have claimed after him? if there are not ſome, who may ſtill think proper to inſiſt upon the Benefit of it.

6. *Cavendiſh*, indeed, who, by his Office, being continually near to the Perſon of the Cardinal, had many Opportunities of obſerving what paſſed at Court, and upon what Hinges the more ſecret Affairs of it moved, has aſcribed the Origin of the King's Diſcontents, in Relation to the Queen, to another Cauſe. But there is no Impropriety in ſuppoſing, that two Cauſes might accidentally concur towards producing the ſame Effect. The King's Conſcience might be awakened with ſome new Admonitions concerning his Marriage, which put him upon ſolliciting a Divorce; and, at the ſame Time, his Deſire of a Divorce might be inflamed by a ſtrong Paſſion for ſome new Object. But I ſhall recite, what *Cavendiſh* hath obſerved, relating to this Affair, in his own Words.

" After this (*the Cardinal's Return from* France) began new Mat-
" ters, which troubled the Heads and Imaginations of all the Court;
" wherewith all their Stomachs were full; but *there was* little Dige-
" ſtion; namely, the long concealed Affection of the King to
" Mrs. *Anne Bolein*, which his Majeſty diſcloſed to the Cardinal
" whoſe often Perſuaſions on his Knees, took no Effect.

7. In the Conferences between the King and the Cardinal on this Occaſion, his [c] Majeſty required him to declare his Opinion

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[c] Cavendiſh.

concerning the Divorce. But whatever the Cardinal's private Sentiments were at that Time, in Relation to it, he wiſely excuſed himſelf from coming to any Reſolution in the Caſe propoſed; upon a reaſonable Allegation, that it did not become him to give a precipitate Judgement in ſo weighty a Matter; and therefore he deſired Leave of his Majeſty to conſult ſuch Perſons, as were eſteemed the moſt learned, and experienced, both in the divine, and civil Laws.

8. Leave to this End being obtained, the Cardinal, by Virtue of his [d] Legatine Commiſſion, iſſued out an Order for aſſembling the Biſhops at *Weſtminſter*, and with them the moſt learned Men in both Univerſities, and from ſeveral Cathedral Churches throughout the Kingdom, who were thought the beſt qualified to reſolve ſo doubtful a Queſtion. Here the King's Caſe, and the ſeveral Difficulties relating to it, were from Day to Day debated; but the Fathers and other Members, who compoſed the Aſſembly, parted at laſt without coming to any determinate Reſolution. *Cavendiſh* reports, that "he heard ſome of the moſt famous and learned among "them ſay, the King's Caſe was too obſcure for any Man; and "that the Points therein were ſo doubtful, they could not come to "a Reſolution upon them; ſo that, with a general Conſent, they "departed, without determining any Thing concerning it."

9. However, that this Convention might appear to do ſomething, tho' the main Article upon which they had been called, was left undecided; for the King's further Satisfaction, they propoſed the following Expedient: That "his Majeſty ſhould ſend Com"miſſioners to all the Univerſities in Chriſtendom, as well here in "*England* as in foreign Parts, where the King's Caſe ſhould be ful"ly debated; and that they ſhould bring with them to *England*, "under the reſpective Seals of the Univerſities, their definitive Sen"tences upon it."

10. Purſuant to this Advice, Commiſſioners were appointed to be ſent to *Cambridge* and *Oxford*, and other foreign Univerſities; and certain Powers and Inſtructions were given to them, which do not appear perfectly to quadrate with thoſe Meaſures, which ought to be obſerved, with the ſtricteſt Regard, by ſuch Perſons, who are to make a Judgement of any Caſe propoſed to them, conſidered purely as a Caſe of Conſcience. Theſe Commiſſioners, ſaith *Cavendiſh*, were *all* delegated, "at the proper Coſts and Charges of the "King, which in the Whole amounted to a great Sum of Money;

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[d] Cavendiſh.

" and beſides the Charge of the Embaſſage to the famous and notable Perſons of all the Univerſities, eſpecially to ſuch as bare the Rule, or had the Cuſtody of the Univerſity-Seals, they were fed by the Commiſſioners, with ſuch great Sums of Money, that they did eaſily condeſcend to their Requeſts, and grant their Deſires."

" By Reaſon whereof, all the Commiſſioners returned with their Purpoſe furniſhed, according to their Commiſſions, under the Seal of every ſeveral Univerſity; whereat there was no ſmall Joy conceived of the principal Parties; inſomuch, that ever after the Commiſſioners were had in great Eſtimation, and highly advanced, and liberally rewarded, far beyond their *worthy Deſerts*; notwithſtanding they proſpered, and the Matter went ſtill forward, having now, as they thought, a ſure Staff to lean upon.

11. This Report of *Cavendiſh*, concerning the King's Commiſſion to the Univerſities, puts me in mind of a Reflection made by Biſhop *Taylor*, relating to the Affair before us, which I ſhall leave with the Reader, as I find it in that learned Prelate, without pretending to add any Cenſure upon it.

" This Queſtion, *ſaith* [e] *he*, was ſtrangely agitated on occaſion of *Henry* the Eighth's Divorce from Queen *Catherine*, the Relict of his Brother Prince *Arthur*; and accordingly, as the Intereſt of Princes uſeth to do, it very much employed and divided the Pens of learned Men; who, upon that Occaſion, gave too great Teſtimony, with how great Weakneſs, Men that have a Byaſs to determine Queſtions, and with how great a Force, a King that is rich and powerful, can make his own Determinations. For though Chriſtendom was then much divided, yet before that Time there was almoſt a general Conſent upon this Propoſition, that the *Levitical Degrees*, do not, by any Law of God, bind Chriſtians to their Obſervation.

12. As to the Decrees of the Univerſities however procured, they may with the general Reaſons, upon which they were made, be ſeen in ſeveral Hiſtorians: But I ſhall confine my ſelf to thoſe of our two Univerſities, as Places to which I have the Honour of bearing a nearer Relation; and whoſe Determinations, where they have a *regular* Sanction, ought to be conſidered as having the greateſt Weight and Authority.

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[e] Duct. Dubit. p. 222.

Chap.

CHAP. VII.

1. *Concerning the* Oxford *Decree, relating to the Divorce.* 2. *Letters from the King and Archbiſhop* Warham *to the Univerſity upon that Subject.* 3. *The different Conduct of the Heads and the other Members.* 4. *The King ſends Dr.* Bell, *and ſhortly after the Biſhop of* Lincoln *to perſuade the younger Members to a Compliance.* 5. *Then* Edward Fox *on the ſame Deſign, but to no better Effect: Whether the Chancellor, in his Injunctions to the Univerſity, did not exceed the Powers veſted in him, with the* Reſolution *of thoſe who ſubmitted to them.* 6. *The Authority of it queſtioned.* 7. *An occaſional Character of* Ant. Wood. 8. *A particular Remark on the* Oxford *Decree.* 9. *The Proceedings of the other Univerſity in Relation to the Divorce.* 10. *Whether a Motion made in the Congregation there, reaſonable.* 11. *A Reaſon, by Biſhop* Burnet, *why the Affair of the Divorce was ſo much oppoſed by the two Univerſities.* 12. *Concerning the Methods taken by* Crook, *relating to that Affair in foreign Univerſities.* 13. *A Teſtimony from* Cavendiſh, *that may be oppoſed to his Account: And* 14. *Another from* Cornelius Agrippa.

1528. 1529. 1. BEFORE I proceed to the *Oxford* Decree upon the preſent Caſe, it may be proper to conſider, what previous Steps were taken towards introducing the Queſtion, upon which that Decree was to be framed.

After the foreign Univerſities had made a Report agreeable to the King's Deſire and Sentiments, upon the Caſe propounded to them, the *Oxonians*, notwithſtanding their great Patron *Wolſey* had ſtill great Weight at Court, and they had received certain Interminations from thence, in caſe of their Incompliance, yet ſtill reſolved to act, as their Conſciences directed them, and not to ſacrifice either the Honour of the Univerſity, or the Peace of their own Minds, to any ſiniſter Influences whatever. Which Reſolution, pious and laudable as it was, might have been attended, conſidering the Temper of *Henry* the Eighth, with Conſequences fatal to the Univerſity, and involved all the Colleges in the ſame Ruin, with the Religious Houſes; had it not been for that Divine Providence, which then preſided, and will, it is hoped, ever preſide, by a ſpecial Direction, over that moſt antient, and famous Seat of Learning. The Univerſity being, at that Time, in ſuch a Diſpoſition; the Chancellor, *Warham*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, when the King had determined to lay the Queſtion, relating to his Divorce before them, opened his Majeſty's Caſe, at large, in a Letter to them, tranſmitting at the ſame Time, the following State of the Queſtion.

Whether it be prohibited by any divine or natural Law, that a Brother may marry the Relict of his Brother deceaſed?

2. Three Weeks after the Letters from the Archbiſhop were delivered, the Biſhop of [c] *Lincoln* came to *Oxford*, by ſpecial and expreſs Order, with Letters from the King himſelf; by which his Majeſty ſignified a Deſire, that the Members of it would concur in the ſame Sentiments with the foreign Univerſities; and that they would not too pertinaciouſly adhere to any Prejudices againſt their Opinion; or propagate any vain or ſiniſter Reports upon the Caſe.

3. This Direction, ſhall I call it, or rather *Admonition* to the Univerſity, was too plain to need any Comment. They eaſily apprehended what the Court expected from them, and what themſelves were ſeverally to expect from the Court, according as they proved more obſequious or reluctant in their Deciſions: And therefore, as particular Members were differently moved by different Conſiderations, it is natural to ſuppoſe, they would unite, or divide upon the Queſtion. The Heads, and Men of longer ſtanding in the Univerſity, who had nearer Proſpects from Court; upon whom the Engines of it played more directly; or who, by Reaſon of an advanced Age, were grown more timorous, came ſooner into the Meaſures, I do not ſay directly preſcribed to them, but with which they were plainly enough invited to comply. The younger Members, whoſe Hopes and Fears were leſs influenced by any worldly, eſpecially any diſtant Motives, could not ſo readily be brought to concur with the [d] Court; ſo that the Convocation broke up without coming to any publick Deciſion: Upon Advice of which, the King immediately wrote to the Commiſſary, to the Doctors and Batchelors of Divinity in the Univerſity; for to them *only* his Letters were inſcribed, and not to the Regents. It appeared from the Stile and Manner of theſe Letters, which diſcovered a Temper full of Impatience and Reſentment, that they were written by the King himſelf: He acquaints them, how highly he had been offended at the [e] Inſolency of the Regents, and other Maſters; who as yet, he ſaith, had not arrived at thoſe Years of Diſcretion, which qualified them to make a Judgement in ſo very weighty a Caſe;

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[c] *The King's Confeſſor.*

[d] *What Influences were there uſed to engage the Univerſity to a Compliance, appears from the King's three Letters to them, for their Opinion in the Caſe.* Coll. N° 83, 84, 85. Book III.

[e] Regentium & Artiſtarum
Audaciam explicat. *Wood.*

and that they might, therefore, be perſuaded to more ſober Counſels, and conform to the ſage Example of the Doctors, he declares, if they ſhould perſiſt in their Obſtinacy, and ſtill pretend magiſterially to oppoſe their own Authority to that of the Sovereign Power, they ſhould ſoon be made ſenſible, what it was to provoke it.

4. His Majeſty, about this Time, ſent Doctor *Bell* to *Oxford*; who was ſhortly after followed by the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, a Perſon very much in the King's Secrets and ſpecial Confidence in the Affair of the Divorce. Their Charge was to ſtate the Caſe of it to the younger Members of the Univerſity, in a more full and open Light, and to adviſe them to correct their former Errors. But ſeeing all the Efforts they could make to this End, proved fruitleſs, the Chancellor thought proper to adviſe, that they ſhould, with all convenient Speed, draw up the Opinion of the Univerſity, and tranſmit it to the King; eſpecially, ſeeing his Majeſty had already received an Anſwer to his Letters, from the Univerſities of *Paris* and *Cambridge*: But if that Advice was found leſs practicable, on Account of any reigning Factions or Animoſities among the Members; then they ſhould chuſe, by the common Suffrage of a Convocation, *Thirty*, out of the whole academick Body, to determin the Matter. But, notwithſtanding theſe Propoſals by the Chancellor, the younger Members ſtill proved incompliant; and were ſo ſlow in their Proceedings, that they ſhortly after received a very ſevere Reprimand from the King for their Neglect and Diſobedience ſhewed to him; whereas the Univerſity had ſome Time before, in anſwer to the Queſtion propoſed, remitted their affirmative Sentence in the Words following.

It is prohibited by the Law of God, and of Nature, that a Brother ſhould marry the Relict of his Brother, who died, without Children.

5. The King added, however, that he had determined to moderate his juſt Reſentments, 'till he ſhould have a more perfect and diſtinct Account of the Matter communicated to him: For which Cauſe, and to the End, the good and prudent Reſolutions of the Heads and other Perſons of greater Authority, might not be defeated by the raſh or intemperate Zeal of the Maſters; or leaſt the Weight and Merits of the Cauſe ſhould be overborn by Numbers, he had ſent *Edward Fox* his *Commiſſioner* to *Oxford*; that by this Means all further Trouble and Inconvenience to that Univerſity, by Occaſion of his Diſpleaſure, might be prevented. But the grave Appearance and Manner of *Fox* were to as little Effect towards reclaiming the Regents, and other Maſters, as the Eloquence of *Bell*

had been before: For they oppoſed the Divorce, and all the Meaſures, which were taken to procure a Sentence in favour of it, with ſo much Heat, that Matters appeared almoſt ripe for an open Inſurrection. At which Time there came Letters from the Chancellor, but by what competent Authority, I am unable to reſolve, excluding the Maſters from Convocation, as Perſons unworthy to be conſulted, or to give their Opinion in the King's Cauſe. The Chancellor indeed, appeared to aſſume this Authority, in direct Oppoſition to the Statutes then in Force, which expreſly provided, that all Acts of Convocation, without Conſent of the Maſters, ſhould be reputed null and void. So that this extraordinary Proceeding to ſerve a Turn in the preſent Exigency, was not only thought to be without either Rule or Precedent, but contrary to thoſe Rights and Privileges of the Univerſity which Archbiſhop *Warham*, as Chancellor, was more immediately obliged to maintain: But who further ſent his Injunctions to the Doctors and Batchelors in Divinity, or to a ſelect Number of them, that in the Name of the Univerſity, they ſhould expedite, and finally determine this Affair. After a few Days, taking an Occaſion of convening, they came to the following Deciſion, to which they put the Univerſity Seal, "That in the Judgement of the whole [f] Univerſity, and for a "full Concluſion, ſupported by the moſt ſtrong and convin-"cing Reaſons, upon the Queſtion propoſed, they *reſolve*, It "is prohibited, both by the divine and natural Law, that a Bro-"ther ſhould marry the Relict of his Brother deceaſed, without "Children by her, and whoſe Marriage with her had been car-"nally conſummated."

6. This was the enacting Part, after the proper Forms introductory to it, of the *Oxford* Decree, concerning this famous Caſe. But againſt the authentick Sanction whereof, though the Court thought they had gained a conſiderable Point, there appear to lie ſome Exceptions not eaſily to be removed.

1ſt, It is ſaid, in the firſt Place, that this Decree was not obtained by the free Suffrages of the Univerſity; but their Aſſent, upon the Caſe, was required to a Form already prepared, or rather now preſcribed to them: Whereas it was always held, as a Thing ſacred by the Members of that Univerſity, that they ſhould not ſuffer themſelves, in delivering their Opinion, to be over-awed by any Interminations, or other ſiniſter Influences whatever.

2d, That nothing could be done as an Act of the whole Univerſity, excluſive of the Maſters a conſtituent Part of their Legiſlature, but what was in the Nature of it abſolutely void.

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[f] *See the Confirmation of this Decree*, Coll. Nº 86. Book III.

3*d*, There were Suſpicions, that however zealous the Commiſſary, and Heads of the Univerſity might appear, both in complying, and in obliging others to comply with the Directions of the Court; yet, ſecretly, they animated the Maſters in their Prejudices againſt the Divorce; apprehending, that the papal Authority began now ſenſibly to decline, and that the Divorce would ſtill contribute to impair, if it might not finally tend to extirpate it; Conſequences, which they were deſirous to obviate and prevent. At the ſame Time, in Regard to the Preferments, which they either poſſeſſed or expected; or perhaps from a Fear of incurring the King's Anger, they would not ſeem to diſpute, or oppoſe his Deſires.

4*th*, *Wood* further inſinuates, that a Convocation of the *Engliſh* Clergy now ſitting, certain indirect Methods were uſed, even by Way of Reward, a ſofter Term for Bribery, to gratify Perſons, who were inſtrumental in promoting the King's Affair.

5*th*, Several Perſons eminent for their Learning and Piety in the Univerſity, openly from the Pulpit oppugned and condemned the Divorce, repreſenting, that the Honour and Dignity of the Univerſity were expoſed by the clandeſtine Convention, which had been held, in order to procure and effect it.

6*th*, Although the Commiſſary, with ſeveral Heads of Colleges, declared for the Divorce; yet ſeveral Doctors and others of diſtinguiſhed Merit, not only ſpake their Opinion, but wrote publickly, againſt it.

7*th*, *Laſtly*, All the Menaces of the King had proved wholly fruitleſs and ineffectual, if the Secret Committee had not taken the Opportunity of a tempeſtuous Night, and, as it were, by *Stealth*, to hold the Convention, which ſigned the Decree; and for a more private Conveyance of the Seal of the Univerſity; wherein they were notwithſtanding detected, and reſolutely oppoſed by ſome Members.

7. Theſe are the Reflections of our learned Hiſtorian *Wood*, concerning the *Oxford* Decree, as it was *called*, relating to the Divorce; an Hiſtorian, who had a juſt Contempt of thoſe little, vile, inſinuating Arts, which other Hiſtorians have ſometimes found neceſſary to open a Way to Favour and Preferment. Great, and collected in a mean Fortune, he made a Judgement of Things, according to the intrinſick Nature and Reaſons of them, without Regard to any foreign Conſiderations; however he might have found his private Intereſt or Account in them. If he ſeem to have had

any Byaſs upon him, it was in an Inſtance of all others the moſt pardonable, that which proceeded from a filial Piety towards the Univerſity; to which his Education and Learning were owing: And even here, when he apprehended, there was a juſt Occaſion, he is not afraid to reflect upon the Sons of his Mother, with a becoming Freedom and Severity. He would not ſuffer them to act upon any Account, not even to gratify the Court, in her Name, without her Commiſſion. He foreſaw, well enough, the Conſequences, which ſome Perſons would be ready to draw, in Prejudice to Queen *Elizabeth*'s Title to the Crown, in caſe the Authority of ſo famous a Decree as that of *Oxford*, concerning the Legitimacy of her Father's former Marriage, ſhould be called in Queſtion. But he had too great a Mind; he was too much a Free-thinker, in the good and ſober Senſe of the Word, to make a Judgement concerning the moral State of any Queſtion, from Conſequences, which, in *that* Reſpect, had no Manner of Relation to it. His Maxim was, and all reaſonable Perſons in the World will agree in it, that Conſequences ought to be examined by Truth, and not Truth by Conſequences.

8. To theſe Reflections upon Mr. *Wood*, I ſhall add one more, concerning this Inſtrument. Allowing the Regularity of it, in all Reſpects, both as to its Sanction, and the Methods previouſly taken to obtain it; yet it is only a Reſolution upon the Queſtion propoſed, in caſe Prince *Arthur*, while he lived, had really and effectually conſummated his Marriage with the Lady, afterwards married to his Brother: If he did not conſummate, and ſtrong Preſumptions are not wanting, that he did not; it cannot be inferred from this Decree, that the Univerſity of *Oxford* thought the Diſſolution of King *Henry*'s Marriage to his Relict, allowable, on any other Account.

9. It appears from Biſhop *Burnet*, that in the Proceeding of the other Univerſity, relating to this Affair, there was alſo conſiderable Oppoſition, if not ſo *violent*, as from the diſſenting Members in *Oxford*. I ſhall beg Leave to recite, that learned Hiſtorian's Account of the Matter in his own Words,

" What paſſed at *Cambridge*, I ſhall ſet down more fully, from " an original Letter, written by *Gardiner* and *Fox* to the King in " *February*; but the Day is not marked when they came to *Cambridge*; they ſpake to the Vice-chancellor, whom they found very ready to ſerve the King; ſo was alſo *Bonner*, whom they called, " Dr. *Edmonds*, with ſeveral others: But there was a contrary Party, " that met together, and reſolved to oppoſe them. A Meeting

" of the Doctors, Batchelors of Divinity, and Maſters of Arts, " in all about Two hundred, was held; there the King's Letters " were read, and the Vice-chancellor calling upon ſeveral of them " to deliver their Opinions about it, they anſwered as their Affe- " ctions led them, and were in ſome Diſorder; but it being pro- " poſed, that the Anſwering the King's Letter, and the Queſtions " in it, ſhould be referred to ſome indifferent Men, great Excep- " tions were made to Dr. *Salcot*, Dr. *Reps* and *Crome*, and all others, " who had approved Dr. *Cranmer*'s Book, as having already de- " clared themſelves partial. But as to that, it was anſwered, that " after a Thing was ſo much diſcourſed of, as the King's Matter " had been, it could not be imagined, that any Number of Men " would be found, who had not declared their Judgement about it " one way or other. Much Time was ſpent in the Debate; but " when it grew late, the Vice-chancellor commanded every Man " to take his Place, and to give his Voice, whether they would " agree to the Motion of referring it to a ſelect Body of Men? But " that Night they would not agree to it.

" The Congregation being adjourned to the next Day, the " Vice-chancellor offered a *Grace* or Order, to refer the Matter to " Twenty-nine Perſons; Himſelf, ten Doctors, ſixteen Maſters, " and the two Proctors; that the Queſtions being publickly diſpu- " ted, what two Parts in three agreed to, ſhould be read in a Con- " gregation, and without any further Debate the common Seal of " the Univerſity ſhould be ſet to it. Yet it was at firſt denied; " then being put to the Vote, it was carried equally on both Sides: " But being a third Time propoſed, it was carried for the Di- " vorce, of which an Account was preſently ſent to the King, with " a Schedule of their Names to whom it was committed, and what " was to be expected from them: So it was at length determined, " tho' not without Oppoſition, That the King's Marriage was " againſt the Law of God."

10. Tho' the Exception, according to this Account, was over-ruled, againſt the Choice of Perſons to act in the Name of the Univerſity, who had already declared themſelves; yet it doth not evidently appear, that the Reaſons, upon which this Exception was over-ruled, were of ſufficient Force to compel the Aſſent of the oppoſite Party, or to ſatisfy the Scruples of other inquiſitive Perſons. For tho' it will not follow, that a Thing which has been much the Subject of Diſcourſe, ought not, for that Reaſon, to be debated in popular Aſſemblies, where Men have a Right to Vote; yet, where a ſelect Number is to be choſen, out of ſuch Aſſemblies, to ſpeak the Senſe of other People, the Caſe is much altered; and the moſt

indifferent Perſons, or who, at leaſt, are not known to be previouſly determined in their Judgement, are certainly moſt proper to be choſen, as being beſt qualified to examine and debate the Matter in Queſtion, after a more calm, free, and impartial Manner. Beſides, it plainly enough appears, from the Letter of *Gardiner* and [g] *Fox* to the King, that there were certain Influences uſed, which in the modern Dialect would be called ***Management***, more proper to divert Men from acting according to the Perſuaſions of their own Mind, than to open their Eyes to the clear Light of Truth.

11. The Reaſon aſſigned by Biſhop ***Burnet***, why the King met with ſo much greater Difficulty in this Affair, at home, than abroad, was from the Oppoſition of the Univerſities to ***Luther***'s Doctrine, and to all thoſe who favoured it. So that ***Cranmer***, ***Crome***, ***Shaxton***, and ***Latymer***, appearing to eſpouſe the King's Cauſe, the Prejudices againſt it on the other Side, were, for that Reaſon, more violent. But it is a more natural and generous Way of accounting for this Difficulty, to ſay, there were a great Number of Men in both Univerſities, who, without Regard to any foreign or temporal Conſiderations, were determined to judge, according to the Light and Evidence of Things, as, upon a due and diſintereſted Inquiry, appeared to them moſt juſt and reaſonable.

12. As to the Methods taken in foreign Univerſities, to procure a Judgement in the Caſe, no leſs Aſſiduity and Sollicitation was uſed, tho' generally with more Succeſs. Biſhop ***Burnet*** endeavours, ***to prove***, from the ſlender Allowance to ***Crook*** the King's Agent, in negotiating this Affair abroad, to confute an unjuſt Scandal, that all the Subſcriptions procured by [h] ***Crook***, had been bought. In another Place, that Prelate aſſerts, " No Money, nor Bribes, *were* " given for Subſcriptions.

It is not of any great Importance, to the Validity or Invalidity of the King's Marriage, whether the foreign Univerſities were bribed to give their Opinion for the Divorce, or not? The national Church, and the two Univerſities of ***England***, as they had certainly an equal Authority at leaſt to judge in the Caſe, ſo will be allowed to have been as competent Judges in it, as any Society of Men whatever in other Parts. Tho' perhaps it was ſuppoſed, the more Hands were obtained to atteſt the Unlawfulneſs of the King's Marriage, the Reaſons for diſſolving it might be thought ſo much the ſtronger: Numbers, with more weak and ignorant People, ſometimes

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[g] *See Hiſt. Reform.* v. 1. *Coll. of Records*, p. 85, 86, 87.

[h] 88, 89.

times ſupplying the Want of proper Evidence. The Truth therefore, of the main Queſtion, not being at all affected, whether this Cenſure in relation to *Crook*, be well or ill-grounded, I ſhall conſider, with that Indifference, which becomes a faithful Hiſtorian, whether in Fact, it hath really any good Foundation?

[i] *Crook*, ſo far as the Teſtimony of one, in his own Caſe, is to be conſidered, proteſted, that "He never gave nor promiſed any "Divine any Thing, 'till he had firſt freely written his Mind; and "that what he then gave, was rather an honourable Preſent, than "a Reward." In another Letter to the King he writes, "Upon "Pain of my Head, if the Contrary be proved, I never gave any "Man one Half-penny, before I had his Concluſion to your "Highneſs, without former Prayer or Promiſe of Reward for the "ſame." From whence it appears, ſaith Biſhop **Burnet**, that he not only had no Orders from the King, to corrupt Divines, but that his Orders were expreſs to the Contrary. This Concluſion, with all Deference to ſo great an Authority, is not inferred with that Force or Evidence which might have been expected. It only appears from the Premiſſes, that *Crook*, according to his own Declaration, did not, in Fact, give any Thing, directly or indirectly, to obtain Votes. But there is not the leaſt Appearance in them, of any Orders expreſſed or implied, that were given him to the contrary. His ſaying, upon Pain of my Head if the contrary be proved; doth not ſuppoſe, that the King had antecedently threatned him with capital Puniſhment, in caſe he ſhould expend Money with a direct View of procuring Votes, but only if any Thing in this reſpect injurious to the King's Honour, could be proved upon him, he was ready, as a Puniſhment of his Crime, to incur the Forfeiture of his Life.

It appears however, from the Bill of his Accounts exhibited by Biſhop *Burnet*, that he actually did expend ſeveral Sums of Money to ſuch Perſons, as had ſubſcribed for the Divorce. I am willing to allow the Diſtinction between an honourable Preſent, and a Reward, all the Force whereof it is capable; but I do not conceive, it will follow, that becauſe a Contribution was of no great Value, it could not therefore be deſigned or accepted for a Bribe. The Circumſtances of Time, Place, and Perſons, cauſe a ſenſible Difference in the Eſtimate of the ſame Things: And a few Crowns diſtributed two hundred Years ſince, among a Sett of poor *Italian* Monks, might have had more Force towards gaining their Votes, than ten times the Value would now have, could we ſuppoſe any one capable of forming ſuch a Deſign, towards corrupting the meaneſt Perſon that has a Vote in any *Engliſh* Corporation.

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[i] *See his Letter, Hiſt. of Reform.* Vol. I. Coll. N° 33.

But to this Declaration of *Crook*, others have oppoſed what himſelf writes in a Letter to the King from *Venice*, concerning the Opinions of Men, in thoſe Parts, upon the Caſe. He doubts not, but all chriſtian Univerſities, if *they ſhould be well handled*, would earneſtly conclude with the King: He declares, that if he had been in Time ſufficiently furniſhed with Money, tho' beſides the Seals, which he then ſent, he had procured a hundred and ten Subſcriptions; yet it had been nothing in compariſon of what he eaſily might, and would have done; adding, that he had ſpent about the Getting that Seal an hundred Crowns, which he was obliged to borrow.

Here are Expreſſions, which ſeem to admit a ſuſpicious Conſtruction; and yet they may be interpreted to import no more, than that *Crook* expended the Moneys ſpecified, in the neceſſary Offices towards paſſing the Seal, or by way of reaſonable Gratuity to ſuch Perſons, who had taken Pains or been at any accidental Charge in aſſiſting him, and not ſtrictly on Account of their Votes. And as to what he inſinuates, that if it had not been for Want of Money, he could have done much greater Service, in the Matter of his Charge; all we can neceſſarily conclude from hence, is, that the Want of Money for his proper Expences in negotiating this Affair, even in a juſt and honourable Way, hindered him from making thoſe Inſtances, or maintaining that Correſpondence in other Parts, which the Nature of it required.

So that there may ſtill, perhaps, be thought Room, in a candid Way of Judging, to conclude, from the Evidence already produced, that the Subſcriptions obtained by this Agent, were not mercenary, but agreeable to the Rules of Prudence and Equity.

13. It will be far more difficult to account for a Teſtimony of *Cavendiſh*, who ſaith expreſsly, "That the Univerſities abroad "were fed with ſuch great Sums of Money by the Commiſſioners, "that they eaſily condeſcended to their Requeſts." To which I ſhall only add, the Cenſure of *Cornelius Agrippa* upon ſuch Divines as ſuffered themſelves to be influenced in the Caſe by indirect Applications. "[k] Who, *ſaith he*, would have believed, that Divines, "in Matters of Faith and Conſcience, are not only perverted by "Love, Hatred, or Envy, but alſo ſometimes bribed by Banquets, or drawn from the Truth by Gifts, unleſs themſelves had "given evident Proofs of their Vileneſs, in condemning the Marriage of the King of *England*.

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[k] Anthony Harmer's *Specimen of ſome Errors*, p. 18.

14. This Teſtimony of [l]*Cornelius Agrippa* is more conſiderable, not only as he was "a Man, *according to Biſhop* Burnet, "very ſamous for great and curious Learning, and ſo ſatisfied in "the King's Cauſe, that he gave it out the Thing was clear and "indiſputable; but becauſe, on that Account, he was hardly uſed "by the Emperor, and died in Priſon." So that if he was under any Prepoſſeſſion in the Caſe, it will be preſumed to have been on the King's Side.

CHAP. VIII.

1. *The Biſhops convened a ſecond Time about the Affair of the Divorce.* 2. *It is oppoſed by the Biſhop of* Rocheſter. 3. *Who refuſed to ſign an Inſtrument with the Reſt of the Biſhops.* 4. *Concerning the Import of that Inſtrument.* 5. *A Diſpute between Archbiſhop* Warham *and the Biſhop of* Rocheſter, *about a Matter of Fact.* 6. *It is difficult to form a certain Judgement of it.* 7. *Reaſonable Preſumptions on both Sides.* 8. *More concerning the Inſtrument beforementioned.* 9. *The Cardinal's Opinion as to the Method of Proceeding in the Affair of the Divorce.* 10. *Ambaſſadors to be ſent to* Rome, *with the Import of their Commiſſion.* 11. *Arguments employed by the Cardinal, towards influencing the Pope to favour the Divorce.* 12. *Without queſtioning the Power of Pope* Julius, *in granting the Diſpenſation.* 13. *Pretended to have been obtained upon falſe Suggeſtions.* 14. *Sir* Gregory Caſſali *inſtructed to move the Pope for a Commiſſion, that the Cauſe may be tried in* England. 15. *The like Inſtructions to Secretary* Knight. 16. *Letter to the King from that Miniſter, concerning the Succeſs of his Charge.* 17. *The Pope's ſecret Advice in the Caſe, not approved by the King: Perſons empowered to try the Cauſe in* England, *with a* Pollicitation *from the Pope.* 18. *The Powers granted in his Commiſſion, not abſolutely Definitive.* 19. *For what Reaſons it concerned him to act with ſo much Caution.*

1527. 1. AFTER the ſeveral Deciſions of the Univerſities at home and abroad had been tranſmitted to Court, the Cardinal convened the Biſhops again upon the Caſe, and then declared to them, the Succeſs of the Commiſſioners; and for Aſſurance thereof, ſhewed them the Inſtruments of each Univerſity, under their reſpective Seals.

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[l] *I find a curious and remarkable Paſſage in* Bayle *relating to this Subject, under the Article of* Corn. Agrippa, *too long to be inſerted in the Margin, to which therefore I refer the Reader in the* Coll. Nº 87. Book III.

2. Among the Prelates, *Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, with much Warmth, oppoſed the Divorce. In a [m] Letter to the Cardinal, he tells him, he had conſulted all the ancient Authors, to whom he could have recourſe upon the Caſe, and that they were greatly divided in their Opinion: According to ſome, the King's Marriage was prohibited by the Law of God; but with others, there was nothing repugnant to God's Law in it. Upon the Whole, having impartially examined the Reaſons, and Arguments on both Sides, he concluded; that thoſe, which might be alledged for the Validity of the King's Marriage, were much more forcible and convincing, than thoſe, which could be brought to invalidate his Marriage. And yet, ſuppoſing their Arguments of ſuch equal Force, that it had been difficult to know, which of them did really preponderate; in this Caſe, a Diſpenſation of the Pope, acting in the Plenitude of his Power, was ſufficient to put an End to all Diſputes upon the Queſtion: But this he only ſpeaks, by Way of Conceſſion, and to ſhew his Regard to the papal Authority, in determining Matters of Doubt; which, without a Power to that End, he ſuppoſeth had been given to the Soveraign Paſtor of the Church, in vain. He is himſelf at the ſame Time clearly of Opinion, that the King's Marriage was not condemned, on Account of any moral, or divine Prohibition.

3. So that when an Inſtrument was ordered to be drawn up, which ſhould contain the Opinions of the *Engliſh* [n] Prelates upon their firſt Aſſembly, relating to the Divorce, the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* refuſed to ſign it with the Reſt of his Brethren: Tho' it has been diſputed, whether the Inſtrument then ſigned by the Biſhops, was a Declaration concerning the Unlawfulneſs of the Marriage, or only imported their Conſent, that the Queſtion, as to the Legality of it, might be debated.

4. But that this Inſtrument, notwithſtanding what has been ſuggeſted by a [o] learned Hiſtorian, did directly declare the Marriage unlawful, may, I think, be very reaſonably argued, from the Appeal which the King afterwards made in open Court to it. For of what great Service could it have been to the King to produce, and that with ſome Appearance of Oſtentation, an Inſtrument under the Hands and Seals of the Biſhops, which only licenſed them to enter upon the Queſtion, Whether his Marriage was unlawful, or not? I confeſs, according to *Cavendiſh* his Account of the Matter,

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[m] Coll. N° 88. Book III.
[n] See Cavendiſh, p. 66. Edit. 1641.
[o] Coll. Ecc. Hiſt. V. 1. p. 24.

we are not obliged to conclude, that the Inſtrument imported any Thing more than ſuch a Licenſe. But that it really did import more, beſides, the Reaſon already mentioned, may, I think, with the greateſt Probability, be inferred from hence, that ſo pious and good a Man, as *Fiſher,* tho' he could not be brought by any Means to approve what he ſecretly condemned, yet would not have oppoſed the King in ſo reaſonable a Method towards his Satisfaction, as that of debating in an Aſſembly of the Fathers, whether his Marriage with Queen *Catherine* was really lawful, or not?

5. For there happened on this Occaſion, a Diſpute between Archbiſhop *Warham,* and the Biſhop of *Rocheſter,* concerning a Matter of Fact that remains to this Day undecided, and the Truth of which probably the laſt Day only may perfectly determine. When the King produced the Inſtrument, declaring, all the Prelates had granted their Seals to it, and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* confirmed what his Majeſty ſaid, the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* denied that he had given either his Hand or Seal: Upon which, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* particularly affirmed, that he had given them both. And when the Archbiſhop replied, that he uſed ſuch Words, and gave him [p] Licenſe to put his Hand and Seal to the Inſtrument, He ſtill perſiſted in his Denial, and told his Grace, under Correction, that what he ſaid was untrue.

6. The Queſtion between them was, concerning ſo late and conſiderable a Fact, that it cannot be well preſumed, either of them could, as yet, forget what had been ſaid, or done, in relation to the main Circumſtances of it: And yet it ſeems hard to charge either of theſe truly venerable Prelates with ſuch a Prevarication, from a Suſpicion whereof, the common Probity of Men, ought to exempt them. Other Inſtances of this Kind, have occurred in Hiſtory. The moſt ſafe and equitable Way where Perſons are of eminent and eſtabliſhed Characters, is in ſuch Caſes to ſuſpend our Judgement: But if Curioſity ſhould carry any one ſo far, as to put him upon making a Judgement concerning them; there are certain Qualities, reſpecting natural Temper, the Hopes or Fears, or other Paſſions common to Men, whereby he may be, in ſome Meaſure, better enabled to form it.

7. Yet both theſe Prelates were ſo eminent for a Sanctity of Life and Manners, which might have become the Fathers of the

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[p] *The Judgement of Biſhop* Burnet *ſeems rather favourable to* Fiſher. “ *Nor was it likely*, ſays “ that learned Hiſtorian, *that* Fiſher, *who ſcrupled in Conſcience to ſubſcribe it* (the Inſtrument) “ *himſelf, would have conſented to ſuch a weak Artifice.* Hiſt. of Reform. v. I.

apoſtolical Age; of ſo ſweet, happy, and generous Diſpoſitions, that their different Teſtimonies on this Occaſion, cannot be imputed either to an Inequality of Temper, or any indirect Views on either Side. If, on one Hand; it ought not to be ſuppoſed, that a Perſon veſted with the Archiepiſcopal Character, could be capable of prevaricating, or depoſing for Truth, what he knew to be falſe; it may be ſaid, on the other Side, that the World had not, for ſome Ages, ſeen, if, ſince the apoſtolical Age, it ever had ſeen a brighter Example of all thoſe Vertues which were proper to adorn, either the private Life of a Chriſtian, or the Character of a Prelate, than in the Perſon of *Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*. In one Inſtance indeed, the Zeal of this holy Father for Religion, betrayed him into a Weakneſs, that cannot be juſtified or excuſed: His Belief concerning the pretended Inſpirations of *Elizabeth Barton*, diſcovered, that his great Senſe of Piety, did not exempt him from all the Arts of Deluſion, which may be practiſed; but this Error in Judgement, ought not to affect him in Point of a ſtrict and pure Morality, improved, and animated by an uncommon Meaſure of celeſtial Grace. If it be ſaid, that, after all, he ſuffered a capital Puniſhment for his Crimes againſt the State; even this Imputation, without entring at preſent into the Merits of the Caſe, will, I conceive, be urged by very few Perſons, as a Reaſon why his Teſtimony, as to a plain Matter of Fact, ought to be leſs credited. A Teſtimony, not whereby he could propoſe to ſerve himſelf, or to gratify his Prince; but wherein he plainly oppoſed his own Intereſts. A Perſon of Sobriety and good Underſtanding, who will lay down his Life for the Truth, or for what he apprehends to be the Truth, gives the higheſt Evidence, that can be given, of his Integrity and Vertue. It may poſſibly be alledged, on the other Hand, that tho' *Warham* was a very pious, learned, and excellent Prelate; yet his complying with the King, in obtaining a Decree from the Univerſity of *Oxford*, when Chancellor of it, after the Manner before ſpecified, may be urged to ſhew, that he was not, at all Times, perfectly free from the Impreſſions of Hope or Fear; but ſubject, in certain Inſtances, to the Power of like Paſſions with other Men.

8. Another Argument which may be urged, to ſhew, that the Subſcription of the Biſhops, did not proceed to declare the Marriage null, may be taken from the Share which the Cardinal had in the Conduct of this Matter. For if he had already declared himſelf on one [q] Side, he ought not, and probably would not have been join'd in Commiſſion with *Campejus* for a Judge in the Caſe; be-

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[q] *See* Collier's *Eccleſ. Hiſt.* v. 2. p. 24.

cauſe on that Suppoſition, all the World might except againſt him, as an unequal Judge. But all that can be inferred from this Argument is, that admitting the Biſhops in general, had really ſigned a Declaration, concerning the Illegality of the King's Marriage, yet the Cardinal, where no poſitive Evidence of his ſigning it can be produced, ought to be excepted out of that Number. What appears to be the ſtrongeſt of all Arguments that the Biſhops were not ſo unanimous in declaring the Marriage unlawful, in caſe they really did declare it ſo, is founded upon a Letter of the Cardinal to Sir *Gregory* [r] *Caſſely* at *Rome*, wherein he writes to this Effect, " That " the King had applied to the moſt learned Prelates, Divines, and " Canon-Lawyers, both in his Kingdom and elſewhere, about the " Force of the Pope's Diſpenſation, in Reference to the Marriage, " and that in concluſion of the Debate, many of thoſe Doctors af- " firmed, that the Pope could not diſpenſe in the firſt Degree of Af- " finity, ſuch a Relaxation being morally evil, and prohibited by " the Law of God; yet provided the Pope could relax or give any " Relief in this Caſe, they unanimouſly agreed, ſuch a Liberty was " not to be indulged, but upon the greateſt and moſt urgent Mo- " tives, which could not be pleaded in the King's Behalf.

Now they ſay, but I leave the Reader to judge concerning the Force of this negative Argument, that it is not reaſonable to ſuppoſe, if the King had been ſupported with ſo unanimous a Reſolution of the *Engliſh* [ſ] Prelates, as hath been pretended, the Cardinal would have omitted to mention ſo important an Article in his Inſtructions to *Caſſely*, in a diſtinct Manner, and to make all the Advantage, he could, of it.

9. But neither the Judgement of private Doctors, nor of the Univerſities at home or abroad, nor of the *Engliſh* Clergy conve-

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[r] Coll. N° 89. Book III. c. 8. *This being the longeſt Letter of the Cardinal, among the Collections, which he wrote in Latin, it is there inſerted at Length, towards giving us a better Idea of his Stile in that Language.*

[ſ] *However this Diſpute may be determined, there is an authentick Inſtrument relating to the Proceedings of the Convocation in* 1531, *atteſted by the Preſident and other Members of it, and drawn up by a Publick Notary at the King's command, wherein this Account, ſaith Mr.* Wharton, *is given.* " *Two* " *Queſtions were by the King propounded to the Convocation, to be diſcuſſed and determined by them.* " *The Firſt, which was to be conſidered and determined by the Divines of the Convocation, was con-* " *ceived in theſe Words,* An ducere Uxorem Cognitam a Fratre, decedente ſine prole, ſit pro- " hibitio Juris Divini indiſpenſabilis a Papa ?" *At the Diſcuſſion and Determination of this were perſonally preſent in the Convocation, Divines* 75, *by Proxies* 197, *in all* 272, *the Names of all are inſerted at length, with great Accuracy, in the Inſtrument beforementioned. Of theſe,* 253 *determined the Queſtion in the Affirmative, and* 19 *only held the Negative. The ſecond Queſtion which was to be conſidered and determined by the Profeſſors of Law* (*Canon, or Civil, or both*) *Members of the Convocation, was conceived thus.* An Carnalis Copula inter Illuſtriſſimum Principem *Arthurum* & Sereniſſimam Dominam *Catherinam* Reginam, ex propoſitis, exhibitis, deductis & allegatis ſit ſufficienter probata ? *At the Examination and Deciſion of this Queſtion were preſent perſonally Canoniſts and Civilians* 44, *by Proxies* 3, *in all* 47: *Of theſe* 41 *determined the Queſtion in the Affirmative, and only ſix maintained the Negative.* See the Inſtrument Coll. N° 90. Book III. Chap. 8.

ning in a ſynodical Way, were, at this Time, thought of ſo great Importance to the King's Cauſe, as the ſingle Deciſion, if that could be obtained, of the Oracle, to whom all Appeals were then made, at *Rome*. To him, therefore, the Queen, had the Cauſe been tried here, would, in all probability, have appealed; neither, as the Cardinal further repreſented to the King, could the Cauſe be tried in *England*, unleſs the Pope would furniſh him with a diſcretionary Commiſſion, and give him abſolute Authority in all Caſes, towards facilitating his Majeſty's Deſigns: He alſo adviſed, that the Queen ſhould be perſuaded to withdraw from the World, into ſome Convent, and take upon her a religious Habit; and if neither of theſe two Expedients ſhould be ſound effectual, then they ſhould proceed to conſider, what might be done towards ſatisfying the King's Conſcience in a more private Way.

10. Upon the Whole, a Reſolution was taken, that Ambaſſadors ſhould be ſent from our Court to *Rome*, who were to acquaint his Holineſs with the King's Scruples, concerning his Marriage, with the Pains himſelf had taken in ſtudying the Caſe, upon which he found himſelf in a State contrary to the Law of God. To theſe Arguments of a moral Nature, they were to add certain political Conſiderations from the dangerous Conſequences to the King himſelf, to his Iſſue, and to the Kingdom; and therefore they were to require a Bull from the Pope, which ſhould contain the following Particulars,

1ſt, A Commiſſion to two Cardinals, one of which ſhould be Cardinal *Wolſey*, to hear and determine the Cauſe in *England*.

2d, A decretal Sentence, by which the Pope ſhould pronounce the King's Marriage with Queen *Catherine*, void.

3d, A Diſpenſation for the King to contract a ſecond Marriage, and to legitimate his Children by both Marriages, if the Commiſſioners ſhould ſee Cauſe.

4th, A Pollicitation, that the Pope would not revoke any of theſe his Acts.

The Heads of this Inſtrument, ſuppoſed to be drawn up by the Cardinal, direct the ſtrongeſt Clauſes to be made, that it was poſſible to imagine.

The Firſt and Third of theſe Demands, at the earneſt Inſtances of the Ambaſſadors in the King's Name, and of the Letters from the Cardinal, were agreed to, and ſigned by the Pope himſelf, but not exactly according to the Minutes and Forms drawn up at our Court: But the Meſſenger by whom they were ſent from his Holineſs, told the King, upon Delivery of them, that if in any reſpect they were thought inſufficient, or if, in the Opinion of learned Men, it might be proper to make any Additions to them, his Holineſs would be ready to ſupply all Defects, and withal to expedite ſuch Briefs, Bulls, and Reſcripts, as might moſt effectually conduce to a final Determination of the Matter. It gave ſome Diſguſt to the King and Cardinal, that the Pope, in drawing up the Commiſſion and Diſpenſation, did not conform to the Minutes, which they had ſent; and that, concerning the other two Inſtruments, which they demanded, his Holineſs had returned no Anſwer at all; but their Reſentments were much mitigated by the free Offer which he had made, to give all ſuch additional Enforcement to his Bull, as might be judged convenient.

11. *Knight* was one of theſe Ambaſſadors, the other Sir *Gregory Caſſely*: In the [t] Letter before referred to, which the Cardinal wrote to Sir *Gregory*, we diſcover the Reaſons upon which his Eminency proceeded in relation to this Affair of the Divorce.

The Arguments, which he employed, to induce the Pope to diſſolve the King's Marriage, were grounded, firſt upon the Opinion of ſeveral Prelates and Divines, who had pronounced his Marriage unlawful: Secondly, a political Reaſon was urged, reſpecting the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom, the Divorce being conſidered as the only effectual Means of ſecuring them. For unleſs the Legitimacy of the King's Iſſue ſhould be aſcertained, Conteſts about the Succeſſion to the Crown, would unavoidably ariſe. The Nation had been formerly much embroiled, and ſometimes brought to the Brink of Ruin, by Competitions for the Sovereign Power where the Title was leſs perplexed, than it might appear, upon the King's Demiſe, at preſent: That Inſtances of the like Misfortunes from the Diſputes between the Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*, were yet freſh in the Memory of Men.

Another Argument to diſpoſe his Holineſs to approve the Divorce, was taken from the divided State of Chriſtendom, at that Time. Several Princes had uſurped upon the Juriſdiction of the Church, and ſome of them had withdrawn their Obedience from the Holy See: To prevent a further Defection, it was neceſſary to apply the ſafeſt Remedy. The King of *England*'s Protection and Aſſiſtance, if his Holineſs ſhould think fit to gratify him in this Matter, might aſſuredly be depended on: And to ſhew, that his Requeſt, was not without Precedent, his Holineſs is reminded, that the Emperor had lately been diſpenſed with in a like Caſe. For he had obliged himſelf upon Oath to marry the Princeſs *Mary*; and yet notwithſtanding this ſacred and ſolemn Engagement, the Pope, for certain political Reaſons, had diſcharged him from it, and even without the King's Conſent.

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[t] See Coll. N° 89. Book III.

12. But that the King's Requeſt might be more favourably received at the Court of *Rome*, it was thought proper to move it after a Manner, that might give the leaſt Occaſion of Umbrage or Offence to his Holineſs. To have queſtioned the Power of Pope *Julius* to grant the Diſpenſation for the King's Marriage, and, upon that Account, to have inſiſted upon the Illegality of it, would not have been at all agreeable to the Temper of a Court, jealous of every Thing, that might tend to a Diminution, in any reſpect, of the Authority claimed and aſſerted by it. Had the Pope admitted ſuch an Allegation, he would, in effect, have ſuffered his acknowledged Juriſdiction, at that Time, to be impleaded in his own Court. This was, by no means, a probable Way of gaining him, to limit the Exerciſe of his Power; eſpecially, when the papal Authority had not only been, in ſeveral Places, diſputed, but openly rejected: And therefore the Cardinal propoſes an Expedient towards invalidating the Bull of Pope *Julius*, without offering the leaſt Injury, at the ſame Time, to the papal Authority in general.

13. He alledgeth, That the Diſpenſation for the King's Marriage by *Julius*, was obtained and granted, upon a falſe Suggeſtion. That the Pretence, upon which it is ſaid, the King deſired this Marriage, was, to the End a good Correſpondence between *Henry* the Seventh and *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella* of *Spain* might be continued: Whereas there was neither any Miſunderſtanding, nor the leaſt Appearance of a Rupture between theſe Princes, at that Time; beſides, the King was then ſo young, as not to be capable of ſuch a Conſideration: That he neither conſented to the Subject-matter of this Bull, nor was acquainted with the Deſign, or Methods of procuring it; and that 'till the Bull was granted, he neither deſired the Marriage, nor knew any Thing concerning it. Upon which Grounds, all the Doctors and Prelates, to whom the Cardinal had before referred, declared that *Julius* his Diſpenſation was not of ſufficient Force to juſtify the Marriage. And laſtly, That the King himſelf had expreſly, and by a [u] *Deed* under his own Hand, diſclaimed the Marriage.

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[u] *See* Speed. *from the* Cotton. Lib. *who cites the Inſtrument of the Prince's Proteſt, with the Atteſtation of it*, p. 1002.

14. Among other Inſtructions in this Letter from the Cardinal to Sir *Gregory*, he was directed to apply immediately to the Pope, and to make Inſtances to his Holineſs, that he would privately ſign a Commiſſion, to the End, the King's Cauſe might be heard in *England*; and that in this Commiſſion, for which a Form was ſent, the Cardinal ſhould be empowered to name ſuch Aſſiſtants to act with him, as he might think proper: A formal Inſtrument for the Diſpenſation was alſo prepared; and if the Pope ſhould be induced to comply with what was propoſed, in theſe two reſpects, he might be aſſured, as the King had already remitted large Sums for the Payment of the *French* Army in *Italy*, he would ſpare no Pains or Expence, to oblige the Court of *Rome*; but employ the whole Force of his Kingdom againſt the Emperor in *Flanders*, 'till he ſhould conſtrain him to enlarge the Pope, and reſtore the Church to its former Power and Dignity. But in caſe the Pope had already, in purſuance of any Agreement with the Emperor, obtained his Liberty, Sir *Gregory* was to repreſent to his Holineſs, how little Reaſon he had to truſt to the Honour or Engagements of that Prince; who had ſhewn, on ſeveral Occaſions, ſo little Regard to publick Faith, and made it his Buſineſs to invade the Rights and depreſs the Authority of the Church. And if his Holineſs ſhould object, that the Cardinal, as being the King's Subject and prime Miniſter, might not be preſumed an equal or indifferent Judge in the Caſe, and could not therefore in Reaſon or Equity, have a Commiſſion granted to that End; Sir *Gregory* was to uſe all his Art and Addreſs, in order to obviate this Difficulty, and to give his Holineſs the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances, that the Cardinal would proceed in the Cauſe with all the Juſtice and Integrity imaginable. But if, after all, this Difficulty could not be removed, Sir *Gregory* was next to propoſe, that the Commiſſion ſhould be granted to *Staphilius* Dean of the *Rota*, who was then in *England*, but not to conſent to the Pope's Nomination of any other Foreigner. He was further charged to acquaint the Pope, that the King would conſider all Delays in this important Affair, as, in Effect, a tacit Denial of his Requeſt. If his Holineſs expreſſed an Inclination to conſult any of his Cardinals upon the Point, he muſt endeavour, as much as poſſible, to divert it. If that cannot be done, Sir *Gregory* is to addreſs himſelf to ſuch Cardinals, whoſe Advice his Holineſs may think fit to demand; to ſtate the Juſtice of the King's Caſe to them; and to engage them, by the Aſſurance of ſome proper Acknowledgement, to the King's Intereſts. With this Diſpatch, Letters were ſent to other Cardinals to be made uſe of, as Occaſion might require; with particular Inſtructions to engage the Cardinal *Datary*: And becauſe Money is always acceptable to Perſons under Reſtraint, or otherwiſe in Diſtreſs,

ſtreſs, Sir *Gregory* had a Remittance of Ten Thouſand Ducats to *Venice*, with a diſcretionary Liberty of diſtributing them, as he ſhould judge moſt convenient for the King's Service.

15. The Inſtructions to Secretary *Knight*, were much of the ſame Import with thoſe to Sir *Gregory*. They were ordered to act in Concert, and each of them to labour the Point, wherewith he was charged, to his utmoſt Power. The Pope had now eſcaped out of the Caſtle of Saint *Angelo*, and was arrived at [x] *Orvieto*, where, about the End of *December*, the Secretary and the Ambaſſador *Caſſely*, waited on his Holineſs, and congratulated him in the Name of the King, and of the Cardinal, upon the Recovery of his Liberty. When they opened their Commiſſion to his Holineſs, he ſeemed inclined to give the King Satisfaction, and did not refuſe the Expedient propoſed by them, for trying the Cauſe in *England*; but told them, at the ſame Time, that not being verſed in drawing up Forms of Commiſſion, he would conſult the Cardinal *Saint Quater*, and ſoon take an Opportunity of acquainting them with his Reſolution. The Ambaſſadors obſerving how great Deference the Pope paid to the Judgement and Advice of that Cardinal, went immediately and delivered the King's Letters to him, requeſting his Favour, and giving him Expectations of being gratified. When, after this preparatory Diſcourſe, they had produced their Commiſſion to his Holineſs, he objected to ſeveral Clauſes in the Inſtrument of it; and ſaid, that according to the Form wherein it was drawn up, it could not be paſſed, without derogating at once from the Honour of the King, of the Pope, and the Cardinal of *York*. Upon this, at their Inſtance, himſelf drew up the Minutes of a new Form. That Inſtrument being engroſſed, his Holineſs, before he delivered it executed to them, to enhance the Obligation of his Compliance herein, repreſented, how many Difficulties he had ſurmounted, and to what great Dangers he was willing to expoſe himſelf for the King's Service. He told them, that when a Priſoner in the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, he was required, in the Emperor's Name, by the General of the Obſervants in *Spain*, not to paſs any Act preparative to a Divorce between the King and Queen, or which might have any manner of Relation to that Affair; particularly, that he ſhould not grant any Powers for the Trial of the King's Cauſe by any Judge in the King's Dominions: His Holineſs added, tho' he was now more at Liberty, than he had been formerly, yet he did not look upon himſelf as perfectly free from all Reſtraint, ſo long as the *Almains* and *Spaniards* were ſo powerful in *Italy*; and

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[x] Decemb. 9, 1527.

he was abſolutely of Opinion, that by granting this Commiſſion, he ſhould come to an open Breach with the Emperor, without any Hopes of an Accommodation. However, he would rather incur the Danger, which apparently threatned him, than give the leaſt Occaſion to the King, or the Cardinal of *York*, to ſuſpect him capable of Ingratitude: And, upon this, he put the Commiſſion and the Diſpenſation ſigned, into the Hands of Secretary *Knight*; deſiring both the Ambaſſadors, at the ſame Time, that they would move the King to have a little Patience in the Matter, and not to precipitate him beyond all Hopes of Recovery; for his Ruin would be inevitable, if his Majeſty, when he ſhould receive the Inſtruments, ſhould immediately ſuffer them to be divulged or executed.

16. Secretary *Knight*, by [y] Letter, certified to his Majeſty, that a Diſpenſation had been obtained under *Lead*, in as [z] ample a Manner, as the Minutes ſent from *England* did require; and that ſufficient Powers alſo, for trying the Cauſe, were granted to the Cardinal, according to a Form drawn up by the Cardinal Saint *Quater*, though not exactly according to the Minutes tranſmitted for that Purpoſe from *England*. The Secretary adds, as by Direction from the Pope, that if Monſieur *de Lautrech* were arrived, with the Army under his command, his Holineſs is of Opinion, he might with good Colour, alledge to the Emperor, that he was required by the *Engliſh* Embaſſadors, and overawed by that General to proceed, as he had done, in the Buſineſs. By this Means, Appearances might be ſaved; and if he ſhould be ſo unhappy as to offend the Emperor, his Offence would not be interpreted to proceed from Inclination or Deſign, but from Conſtraint. He *promiſed*, at the ſame Time, to diſpatch a Commiſſion to the King of *England*, which ſhould bear Date, after the Time he had been over-awed by *Lautrech's* Army. This Fineneſs of the Pope, made the Secretary unwilling to truſt too much to his Schemes, the Iſſue whereof might be uncertain; ſo he haſtned his Return for *England*, bringing the Commiſſion and Diſpenſation along with him.

17. With what Caution, the Pope proceeded in this Affair, appears farther from a *Diſpatch* of Sir *Gregory Caſſely* to the *Engliſh* Court; where, on the Part of the Pope, and, in his Name, he ſaith, If the King, who is the beſt *Judge* in that Caſe, can ſatisfy his own Conſcience, the beſt Method would be, with all convenient

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[y] Jan. 9, 1528. Herb.

[z] Herb. p. 246.

[a] Herb. 246. Jan. 13, 1528.

Speed, to determine the Matter, by marrying another Wiſe, and to move the Conclave to ſend a Legate who ſhould confirm the Sentence of Divorce. But this Advice he deſired might be conſidered, as proceeding not from himſelf, but from the Cardinal Saint *Quater* and *Simonetta*; which Expedient, indeed, if purſued, had proved much ſafer and eaſier both to the King and to his Holineſs, than the Commiſſion afterwards granted to the two Legates; which, as it took up more Time, ſo on each Part, was attended with far greater Difficulties. Yet the King, either from Tenderneſs of Conſcience, or in Regard to the Hazard he might run, if the Pope ſhould not give his ſubſequent Confirmation to ſuch a Procedure, did not think fit to approve it; but choſe rather to demand larger Powers, towards proſecuting the Matter, than thoſe which Secretary *Knight* had been able to obtain: Who, upon his Return, being in an ill State of Health, and not in a Condition to travel, had forwarded the Protonotary *Gambara*, with the Diſpenſation and Commiſſion to the *Engliſh* Court, following him by eaſy Journeys. The Perſons empowered to try the Cauſe in *England*, were the two Cardinals *Campejus* and *Wolſey*; both of them ſtiled Legates *a Latere*; and having full Power to hear and determine the Cauſe in a ſummary Way, without being obliged to obſerve all the Forms or Ceremonials of the Law. And they are commiſſioned to execute theſe Powers, notwithſtanding any Authority of general Councils, apoſtolical Conſtitution, or Decrees whatever, to the contrary. And to give farther Strength to this Grant, his Holineſs, about a Month after, ſigned a *Pollicitation*, whereby he obliged himſelf to confirm the Sentence of the Legates; provided, they ſhould purſue the Tenor of their Commiſſion, proteſting, at the ſame Time, he would never retract what they ſhould determine, upon any Colour or Motive, or by Occaſion of any Force whatever.

18. The Pope, in the Commiſſion, delegates the ſame Authority to them, as if he ſhould [b] perſonally have heard or determined the Cauſe. From whence it has been inferred, that he ought to have been abſolutely concluded by the Deciſion of the two Legates. Yet it appears, from a Letter of *John Caſſely*, to Cardinal *Wolſey*, notwithſtanding the ſeeming Plenitude of theſe Powers in the Commiſſion; that it was not the Pope's Intent to refer the Diciſion of the Cauſe finally, and without Reſerve, to the Legates. For his Holineſs, in Diſcourſe with that Agent, told him, [c] That if the King and Cardinal were inclined to diſmiſs *Campejus*, upon a

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[b] Quod nos Authoritate & poteſtate noſtra facere poſſemus, id etiam vos facere poſſitis.
[c] Coll. Eccl. Hiſt.

Pretence, that they deſigned to proceed no further in hearing the Cauſe, they might afterwards bring it to what Iſſue they pleaſed; provided, they ſhould not make uſe of the Powers committed to them to do any Thing unjuſt; declaring himſelf ready at the ſame Time to confirm the Legate's Sentence, in caſe the Allegations had been firſt proved in Court. But, indeed, this very Limitation in the Bull itſelf, *provided the Legates ſhould purſue the Tenor of it*, ſheweth, that the Pope had not put the final Deciſion of the Matter ſo abſolutely in the Power of the Legates, but he could ſtill review and correct ſuch Sentence, as they might paſs upon it. For who could be ſo proper a Judge, as himſelf, whether in Fact, they had truly, and in all Reſpects, acted conformably to the Tenor of his own Commiſſion? But if what *Saunders* reporteth, be true, that *Campejus* had it expreſly in his Inſtructions, not to give any definitive Sentence for the Divorce, without expreſs Commandment from the Pope, and that this was one of the [d] chief and ſtricteſt Articles of his Charge; then there is, no Room to doubt, but that the Pope's real Deſign was (if he ſhould afterwards think fit) to reſume the Hearing of the Cauſe to himſelf, whatever Determination the Legates might make in it. Beſides this Order, which was ſent after *Campejus*, *Saunders* obſerves, he received three other Meſſages upon his Way to *England*, directing firſt, that he ſhould make ſlow and eaſy Journeys: Secondly, That when he came to *England*, he ſhould uſe his beſt Efforts towards a Reconciliation between the King and Queen: And thirdly, if that could not be effected, he was to perſuade the Queen to retire from the World, and take upon her a religious Habit.

19. It concerned the Pope, under his diſtreſſed Circumſtances at that Time, to act with all the Caution and Reſerve imaginable; and therefore, tho' there wanted neither Perſuaſions nor Menaces on the Part of our Court, to induce his Compliance with the King's Deſires; and tho' he even appeared of himſelf, inclined to gratify the King; yet, the viſible and immediate Danger he was in from the Imperial Forces, required, that he ſhould give as little Umbrage or Offence, as poſſible, to the Emperor. And therefore, to the End his Proceedings might be more unexceptionable, by the Advice of the Cardinals Saint *Quater* and *Simonetta*, he propoſed the Expedient beforementioned, that if the King, who beſt knew the State of his own Conſcience, was ſatisfied in the Matter, *the Cardinal of* York *ſhould proceed to Sentence; the King might marry another Wife; and then apply to the Conclave to diſpatch a Legate for Confirmation of the*

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[d] Summum & maximum ſit tibi mandatum. Saund. *Sciſm. Angl.*

Matter. But that in the mean While, the ſafeſt Method would be, to keep the Powers tranſmitted from *Rome* to *England*, ſecret: That the Cardinal might juſtify his Proceedings, either upon the Foot of his Commiſſion ſent by Secretary *Knight*, or in Virtue of his Legatine Powers: But if there ſhould be a formal Proceſs in the Cauſe, and the Queen be ſummoned into Court, ſhe would proteſt againſt the partial Influences of the Place, and the Judges; upon which his Holineſs would be preſſed by the Emperor for an Inhibition to ſtop the Cauſe; and, by that means, the King be diſabled from contracting another Marriage; or in caſe his Majeſty ſhould have no Regard to the Inhibition, his Iſſue, at leaſt 'till Judgement could be given in his Favour, would be accounted illegitimate: And beſides, the Imperialiſts would inſiſt upon a Commiſſion for trying the Cauſe at *Rome*. Now if the Pope ſhould be preſſed upon theſe Points, by the Imperialiſts, how could his Holineſs well refuſe to grant either of them. But, if the King ſhould immediately proceed to marry, the Reaſons of demanding them, would reſpectively ceaſe; or if after all, the Emperor objecting againſt the Legates, as unequal Judges, ſhould move for an Avocation of the Cauſe to *Rome*; then if there ſhould be no Method found of diverting this Motion, the Pope will uſe all Expedition in hearing the Cauſe; determin it to the King's Satisfaction; and proceed in ſuch a Manner, that neither *Spaniard* nor *German* ſhall have any juſt Pretence to except againſt the Proceſs.

CHAP. IX.

1. *Inſtructions to Sir* Francis Brian, *and* Peter Vannes. 2. *Suſpicions concerning a Brief.* 3. *Probable Conjectures in Relation to it.* 4. *Propoſals concerning the Queen.* 5, 6, 7, 8. *Of the Overtures that were made about the King's marrying two Wives, with occaſional Remarks on Biſhop* Burnet, *and ſome* German *Divines.* 9. Harpsfield *cited.* 10. *The Conclave diſpoſed to comply with the King.* 11. *Of* Campejus *his Arrival in* London. 12. *The King and Queen are cited to* Black Fryers *and appear; the Queen's Speech.* 13. *Who retires out of Court.* 16, 17, 18, 19. *The Materials, which the Author propoſes to make uſe of in the Sequel, relating to the Divorce.* 20, 21, 22. *A Story of* Fox *confuted.* 23. *The Queſtion concerning the King's Caſe, both as to Fact and Right, ſtated; with the Judgement of* Dupin *upon it.* 24. *The Cardinal zealous for the Divorce: The Emperor againſt it.* 25. *He ſollicits a Revocation of the Cauſe, which is granted.* 26. *What the Pope might alledge in his own Defence.* 27. *The Emperor uſed Menaces.*

28. *The Pope excuſeth himſelf.* 29. Campejus *protracts the Suit; his Speech.* 30, 31. *And the Cardinal's in Reply to the Duke of* Suffolk. 32, 33. *Reflections upon it.*

1528. 1529. 1. THE King, towards the Cloſe of the former Year, ſent [e] Sir *Francis Brian*, and *Peter Vannes*, an *Italian*, his Secretary for the *Latin* Tongue, to *Rome*. Their Inſtructions were written with the King's own Hand, and contained, in general, That they ſhould endeavour to diſſuade the Pope from entring into any League with the Emperor; whoſe Deſign, as the King repreſented it, was to diveſt him of his Authority, and the Patrimony of the Church, and forcibly to ſubſtitute one *Angelo*, a Cordelier, in his Stead; who ſhould be obliged not to aſſume, or exerciſe any ſecular Juriſdiction, of which the Emperor would take the Adminiſtration upon himſelf. To prevent ſuch a ſacrilegious Attempt, the King adviſed his Holineſs to keep a good Guard, offering, on his own Part, to aſſiſt him with Two thouſand Men. They were farther commanded, to ſearch privately at *Rome* for a certain Brief, pretended to be a Supplement to the Bull of *Julius* the Second, authoriſing the King's Marriage, but which was not to be found among the King's Records.

2. The Suſpicions concerning this Brief, may be ſeen at large in Lord *Herbert*, and his Lordſhip has propoſed them with all the Force whereof they ſeem capable. But I ſhall only recite from him the ſummary Account which he gives of this Matter: Upon his producing a Copy of the Brief, he repreſents it as having been objected, that "it appeared to contain many Falſehoods and Suſpicions; and particularly, that the Stile, Inditing, as alſo many Clauſes and Circumſtances differ from the Bull; ſo that it may be thought forged ſince the Time of Queſtions moved concerning the King's Marriage; as by comparing them together, may be manifeſtly gathered."

To confirm this general Charge, the following Reaſons were alledged.

1*ſt*, That in the Regiſter of the Briefs at *Rome*, no ſuch Brief is found, nor any Argument, that ſuch a Brief was made.

2*d*, That no ſuch Brief is extant among the King's Records, nor was any Mention made of it, in the private Treaties of the Marriage.

3*d*, That in the Date of the ſaid Brief, as it is exemplified, the

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[e] *The Beginning of* December, 1528.

Year of our Lord is diſcrepant from the vulgar Account: For whereas the Stile of the Court of *Rome* begins always from the Nativity of our Lord, this ſeems to be a Year before *Julius* was made Pope.

3. But notwithſtanding ſeveral Preſumptions, ſome of which appeared very ſtrong againſt the Truth of the Brief, the Atteſtations of thoſe, who ſubſcribed to it; and who were Perſons of the firſt Rank and Dignity, render it difficult, and in the higheſt Degree, derogatory to the Emperor's Honour, to ſuppoſe there was any direct or deſigned Forgery in the Caſe.

The moſt probable Account of the Matter is, that ſuch a Brief had really been obtained; yet not in a fair, regular, or open Way, by conſent both of the *Engliſh* and *Spaniſh* Courts; but, *clandeſtinely*, by the Court of *Spain*, to obviate ſuch Difficulties, as it was apprehended, might, one Time or other, conſequentially ariſe; and wherein it was therefore provided, that the diſpenſing Powers ſhould be more full, expreſs, and ample, than thoſe, which were contained in the Bull.

4. The Ambaſſadors were further required, to diſcover, under borrowed Names, whether if the Queen ſhould take on her a religious Habit, the King might not have a Diſpenſation from his Holineſs to marry again, and what Precedents could be alledged for ſuch a Diſpenſation? Or if the King ſhould withdraw into a Monaſtery, and bind himſelf by Vow to the Rules of it, whether the Pope might not afterwards abſolve his Majeſty from his Vow; and leave the Queen under the Reſtraint of her Vow? Or if this could not be done; whether the King might not have a Diſpenſation for Bigamy (for which great Reaſons and Precedents in the *Old Teſtament* were pretended) whereby the Children of both Wives ſhould be legitimated? Theſe Articles were to be propoſed in confidence, with the greateſt Caution and Secrecy; and ſo, as the Caſe might not, directly, appear to be the King's, but that of any other Perſon.

5. Concerning a Diſpenſation to the King, for marrying two Wives: The Pope, by Advice of the Cardinals Saint *Quater* and *Simonetta*, propoſed to *Caſſali* the following Expedient, "[f] That the "King ſhould commit his Cauſe to the Court; and if, upon Exa-

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[f] Ubi Cauſa fuerit commiſſa, ſi Rex conſcientiam ſuam perſentiat coram Deo exoneratam, & quod recte poſſit facere quod querit, Quia nullus Doctor in mundo eſt, qui de hac Re melius decernere poſſit, quam ipſe Rex, itaque ſi in hoc ſe reſolverit, ut pontifex credit, ſtatim Cauſam committat; aliam Uxorem ducat; Litem ſequatur.——

“ mination, he might find his Conſcience diſburthened before God,
“ and he could well juſtify the Thing (of which he was as able
“ a Judge as any Doctor in the World) he ſhould marry another
“ Wife, and follow his Suit of Divorce.” From which it appears, that the Pope's adviſing the King to take another Wife, if by that Means he could ſatisfy his Conſcience; was not with a Deſign of giving him a Diſpenſation to have two Wives at the ſame Time, but in order to facilitate a Sentence of Divorce from his former Wife: For it is plain, the Proceſs was to go on, and thereupon Judgement to enſue. In ſhort, it appears from the Letter of [g] *Caſſali*, from which I have above tranſcribed, that the Pope thought it for the King's Intereſt to marry again; and the Reaſon was, becauſe the Pope would be under a Neceſſity of determining ſpeedily, which of the Marriages ought to be reputed good: And ſo he might, without any Obſtruction from the Emperor, which would otherwiſe be unavoidable, declare the Nullity of the King's former Marriage. The Pope, therefore, did not, as Biſhop *Burnet* would inſinuate from this Letter of *Caſſali*, offer the King, according to his Requeſt, to have two Wives; but would only have put him in a more ready and regular Way of having one lawful Wife. But what this learned Hiſtorian affirms, That *none of the* German *Divines went ſo far as the Pope did, who did plainly offer to grant the King Licenſe to have two Wives*, is ſtill more ſurpriſing. That the Exceſs of his Zeal againſt Popery, ſhould ſometimes tranſport him beyond his uſual Temper and Moderation, may more eaſily be accounted for; but that he ſhould ſo far forget, or rather appear to forget himſelf, as to ſhew no Regard to known Facts; to Facts, referred to by himſelf, and, whereof he *could not* therefore be ignorant; diſcovers a Negligence, to ſay no worſe, by no means reconcileable with the Character of an exact Hiſtorian. Now tho' this learned Prelate has obſerved, that *none of the* German *Divines went ſo far* in this Matter, *as the Pope did*; yet, he had not many Lines before, ſaid, that, *in the Opinion of* Grineus, who was a *German* Divine, *tho' the King's Marriage was ill made, it ought not to be diſſolved*; and that, *he was inclined rather to adviſe, the King ſhould take another Wife, keeping the Queen ſtill.* This is ſo flagrant an Inconſiſtency, that I forbear to make any farther Remarks upon it. Preſently after, the Hiſtorian adds, that “ *Melancthon* and Others, had no Mind to
“ enter much into the Diſpute about the King's Divorce, both for
“ fear of the Emperor, and becauſe they judged the King was led
“ into it by *diſhoneſt* Affections.” So that the Reaſon, why *Melancthon* himſelf, would not approve of the ſecond Marriage, might

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[g] See Burn. Hiſt. P. 1. B. 2. N. 6.

be becauſe he was afraid of the Emperor, or thought the King was led into it by diſhoneſt Affections, and not becauſe he thought Polygamy unlawful. For after all, he actually concurred with other *German* Divines, in an Aſſembly at *Wittemberg*, in allowing the Landgrave of *Heſſe* to marry a ſecond [b] Wife, while the Firſt was living, and not divorced.

7. I ſhall make but one Obſervation more, relating to this Head, on our learned Hiſtorian. “ It cannot, *ſaith he*, be denied, that “ the Proteſtants did expreſs great Sincerity in this Matter; ſuch, as “ became Men of Conſcience, who were acted by true Princi- “ ples, and not by Maxims of Policy; for if theſe had governed “ them, they had ſtruck in more compliantly with a great Prince, “ who was then alienated from the Pope, and in very ill Terms “ with the Emperor.”

8. This Aſſertion, tho' it might be really juſt in its ſelf, yet ſeems to ſtand in a very inconvenient Place after the preceeding Paragraph; wherein the Hiſtorian affirms, that the Proteſtants were over-awed in delivering their Opinion of the King's Divorce, by *Fear of the Emperor*. How is it then true, that they were not acted by Maxims of Policy? The Conduct of the *German* Divines, *eſpecially* in the Caſe of the Landgrave of *Heſſe*, appears to require a more able, at leaſt a more *artful* Advocate.

9. The Inſtructions written by the King's own [i] Hand, by which Sir *Francis Bryan* and *Peter Vannes* were to conduct their Negotiations at *Rome*, will give the Reader the beſt Light into this Matter. He ſhall have thoſe Inſtructions in the Words of *Harpsfield*, who extracted them from original Letters of the King and Cardinal.

“ Theſe Agents were required perfectly and ſubſtantially to in- “ ſtruct themſelves againſt the Coming of Secretary *Knight*, of “ certain Queſtions, by the Learning, Experience, and Knowledge “ of the beſt Advocates they could get in the Court of *Rome*, to be “ retained of the King's Council, and to be of his Grace's Part “ made ſure, by ſecret Rewards, Pact, or Convention; that af- “ terwards they ſhould not be allured or drawn to the adverſe Part. “ The Queſtions were propoſed in Form following, whereof I “ ſhall ſhift no Part of the King's own Words, *viz.*

Whether if the Queen, for the great and manifold Effects that may enſue thereof, can be moved, and induced to take Vow of Chaſtity, and enter into Religion, the Pope's Holineſs may ex Plenitudine Poteſtatis,

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[b] *See* B. 2. p. 150.

[i] Coll. Eccl. Hiſt. P. 2. p. 29.

diſpenſe with the King's Highneſs to proceed thereupon ad duas Nuptias, *and the Children to be procreate in the Same to be legitimate. And if it be a Thing that the Pope per caſe may not do (ſtanding ſuch Laws as be already written, both divine and humane, and uſing his ordinary Power) yet whether his Holineſs may do it of his mere and abſolute Power, as a Thing that the ſame may diſpenſe in above the Law, muſt ſecretly and perfectly be underſtood and known; and what Precedent has been ſeen of like Matter; or how the Court of* Rome *ſhall define and determine; or what it doth uſe, or may do herein: So that it may perfectly and aſſuredly appear, that no Exception, no Scruple, Queſtion, or Doubt, can or may be found, or alledged hereafter in any Thing, that may or ſhall be affirmed to be the Pope's Power, touching that Matter. Semblably foraſmuch that 'tis like, that the Queen ſhall make marvellous Difficulty to enter into Religion, or make Vow of Chaſtity; but that to induce her thereunto, there muſt be Ways and Means of high Policy uſed, and all things poſſible deviſed to encourage her to the ſame; wherein per caſe ſhe ſhall reſolve that in no ways ſhe will condeſcend ſo to do, unleſs the King's Highneſs do the like for his Part. The King's ſaid Orators ſhall therefore, in like ways, inſtruct themſelves by their ſecret learned Council in the Court of* Rome, *if for ſo great a Benefit to enſue to the King's Succeſſion, Realm, and Subjects, with the Quiet of his Conſcience, his Grace ſhould promiſe to enter Religion, or make Vow of Chaſtity for his Part, only thereby to induce the Queen thereto, whether in that Caſe, the Pope's Holineſs may diſpenſe with the King's Highneſs's Promiſe or Vow, diſcharging his Grace clearly of the ſame, and thereupon to proceed* ad ſecunda vota cum legitimatione prolis, *as is aforeſaid. Furthermore, to provide ſurely for all Events,* as well propter conceptum odium, *as for the Danger that may enſue to the King's Perſon, by Continuance of his Grace in the Queen's Company (from whoſe Bed he is utterly reſolved to abſtain) if it ſhall be found and appear aſſuredly, that the Pope may no ways diſpenſe with the King to proceed* ad ſecunda vota, *the Queen being alive in Religion, but that ſhe being in Religion, or without, ſhall ſtill be reputed his Wife; then ſhall the King's ſaid Orators perfectly enquire, and enſearch, whether the Pope's Holineſs may diſpenſe with his Grace upon the great Conſiderations that reſt herein, to have* duas Uxores; *and that the Children of the ſaid ſecond Matrimony, ſhall be be as well legitimate as thoſe of the Firſt; wherein ſome great Reaſons and Precedents, eſpecially of the* Old Teſtament, *appear.*

10. The Conclave expreſſed ſuch a Diſpoſition to comply with theſe Propoſals, that his Majeſty, on that Occaſion, wrote to them a [k] Letter of Thanks. Tho' the Cardinal was ſtill ſo anxious about

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[k] Cott. Lib. Vit. B. 10.

the Event of the Matter, that in two Letters, one to the King's Agents, the other to the Pope, he employs all the [l] Topicks of Perſuaſion to ſollicit the Divorce, which were proper to make an Impreſſion, and to diſcover, ſo far as Words could poſſibly diſcover, that he ſpake from the Heart.

11. Towards the latter [m] End of this Year, Cardinal *Campejus* arrived in *London*; but being troubled with the Gout, declined the Ceremony of a publick Entry; tho' the [n] King was very deſirous he ſhould be received in the City, in the moſt ſplendid and honorary Manner. After a Repoſe of a few Days, he had Audience of the King, who received him moſt favourably; and to whom he made a Speech in *Latin*, by his Secretary; the Import of which may be ſeen in *Godwyn*; as of the Anſwer, which was then made to it by *Fox* Biſhop of *Hereford*. *Godwyn*, on this Occaſion, repreſents *Campejus* as a [o] Perſon of great Simplicity, who ſpake concerning the Matter of his Charge to the King, according to his true and real Sentiments.

12. The Effect of the Proceedings by the Legates was, that the King and Queen were cited to appear, and did actually appear before them as Judges in the Cauſe, at *Bride-well* in *Black Fryers*; where, according to *Cavendiſh*, they commanded the Cryer to proclaim Silence, while the Commiſſion was both read to the Court and to the People there aſſembled; that done, and Silence being again proclaimed, the Scribes commanded the Cryer to call King *Henry* of *England*, whereunto the King anſwered and ſaid, *here*. Then called he again the Queen of *England*, by the Name of *Catherine* Queen of *England*, *come into the Court*, who made no Anſwer thereunto; but roſe immediately out of her Chair where ſhe ſat, and becauſe ſhe would not come to the King directly, by Reaſon of the Diſtance, therefore ſhe came round about the Court to the King, and kneeled down at his Feet, ſaying theſe Words in broken *Engliſh*,

" Sir, I beſeech you do me Juſtice and Right, and take ſome Pity
" upon me, for I am a poor Woman and a Stranger, born out of
" your Dominions, having here no indifferent Council, and leſs Aſ-
" ſurance of Friendſhip: Alas, Sir, in what have I offended you,
" what Offence have I given you, intending to abridge me of Life

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[l] See Collier's *Eccleſ. Hiſt.* p. 2. p. 30. *and addit. Paper* A.
[m] October 9, 1528.
[n] Multum ſatagente Rege ut a Civibus magnifice exciperetur. *Godw. Ann. L.* 1.
[o] *Campejus*, Homo minime malus, quique non aliter ea de Re loquebatur, quam ſentiret.

" in this Sort: I take God to Witneſs I have been to you a true and " loyal Wife, ever conformable to your Will and Pleaſure; never " did I contrary or gainſay your Mind; but always ſubmitted my " ſelf in all Things, wherein you had any Delight or Dalliance, " whether it were little or much, without grudging, or any Sign " of Diſcontent: I have loved for your ſake all Men, whom you " have loved, whether I had Cauſe or not, were they Friends or " Foes; I have been your Wife theſe many Years, by whom you " have had many Children: And when I firſt came to your Bed, " I take God to Witneſs, I was a *Virgin*: Whether it were true or " no, I put it to your Conſcience. If there be any Cauſe that " you can alledge, either of Diſhoneſty or of any other Matter, " lawful to put me from you, I am willing to depart with Shame " and Rebuke: But if there be none, then I pray you, let me have " Juſtice at your Hands.

" The King your Father was a Man of ſuch an excellent Wit in " his Time, that he was accounted a ſecond *Solomon*, and the King " of *Spain* my Father *Ferdinand*, was taken for one of the wiſeſt " Kings that reigned in *Spain* theſe many Years. So they were both " wiſe Men and noble Princes; and it is no queſtion, but they had " wiſe Counſellors of either Realm, as be now at this Day, who " ([p] *little*) thought, at the Marriage between you and me, to hear " what new Devices are now invented againſt me, to cauſe me to " ſtand to the Order of this Court. And I conceive you do me " much Wrong: may you condemn me for not anſwering, having no Council but ſuch as you aſſign'd me? you muſt conſider, that they cannot be indifferent on my Part, being your " own Subjects, and ſuch as you have made Choice of out of your " own Council, whereunto they are privy, and dare not diſcloſe " your Pleaſure.

" Therefore I moſt humbly beſeech you to ſpare me, until I " know how my Friends in *Spain* will adviſe me: But if you will " not, then let your Pleaſure be done.

13. When ſhe had ſpoken, making to the King a low Courteſy, ſhe went out of Court; upon which, the Cryer was ordered to call her in again; but ſhe refuſed to Return or make Anſwer: The King, after her Departure, ſaid ſeveral Things in her Commendation, but mentioned nothing concerning the ſolemn Appeal ſhe had made before the Court to his Conſcience, Whether he did not receive her a *Virgin* to his Bed? which affords a very ſtrong Preſumption,

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[p] *This Addition ſeems neceſſary to ſupply the Senſe in the printed* Engliſh *Copies; and according to which,* Godwyn *rendered it in* Latin. Neque enim vel minimum tunc Temporis ſcrupulum injecit Quiſquam. *Ann. Lib.* 1. *p.* 38.

ſumption, that her Appeal was indeed well founded; for otherwiſe, it can neither be reaſonably ſuppoſed ſhe would have made it; nor that the King would have been ſilent, where he had ſo fair an Opportunity of removing one great Obſtacle to the Divorce, and which it ſo highly concerned him to remove, in order to effect it.

14. But it is not my Deſign, neither is it practicable, within the Bounds I have preſcribed to my ſelf, to write a particular Hiſtory of the Divorce; they who would acquaint themſelves with the Proceſs towards it more at large, may conſult Lord *Herbert*, Biſhop *Burnet*, Mr. *Collier* and Mr. *Strype*: I ſhall principally confine my ſelf to ſuch Memoirs relating to it, as I have been ſupplied with from *Cavendiſh*, and the Manuſcripts of Doctor *James* in the *Bodleian* Library; which none of theſe Hiſtorians, nor any other I have met with upon the Subject, appear to have conſulted; tho' certain Inſtruments indeed, from which Doctor *James* made his Extracts, have been cited by ſeveral of them.

15. Among theſe Extracts, *Knight* going to *Rome* with *Bennet*, writes from [q] *Paris*, that the Pope diſcovers great Remorſe for his having granted the [r] *Decretal Bull*, ſaying, If the Emperor ſhould come to the Knowledge of it, his Ruin would be inevitable; and that *Salviati*, who governed his Holineſs, was of Opinion, if Sentence ſhould be given according to the Tenour of the Bull, it would not only be null in it ſelf, but alſo endanger the Pope's Depoſition; that it was not only neceſſary therefore his Holineſs ſhould be freed from all Apprehenſions of Fear from the Imperialiſts, but that ſuch Meaſures ought to be taken, as might render the Power of the King and his Confederates formidable to them: And indeed, how juſt Cauſe of Fear the Pope had from the Imperial Troops, ſufficiently appears from a former Letter of [ſ] Sir *Gregory Caſſal*, to which I ſhall refer the Reader in the Margin.

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[q] Jan. 8, 1529.

[r] Coll. Nº 91.

[ſ] Pontifex expedivit Commiſſionem, ſecundum formam de qua Secretarius fuit contentus, quem ad modum copioſe ſcribimus ad reverendum Legatum. Et vehementer laborandum fuit, ut ad id Pontificem induceremus, non quod non maxime cupiat omnia efficere, quæ Regia Majeſtas, & Reverendiſſimus D. Legatus volunt; Sed quia nunquam fuit in tanto Timore ab Hiſpanis, Qui omnes Terras Eccleſiaſticas habent in manibus. Et ſuo judicio Galli non videntur quidcunque Boni velle agere. Adeo quod cum Frater Generalis ex parte Cæſaris inhibuiſſet Pontifici ne hoc regiæ Majeſtati concederet timeat maxime ne poſtquam Cæſar reſciverit hoc fuiſſe ita conceſſum, Cæſariani uſque ad ſanguinem & ipſam vitam deſtruant Pontificem: Niſi regia Majeſtas ejus Sanctitatem adjuverit. Et cum ei perſuaſiſſem ut nihil dubitaret, et quod totum ſe rejiceret in manus regiæ Majeſtatis et Reverendiſſimi D. Legati dixit ſe ita velle facere, et quod in eorum Brachia ſe et omnia ſua remittebat. Et Caput jam ponit ſub ſupplicio niſi a regia Majeſtate adjuvetur: ſi Cæſar permittatur aliquid poſſidere in *Italia* præterquam in Regno *Neopolitano* omnium rerum ſemper erit Dominus, niſi mature confundatur. *Ex Lit. Greg. Caſſ.* 1528.

16. In Anſwer to the Letter from *Knight* and *Bennet*, the Cardinal writes, that the [t] Pope had effectually confirmed their Intelligence, by ſending *Campana* a Gentleman of his Bedchamber, to the *Engliſh* Court, the Import of whoſe Charge was, That he ſhould give the King the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances of his Zeal for his Majeſty's Service; notwithſtanding any Difficulties or Dangers, to which either his Perſon or Dignity might be expoſed. To which End, his Holineſs would not only do, whatever in Juſtice, or Equity might be done; but whatever the Plenitude of his Power, towards promoting the King's Affair, could be employed to effect.

17. But how much ſoever the Pope was diſpoſed to ſerve the King, the Situation wherein he then was, obliged him to act with all poſſible Caution. His own Miniſters did not only repreſent the Danger he was in from the Imperialiſts, but [u] *Knight* himſelf, in a Letter to the King, informs his Majeſty, " tho' every Thing was " paſſed to his Highneſs *his* Pleaſure, yet he cannot ſee, but in caſe " the ſame be put in Execution at that Time, the Pope would be " utterly undone; the Imperial Troops daily ſpoiling Caſtles and " Towns about *Rome*." But the Grounds of the Pope's Fear, on Account of their ſuperior Force, and their Depredations, are more fully and particularly ſtated in another [x] Diſpatch from the ſame Hand; which the Reader may conſult in the Collections, and wherein ſome other memorable Facts are incidentally mentioned.

18. Towards removing the Apprehenſions, wherewith the Pope was over-awed by the Imperialiſts, the Cardinal propoſes to his [y] Holineſs, in the Name of the King his Maſter and of the *French* King, that he ſhall, at their equal Expence, be furniſhed with a Guard, to conſiſt of One thouſand, fifteen hundred, or two thouſand Men. And which, might not only ſerve for the Protection and Security of his Perſon, but give greater Authority to all his Deſigns and Undertakings.

19. I ſhall not diſſemble, that according to two Extracts from the learned Collector cited by me, it was thought proper certain Influences ſhould be made uſe of at the Court of *Rome*, towards expediting the King's Affair; which, if thoſe Extracts were to be explained in the ſtricteſt Senſe, do not appear eaſily reconcileable, with the equitable Proceedure, that ought to be obſerved in all Courts of

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[t] See Coll. Nº 92.
[u] Knight *from* Orvieti, 1 Jun. 1528. James Manſ. 27.
[x] *See* Coll. Nº 93.
[y] *See* Coll. Nº 94.

Judicature. I ſhall, without any Comment, leave the Reader to make the moſt candid Judgement of them, that he apprehends the Words[z] will reaſonably bear.

20. I ſhall here take Occaſion, from the Time when it appears *Campejus* came into *England*, as one of the Judges in the King's Cauſe, to refute a Story which has been generally believed upon the Credit of *Fox*; that it was through *Cranmer*'s Advice, the King firſt propoſed to conſult the foreign Univerſities and Divines about the Legality of his Marriage, by which Means *Cranmer* firſt opened his Way to Court.

21. *Fox* is the firſt known Author of this Story; from whom it is ſuppoſed, Archbiſhop *Parker*, and all our other Hiſtorians, in whom it is found, have tranſcribed it. But from what Authority *Fox* had it, or upon what Motives he reported it, is very uncertain. This however is evident, That the Time aſſigned by him for the Conference at [a] *Waltham* with *Gardiner* and Biſhop *Fox*, was in *Auguſt*, about the Time of *Campejus* his Departure out of * *England*. The Inference from hence is clear; *Cranmer*, according to *Fox* his Account, could not be the Author of the Advice, that the King ſhould conſult the foreign Univerſities and Divines about the Legality of his Marriage: Not only becauſe the Cenſure of the Univerſity of *Orleans* bears [b] date above a Quarter of a Year before this ſuppoſed Conference at *Waltham*, but the King, in his Speech at the Palace of *Bridewell*, in the preceeding [c] Year, ſaid, before the Legates, that he had asked Counſel of the greateſt Clerks in Chriſtendom about his Marriage.

22. Theſe Reaſons appear, of themſelves, ſufficient to overthrow the Credit of that Story. But it may farther be added from *Cavendiſh*, for a final Confutation of it, that, "by the King's Leave, the "Cardinal called the Biſhops and Clergy together, to debate about "the King's Marriage; and that in this Aſſembly, it was thought "very expedient the King ſhould ſend out his Commiſſioners into "all the Univerſities in Chriſtendom, as well here in *England*, as "foreign Regions, there to have the Caſe argued ſubſtantially; "and to bring with them from thence, every Definition of their

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[z] Et trahendis Amicis in Partem Regis, verbis Pollicitationibus, & aliis modis quibuſcunque. *Capita Inſtruct. P. Vanni, & Franciſci Briani*, 1528. Et Lucrandis et attrahendis Cardinalibus, in Partem Regis, et precipue S. *Quatuor*, et Diligentia Scribendi, non purcendo Laboribus ſeu Expenſis. *De Lit. Campeg. mag. Jacobo Salviati.*

[a] Acts *and* Mon. 1860.

[b] April 5, 1529.

[c] November 1528. *See* Acts *and* Mon. p. 1050.

* In 1529.

" Opinions under the Seals of every Univerſity." And Dr. *Ackworth*, a learned Civilian, who [d] wrote againſt *Saunders*, ſays the ſame. And it is obſervable, that in the *Latin* Edition of *Fox* his *Acts and Monuments*, printed at [e] *Baſil*, he ſaith, *Cranmer* in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, ſo well acquitted himſelf in the Defence of the King's Cauſe, and made ſo many Converts, that [f] *Gardiner* thought fit to acquaint the King with it, which was the Occaſion of ſending for him.

23. As to the *Queſtion of Right*, concerning the King's Marriage, I ſhall here, as I propoſed, without delivering my private Opinion, endeavour to ſtate the Arguments, on both Sides, impartially, and to give them all the Force, wherewith they appear to have been reſpectively urged. They who argued for the Invalidity of the Marriage, grounded their Reaſons upon the Nullities, which they pretended to find in the Diſpenſation of Pope *Julius* the Second; where it is ſaid, that *Henry* and *Catherine* deſired that Marriage for the Sake of Peace: Whereas it was ſuppoſed, neither of them, at that Time, on Account of their Age, was capable of ſuch a political Thought. The Diſpute, as hath been obſerved before, was not whether the Pope had Power to grant ſuch a Diſpenſation, but whether it was not fraudulently obtained, and upon wrong Suggeſtons? But when the Lawfulneſs of the Diſpenſation itſelf came to be controverted; then the Queſtion was, Whether the Law in *Leviticus*, which forbids the Marriage of a Brother's Wife, were of a moral Nature, or only of poſitive Obligation? If of a moral Nature, it was ſaid, the Pope could not diſpenſe with it; and conſequently, the Marriage of the King was of no Effect or Validity. The Advocates for this Opinion alledged, That the *Levitical* Laws concerning Marriage, were not, in the Reaſon of them, peculiar to the *Jews*; but were obligatory at all Times, and to all Nations; as being founded upon natural Order and Decency. That Offences againſt the *Levitical* Law, reſpecting Marriage, are termed Abominations wherewith the Heathens defiled themſelves, and ſuch, who ſhould be guilty of them, were threatned with the moſt terrible Puniſhments: That theſe were the very Crimes for which the *Canaanites* were extirpated out of the Land: That neither our Saviour, nor his Apoſtles, gave any intimation, that theſe Laws were no lon-

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[d] Ann. 1573. Lib. 2. c. 19. Suaſit *Wolſeus* Regi ſui Regni Theologos ac juris peritos, etſi Authoritate ac Doctrina haud eſſent exteris inferiores, Cæſari tamen ac *Hiſpanis* haud æquos in hac Conjugis Controverſia videri, proinde per Legatos exquirendas in celebrioribus *Galliæ Italiæq;* Academicis Theologorum juris peritorumque Sententias.

[e] Ann. 1559. p. 710. c. 6.

[f] *Gardinerus* qui tum Regi erat a Secretis, Regem illico ejus Rei certiorem reddit, quemadmodum *Granmerus* quinque ex Doctoribus Arbitris in diverſam coegiſſet opinionem, itemque alios Academiæ complures.

ger obligatory; but St. *John Baptiſt* on the contrary, ſeverely reproved *Herod* for marrying his Brother's Wiſe. And the Apoſtle Saint *Paul* had ſhewed, how deteſtable ſuch Eſpouſals are, by condemning the inceſtuous *Corinthian*, who married his Father's Wiſe, as being guilty of an Action contrary to the Laws of Nature, acknowledged and practiſed by the Heathen World. To ſupport this Opinion, concerning the Unlawfulneſs of marrying a Brother's Wiſe, they alledged the Authority of ſeveral of the Fathers, and of the Council of *Neo Cæſarea*, which excommunicated every Man that ſhould marry two Siſters, and all the Women, that ſhould marry two Brothers: And the ſame Canon was enforced by a Council held under *Gregory* the Second. And that all Councils, wherein mention hath been made concerning the prohibited Degrees of Marriage, have particularly condemned the Marriage of a Brother's Wiſe, or a Siſter's Husband, as unlawful. That the Pope, Saint *Gregory* (I here cite the Arguments, and for the moſt Part the very Words of [g] *Du-Pin*) being conſulted by *Auguſtin* the Monk, whom he ſent into *England*, whether it was lawful for a Man to marry his Brother's Widow, anſwered, That theſe Sort of Marriages were forbidden, and if any Perſons, who were lately converted, had contracted any ſuch before their Converſion, they ſhould be adviſed not to accompany with their Wives: That there never was a more favourable Occaſion to diſpenſe with ſuch Marriages, than at that Time, if the Church had been really veſted with any Power to that End; That other Popes, as *Calixtus*, *Zacharias*, and *Innocent* the Third, had poſitively declared againſt ſuch Sort of Marriages, founding their Judgement upon the Prohibition in *Leviticus*, as upon a perpetual Law. In concluſion, they quoted a great Number of Schoolmen and Canoniſts, who had taught, that Contracts of Marriage within the prohibited Degrees in *Leviticus*, were void; and added, that one of the Errors condemned in *Wickliff*, was, That the Law of God did not forbid theſe Sort of Marriages.

But becauſe there might be a Diſtinction between a Marriage conſummated, and that which was not; and it was aſſerted, the Marriage between *Catherine* and *Arthur* was not conſummated, or at leaſt ſuppoſing it uncertain, whether it had been conſummated or not, there might be Reaſon to doubt, if in ſuch Caſe, the Marriage of a Brother's Widow ſhould be equally forbidden; it was added, that the Validity and Accompliſhment of a Marriage, did not neceſſarily depend on the Conſummation; but upon the mutual Conſent of the Parties. For which Reaſon it was, that *Adonijah* would not marry *Abiſha*, becauſe ſhe had been his Father *David*'s Wife, tho' he never knew her: And upon this Account it is alſo, that by the Law of *Moſes*, if a Damoſel betrothed to a Man, abandoned herſelf to another, ſhe was to be ſtoned to Death as an Adultereſs. And on this Ground it was held, there was a true Marriage, between *Joſeph* and the bleſſed Virgin. That the Councils, Fathers, and Divines, make the Eſſence of Marriage to conſiſt in the Contract, and in the Sacrament; that the moſt Judicious of the Canoniſts are of the ſame Opinion; and in ſhort, that the Conſummation of the Marriage of *Catherine* with *Arthur*, was as certainly proved, as a Fact of that Sort could poſſibly be.

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[g] Eccleſ. Hiſt. Cent. 16. B. 2.

The Queen's [b] Advocates anſwered to the Reaſons brought againſt the Diſpenſation by *Julius* the Second, That there was no Nullity in the Bull; that the Allegations in it were true; and, that the Marriage was neceſſary to the Continuance of the Peace between *Spain* and *England*, though it could not be proved *Henry* and *Catherine* had not expreſsly that Intention: that it was not neceſſary they ſhould have made this Demand of the Pope themſelves; it was enough if it was done in their Names, and they did not diſown it: that *Henry*'s Proteſtations drew no Conſequences after it, and was invalidated by the ſolemn Marriage which he afterwards proceeded to celebrate, and by his cohabiting with the Queen for ſeveral Years: that the Pope's Diſpenſation extended ſo far, as to provide for the Validity of the Marriage, in caſe the former Marriage had been really conſummated with *Arthur*, though That was uncertain, and preſumed only upon weak Conjectures; for the Queen had in open Court declared to the King, and ſolemnly appealed to his Conſcience for the Truth of what ſhe ſaid, that he had found her a Virgin, and he did not deny it: Yet, laſtly, that the Brief, which was granted at the ſame Time with the Diſpenſation, made no mention as if the Marriage had not been conſummated, but rather ſuppoſed the Conſummation of it.

But when the [i] Queſtion, about the Right of the Thing, the Legality of the Marriage itſelf, and the Power of the Pope to grant a Diſpenſation for it, came to be conſidered; they who defended the Queen's Cauſe, affirmed, the Prohibition in *Leviticus*, to marry a Brother's Wife, was not a Law of Nature, but only of poſitive Inſtitution. This *Moſes* had ſufficiently ſhewed, by commanding in *Deuteronomy*, a Brother to marry the Widow of his Brother who ſhould die without Children; an Exception, which plainly demonſtrated, that the Law might be diſpenſed with; and conſequently, however it was preſcribed as a general Law of Convenience, yet was not abſolutely, or in the ſtrict Senſe, a Law of Nature. That, before the *Moſaick* Diſpenſation, this Law was of no Force: That *Jacob* married two Siſters, *Rachel* and *Leah*; and that *Judah*, after he had married two of his Sons to *Thamar*, promiſed to her a Third: That it was not ſaid the *Canaanites* were puniſhed particularly, becauſe they did not obſerve this Prohibition, but for the Abominations, which they had in general committed: That our Lord in the *New Teſtament*, by his Anſwer to the *Sadduces*, who had propounded a Queſtion, concerning the Law of marrying the Widow of a Brother deceaſed without Iſſue, had ſufficiently expreſſed his Approbation of it: That *John the Baptiſt* reproved *Herod* for marrying his Brother's Wiſe, not ſimply on Account of that Relation, but becauſe his Brother was either yet living, or if dead, had left Children by her: That the Caſe of the inceſtuous *Corinthian* who did not marry his Brother's, but his Father's Wiſe, was very different: That notwithſtanding the Marriage of a Siſter-in-law is prohibited by the Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution, it does not therefore follow it is contrary to the Law of Nature, or that the Supreme Authority in the Eccleſiaſtical State might not diſpenſe with it: That the Fathers always looked upon the Law in *Deuteronomy*, as an Exception to that in *Leviticus*: That in the ancient apoſtolical Canons, he who married two Siſters ſucceſſively, was only put out of the Clergy; and in the Council of *Elvira*, had only three Years Penance impoſed upon him: That the Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Laws which forbid theſe Marriages, prohibit alſo Marriages within the Degrees of Conſanguinity; and that there is not certainly any Prohibition of ſuch Marriages by the Law of Nature: That the Popes, who condemned theſe Marriages, did not deprive themſelves of a Power to diſpenſe with them, in certain Caſes; though ſuch a Power was ſeldom to be exerted: That there had been, and were at that Time, many Examples of Marriages within the *Levitical* Prohibitions, which yet were acknowledged as lawful Marriages: That the Divines and Canoniſts did well, by teaching in general, that Marriages, within the Degrees prohibited by *Leviticus*, were null; but they never thought that all thoſe Degrees were prohibited by the Law of Nature; particularly, That which reſpects the Marriage of a Perſon to the Relict of his Brother, who died without Iſſue: That *Turrecremata*, one of thoſe, who had ſpoken moſt fully againſt ſuch Marriages, owns, in that Caſe, the Marriage of the Siſter-in-Law with the Brother, is not forbidden, and that the Pope may allow it: That many have made a great Diſtinction between a Marriage conſummated, and not conſummated; in the firſt Caſe there are two Impediments; One, publick Decency; the Other, carnal Affinity; whereas in the Latter, there is nothing but publick Decency.

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[b] Id. ib.

[i] Id. ib.

This very learned Doctor of the *Sorbonne*, having propoſed the Arguments on both Sides of ſo famous a Caſe, proceeds to give his own Opinion of it in the following Words, with his uſual Candour and Judgement.

“ To me it ſeems certain that the Law, is not a mere Ceremonial or political Law, which concerned the People of the *Jews* only. It is more probable it is a general Law for all Men; but it is not neceſſary, it ſhould, for that Reaſon, be of natural Right, as to all the Degrees therein forbidden: The *Jews* alledge two Reaſons for the Prohibitions of marrying within the Degrees of Conſanguinity in *Leviticus*; the One is natural Modeſty, which will not allow Fathers to marry their Children in their ſeveral Deſcents, nor Brothers their Siſters: The Other is a Fear, that Familiarity between ſuch Perſons, who, upon Account of their near Relation, are obliged to dwell together, ſhould give frequent Occaſion to criminal Liberties. The firſt Reaſon is grounded upon the Law of Nature, and concerns all thoſe who are a-kin in the direct Line, aſcending or deſcending, and alſo Brothers and Siſters, but has not the ſame Obligation upon Kinſmen in a collateral Line, and particularly as to ſuch Perſons with whom there is only a bare Affinity; and ſo the Prohibition of contracting Marriage with ſuch, is grounded upon the ſecond Reaſon only; which does not eſtabliſh a natural and indiſpenſable Law; although that Prohibition was not intended purely for the *Jews*, but in general for the Benefit of all Mankind. The Exception mentioned in *Deuteronomy*, concerns the *Jews* only, as being made only for upholding the Diſtinction of Families and Tribes of the Children of *Iſrael*. The new Law has quite abrogated that Exception; but ſtill continues the Law in *Leviticus*, which the Chriſtians have ever valued and obſerved; and it has rarely been diſpenſed with: But ſince it is not a Law of Nature, it may be diſpenſed with upon very important Reaſons. It belongs not to us to judge, whether *Julius* the Second had any ſufficient Reaſon to diſpenſe with *Henry* and *Catherine*; but we may ſay, that *Henry* having married *Catherine*, by Virtue of that Diſpenſation, and lived near [k] Twenty five Years with her, as his Wife, could not lawfully, or in Conſcience, be parted from her, that he might marry another. And indeed, it is very probable, his Attempt proceeded more from his Politicks, and his Paſſion, than from any Tenderneſs of Conſcience.

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[k] Henry VIII. *married* Catharine *of* Arragon *in*.1509, *he abſtained from her Bed in* 1525. Du Pin *ſeems to have written* 25 *for* 15, *and then 'tis only an Error of the Preſs.* Marg. Note by the Tranſlator. *Cent.* 16. p. 145.

25. The Reader may now determine for himſelf, as the Arguments on either Side appear more cogent, concerning the Merits of the Cauſe. My proper Buſineſs is to give a general Account of the Proceſs and Facts relating to it. It is certain, whether Cardinal *Wolſey*'s Opinion in the Caſe, were well or ill-grounded, he promoted the Divorce, with all the Ardor and Aſſiduity of one, who was fully perſuaded in his own Mind, concerning the Reaſonableneſs and Legality of it. Yet, with all the Intereſt and Artifice, which he made uſe of at the Court of *Rome*, he was not able to prevent a Revocation of the Suit thither, which the Emperor ſollicited. The Pope had already proceeded as far, in the Meaſures taken by him to gratify the King, as conſiſtently with his Character of an equal and indifferent Judge, could reaſonably have been expected from him; and farther perhaps, conſidering the Poſture of his Affairs, at that Time, than might well be thought to comport with the nice political Maxims, whereby the Court of *Rome* has been generally obſerved to govern itſelf. For our Ambaſſadors with the Emperor in *Spain*, having ſome time before, opened to him the Affair of the Divorce, his Imperial Majeſty expreſſed a ſenſible Concern that the King had an Intention of parting from the Queen, conjuring him by the Sacrament of Marriage, not to proceed any further in the Cauſe: But inſiſted, if the King was reſolved to proceed, the Cauſe might not be tried in *England*, but ſhould either be brought before the Pope, or a general Council; adding, he was fully convinced the Right was on the Queen's Side, and that he was reſolved to aſſert it.

25. In purſuance of this Reſolution, the Emperor, by his Ambaſſadors at *Rome*, ſollicited the Pope, to declare the Proceedings by the Legates in *England* null; to admoniſh the King to ſtop the Courſe of them, and to conſent that the Cauſe ſhould be tried at *Rome*. To theſe Propoſals the Imperial Ambaſſadors added Interminations, that the Powers who intereſted themſelves in Behalf of the Queen, would, in caſe of Incompliance by his Holineſs, have recourſe to other Meaſures.

What hindered the Pope from complying at firſt with theſe Overtures, was not ſo much any Objection againſt the Reaſonableneſs or Equity of them, as the Engagements he had brought himſelf under, by Virtue of his *Pollicitation* and the *Decretal Bull*. But at laſt, the Power of the Emperor ſo far prevailed upon the intimidated Pope, that thoſe Engagements were over-ruled, and he choſe to run the Hazard of breaking with the King. The Avocation was thereupon ſigned, and all other Proceedings upon the Cauſe in *England* prohibited, under ſevere Penalties.

26. Yet the Pope did not want as good political Reaſons to excuſe his Incompliance, and conſequently, his Breach with our Court, as have been frequently made uſe of by ſecular Princes, to juſtify the moſt bloody and deſtructive Wars. *England* and *France* had not, according to Promiſe, prevailed by their Mediation with the *Venetians*, to reſtore to his Holineſs *Cervia* and *Ravenna*. He concluded, if theſe two Powers had really interpoſed in Earneſt, the *Venetians* would not have been reluctant to their Propoſals, but theſe Towns had been reſtored according to the Expectation given to him, upon the Arrival of his Legate *Campejus* in *England*. And it has been farther aſſigned, as a Reaſon on this Occaſion, why the Pope gave ſuch expreſs Command, from which he could never be prevailed upon to recede, that the Decretal Bull ſent by that Legate, ſhould not be ſhewed to any of the King's Council. For the earneſt Requeſt which was made by our Court to that End, could not proceed from mere Curioſity, or from a Deſire of informing the Council, ſince whatever was material in the Bull, which it concerned them to know, might have been communicated by the Legates; the Pope's Refuſal therefore to have it laid before them, or any of them, proceeded from a Jealouſy, that our Court was not really ſo cordial in his Intereſts, as had been pretended. It concerned him therefore to conceal, ſo far as it was poſſible, the Grant of an Inſtrument, which, if known to be granted, would, above all Things, provoke the Indignation of an Enemy, in whoſe Power he was, and render all Methods towards an Accommodation with him impracticable.

27. It appears from a [l] Letter to the Cardinal by *Bennet*, *Caſſali*, and *Vannes* at *Rome*, that to the Arguments uſed by the Imperialiſts, whereof an ample Account is there given to oblige the Pope to recall the Cauſe, they added Menaces; which, with the melancholly Circumſtances the Pope was under, and the Conſideration of which he then ſaid to them, might, to a magnanimous Prince, if he had not been ſo far prepoſſeſſed already with a foreign Paſſion, have rendered the Conduct of his Holineſs, at leaſt more excuſeable.

28. But the Pope apprehending how much his Compliance in this Article with the Emperor would be reſented by King *Henry*, thought fit, in a Letter to the Cardinal, to make an Apology for himſelf, the Import of which was, " The Neceſſity of his Affairs, " to his great Regret, and much contrary to his Inclination, had

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[l] Vit. B. xi.

" compelled him to revoke the Cauſe to *Rome*: But that this did
" not leſſen his Senſe of the King's Merits, and of the great Obli-
" gations his Majeſty had laid upon him. He deſires the Cardinal
" to acquaint his Majeſty, with the great Affliction which this
" Procedure had occaſioned to him; to uſe his Intereſt, that the
" King's former Zeal and Affection for the apoſtolick See may not
" be diſcontinued; and to aſſure his Majeſty, he ſhould have the
" ſame Regard for him, that he had ever hitherto entertained.

29. But before the Avocation was ſigned at *Rome*, *Campejus* had received Inſtructions, to which he artfully enough conformed, that he ſhould, by all convenient Methods, retard the Courſe of the Tryal. He ſaid it would not be for his Majeſty's Honour, were the Legates to act with Precipitation; and they, who favoured the Queen's Cauſe, would certainly take Advantage of ſuch a Procedure: They ſought therefore to protract the Suit by ſucceſſive Delays, adjourning the Court from Day to Day, and handling Matters ſo ſlowly, that they kept off the Expectation of Judgement to the Twenty-third of *July*; upon which Day, there was a great Appearance in Court, and it was generally thought Sentence would have been given. But to the great Surpriſe of the Audience, the Court, inſtead of coming to a Deciſion, was adjourned by *Campejus* to the Firſt of *October* following; notwithſtanding the Motion that was made at the Bar, for Judgement, by the King's Council. The Reaſons which *Campejus* gave for this Adjournment, are recited by *Cavendiſh* in the following Speech, which he reports was made by that Legate. " I will not give Judgement, until I have related
" the whole Proceedings to the Pope, whoſe Counſel and Com-
" mandment I will in this Caſe obſerve: The Matter is too high
" for us to give haſty Judgement, conſidering the Perſons, and the
" doubtful Occaſions alledged, and alſo whoſe Commiſſioners we
" are by whoſe Authority we ſit.

" There is good Reaſon, therefore, that we make our chief Lord
" of Counſel in the ſame, before we proceed to Judgement defini-
" tive: I am not to pleaſe, for any Favour, Reward, or Fear of any
" Perſon alive; be he King or otherwiſe; I have no ſuch Reſpect to
" the Perſon, that I ſhould offend my Conſcience; and the Party De-
" fendant will make no Anſwer here, but rather doth appeal from us.
" I am an old Man, both weak and ſickly, and look every Day for
" Death; what ſhall it avail me, to put my Soul in Danger to my
" utter Damnation, for the Favour of any Prince in this World?
" My being here, is only to ſee Juſtice adminiſtred according to my
" Conſcience.

“ The Defendant ſuppoſeth, that we be not indifferent Judges, “ conſidering the King's high Dignity and Authority within this “ Realm; and we being both his Subjects, ſhe thinks we will not “ do her Juſtice: And therefore, to avoid all theſe *Ambiguities*, I “ adjourn the Court for the Time, according to the Court of *Rome*, “ from whence our Juriſdiction is derived: For if we ſhould go “ further than our Commiſſion doth warrant us, it were but a “ Folly and blameworthy. Becauſe then we ſhall be Breakers of “ the Orders, from which we have (as I ſaid) our Authority de-“ rived.

30. Whatever the perſonal Qualifications of Cardinal *Campejus* might have been, his Sentiments in this Speech, were juſt, pious, and ſublime; his Reaſonings inſinuating, but forcible, and his Manner in every Reſpect becoming the Character of a Judge. It will be difficult perhaps to find any where an Inſtance, ancient or modern, in the Oratory of the Bar, where more is expreſſed with greater Strength and Simplicity in ſo few Words; except the following Paſſage may ſeem to require an Explication, *I adjourn the Court for the Time, according to the Court of* Rome. By which, this Legate intended, that he ſat there with his Collegue, as part of the Conſiſtory at *Rome*, and ought therefore to be governed by the Rules of that Court. Now he declared, according to Biſhop [m] *Burnet*, tho' *Cavendiſh* has omitted this Circumſtance, that there was a Vacation from that Time to *October*, during which Interval, no Cauſes were heard.

31. Upon the Adjournment, the Duke of *Suffolk* ſtood up, *Cavendiſh* ſaith by commandment of the King, and with a haughty Countenance declared, *It was never ſo in* England, *until we had Cardinals among us*. Theſe Words were ſpoken with an Emotion, and accompanied with *opprobrious* Terms, that ſurpriſed the Audience.

31. Cardinal *Wolſey* obſerving the Vehemency wherewith the Duke was agitated, and thinking himſelf perſonally affected, made a ſober Reply in the following Words. “ Sir, of all Men in this “ Realm, you have leaſt Cauſe to diſpraiſe Cardinals; for if I poor “ Cardinal had not been, you would not at this preſent have had “ a Head on your Shoulders, wherewith to make ſuch a Brag in “ Diſpute of us, who meant you no Harm; neither have given “ you ſuch Cauſe to be offended with us. I would have you think,

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[m] See *Hiſt. Reform.* Part 1. p. 76, 77.

" my Lord, I and my Brother wiſh the King as much Happineſs,
" and the Realm as much Honour, Wealth, and Peace, as you,
" or any other Subject, of what Degree ſoever he be, within this
" Realm, and would as gladly accompliſh his lawful Deſires.

" And now, my Lord, I pray you, ſhew me, what you would do
" in ſuch a Caſe as this, if you were one of the King's Commiſſioners in a foreign Region, about ſome weighty Matter, the
" Conſultation whereof were very doubtful to be decided; would
" you not advertiſe the King's Majeſty 'ere you went through with
" the ſame? I doubt not but you would; and therefore abate your
" Malice and Spight, and conſider we are Commiſſioners for a
" Time, and cannot by Virtue of our Commiſſion proceed to
" Judgement, without the Knowledge and Conſent of the Head
" of the Authority and Licenſe obtained from him, who is the
" Pope.

" Therefore do we neither more nor leſs, than our Commiſſion
" alloweth; and if any Man will be offended with us, he is an unwiſe Man: Therefore pacify your ſelf, my Lord, and ſpeak like
" a Man of Honour and Wiſdom (or hold your Peace): Speak
" not reproachfully of your Friends; you beſt know what Friendſhip
" I have ſhewn you which I never did reveal to any Perſon 'till now,
" either to mine own Praiſe, or your Diſhonour." Whereupon, ſaith *Cavendiſh*, the Duke went his Way, and ſaid no more, being much diſcontented.

32. If we may judge concerning the Temper of the Cardinal from this Speech, he did not want Spirit: He vindicates the Honour of his Character, and the Juſtice of his Proceedings, with a generous and becoming Freedom. It is another Queſtion, Whether the Provocation offered to him, was ſufficient to juſtify his reproaching the Duke of *Suffolk*, by ſo open an Inſinuation, with one of the greateſt and moſt diſhonourable Crimes, That of Ingratitude. But that the Charge itſelf had ſome good Foundation, tho' the Fact upon which it was founded, is ſtill unknown, may very reaſonably be inferred from the Duke's withdrawing out of Court, without making any Anſwer to it. We ought not to ſuppoſe, that a Nobleman of the firſt Rank, who had ſuſtained the firſt military Poſt in the Army, and was of a martial, warm, and active Diſpoſition, would, if unjuſtly charged, have been ſo very paſſive, under ſo high and publick an Imputation. When he commanded our Army in *France*, he had the Misfortune, upon a Suſpicion of Miſconduct, to fall under the King's Diſpleaſure: But as it hath not appeared, that he did any Thing in that Command, which could affect his Life, no Conjecture ought to be formed,

that the Cardinal here refers to any Interpoſition, which he made in the Duke's Favour at Court, on that Account. Whatever the particular Occaſion might be, of which the Cardinal here reminds the Duke, that Prince had yet a higher Obligation to his Eminency, if any Obligation could be higher, than that of ſaving his Life: The greateſt Glory and Happineſs of it, was owing to the Cardinal's good Offices. It was principally through his Mediation, the Duke had married the Queen-Dowager of *France*, Siſter to King *Henry*, one of the fineſt Ladies, and the moſt celebrated Beauty in either Court. But what are all the Profeſſions and Ties of Friendſhip, which is not founded in Principles of ſtrict Honour and Vertue? Here we have an Inſtance of a great Prince, reflecting in opprobrious Terms, upon a Perſon, to whom he owed his Life, and more than Life; not provoked by any great, or ſlight Affront, for even *that* is ſometimes ſufficient to break the whole Contexture of a Court-friendſhip; but for a Reaſon, which ought to have recommended him ſtill more to the Duke's Eſteem and Affection. He had given no other Offence, but becauſe he was now reſolved to act, as became an upright Judge, and agreeably to the Truſt repoſed in him, and as Conſcienee and Equity directed him. If he was on any Account culpable in the Conduct of this Affair, his Crime ſeems to have conſiſted in hitherto eſpouſing the King's Cauſe, with too partial and violent a Zeal: But becauſe he would not go all the Lengths the Court expected; becauſe he felt a juſt Regret in his Mind at the Apprehenſion of exceeding his Orders, and of pronouncing a raſh or unjuſt Sentence, and was at laſt determined to hearken unto God, and the ſecret Admonitions of his own Heart, rather than unto Men, he is reproached, in open Court, by the very Perſon, who ought, above all Men living, to have protected him from all Manner of Inſults.

If theſe are the Conditions of a Commerce at Court, or there is no Dependance on any Friendſhip there, but what is founded in ſome common Intereſt, and continues ſo long only as that Intereſt ſubſiſts; a Man of Honour would chuſe rather to retire with St. *Jerome* into a remote Wilderneſs; or with *Simeon Stilites*, to chain himſelf upon the Summit of ſome high Mountain, expoſed to the Inclemency of the Seaſons, yet where he could breath the open Air with a good Conſcience, rather than enjoy all the pompous and ſoft Delights in royal Palaces, on the wretched Terms of a blind ſervile Obedience, in breach of the ſacred Ties of Juſtice, of Honour, and of Friendſhip.

33. Yet the Cardinal very well underſtood, how far an obſequious and flexible Temper was neceſſary to any one, who would

maintain himſelf at Court in ſome competent Degree of Favour or Reſpect; particularly he was not wanting, on ſuch Occaſions, wherein he might give thoſe real Proofs of Zeal for his Maſter's Service, which an honeſt Man, faithfully devoted to his Intereſts, could give. But he very well knew, at the ſame Time, how to diſtinguiſh between the *mechanical* Rules of a courtly Behaviour, and ſuch, as are founded on a real and internal Principle of Vertue. In reducing the former Rules to Practice, very wicked and corrupt Men are frequently obſerved to excel: But there is not perhaps an equal Number of Perſons, who ſtrictly inquire into the true Reaſons of moral Vertue, and propoſe to regulate their Behaviour by thoſe Reaſons, and by *them* only.

CHAP. X.

1. *The more immediate Cauſe of the Cardinal's declining in the King's Favour, tho' he had received ſpecial Marks after the Suit of the Divorce was commenced.* 2. *Letter relating to the Biſhoprick of* Durham, *and the Cardinal's Coinage there.* 3. *Other of his Coins, and of his Tranſlation to* Wincheſter; *with ſome Account of* Annates. 4. *And a ſhort Diſſertation concerning the Divine Right, which the Clergy have to a competent Maintenance.* 5, 6. *Reaſons for inſiſting on that Article.* 7. *Several of our Kings had oppoſed the papal Exactions.* 8. *The politick Expedient in Relation to them, of which ſome of the Popes made uſe.* 9. *The Cardinal's Inſtallment at* Wincheſter, *and his Collations there.* 10. *His laſt Effort for the Papacy.* 11, 12. *Of a Deſign to erect Monaſteries into Epiſcopal Seats.* 13. Clement Spelman *cited in Reference to Sacrilege.* 14. *And* Godwyn *to the Conduct of* Campejus *and the Cardinal in the Matter of the Divorce.* 15. *A large Extract from that Prelate, wherein he hath given an Account of the Cardinal's Adminiſtration, very honorary to him.* 16. *Reflections upon it.*

1. AFTER the Court for trying the King's Cauſe was adjourned, or rather diſſolved, the Cardinal began ſenſibly 1529. to decline in the King's Favour; tho' he had done every Thing that could be expected from him, except he had reſolved to ſtick at nothing. But during the Courſe of the Tryal, and while he appeared ſo zealous in promoting the King's Cauſe, *Ann Bolein* her ſelf either was entirely reconciled to him, notwithſtanding the Offence which had been given on Occaſion of his breaking the Contract between her and the Lord *Piercy*; or elſe ſhe ſo artfully diſſembled her

Reſentments, that in three [n] Letters ſhe wrote to him, there are all the Appearances of a ſincere Friendſhip and tender Concern for him; and it is probable his Aſſiduity, and Earneſtneſs in ſolliciting the Divorce, had not only, for ſome Time, while the Cauſe was depending, obliterated the Senſe of all former Injuries in the Mind of this Lady; but given him as great an Intereſt in the King, as ever he had before; inſomuch, that the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter* falling now vacant by the Death of *Fox*, the Cardinal was tranſlated from *Durham* to it. According to the exact Order of Hiſtory, I ſhould have mentioned that high Dignity conferred on him upon his Removal from the Biſhoprick of *Bath*, where his Regiſter ends *March* 3, 1521; and of which he had been made perpetual [o] Commendatory; *Richard Wolman* being appointed his Vicar-general, but upon the Death of Biſhop *Ruthal*, he left *Wells* and took *Durham*. There is a memorable Fact, which is ſaid to have haſtened the Death of that Prelate wherein the Cardinal was concerned: He was commanded by the King to write a Book concerning the State of the Kingdom, and to deliver it, when finiſhed, to the Cardinal: But he had written another Book concerning the State of his own Affairs, covered and ſtitched ſo exactly after the ſame Manner, that one of them could not, upon ſight, be diſtinguiſhed from the other. Having ordered his Servant to bring him a Book covered with white Parchment, he brought that relating to the Biſhop's private Affairs, which, without looking in it, he delivered to the Cardinal; who afterward diſcovering the Miſtake, was much pleaſed; telling the King, if his Majeſty had occaſion for Money, he might now know where to be ſupplied; for it appeared by that Prelate's own Account, that he was worth a 100,000 *l.* an immenſe Sum at that Time: So ſoon as the Biſhop perceived his Error, he was ſeized with ſuch a [p] Grief, that it is ſaid to have haſtened his Death.

2. There is a Letter from Doctor *Francklin* at *Durham* to the Cardinal, which I have added in the Collections, relating to certain Rights of that Biſhoprick (which poſſibly may be ſtill of ſome Uſe) and to the Cardinal's Mint there for Coinage of Money; as he had a Preſs by Commiſſion from the King to the ſame End at *York*, as well as a Patent for the Office of *Royal Exchange*: for I find in the [q] *Cotton* Library, in anſwer to the Queſtion, "Why and when the Officer "of *Royal-Exchange* ceaſed?" *It is anſwered*, "The Execution

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[n] *Addit. Pap.*

[o] Tullman's *Pap.* C. C. C. Ox.

[p] *In the Year* 1522, What. Vol. I. 780.

[q] Tit. B. V. Fol. 370. b.

“ thereof ceaſed in the Time of King *Henry* the Eighth, when Car-
“ dinal *Wolſey* had a Patent thereof, but did not long continue the
“ Execution thereof, by Reaſon of the Abundance and Con-
“ fuſion of falſe Money, whereby no certain Exchange could be
“ made.”

3. I have added Prints of ſome few of thoſe Coins that have come to my Hand, which the Reader may peruſe, at the End of the *Introduction*. Upon the Death of Biſhop *Fox*, the Cardinal quitted *Durham* for *Wincheſter*; the Bulls for which, *Peter Vannes* writes from *Rome*, could not be expedited at leſs Expence, than Thirteen thouſand Ducats; and that the Pope could not by any Entreaties, be induced to recede from that [r] Demand. In another Letter, it appears the Ambaſſadors endeavoured to mitigate that Sum, upon a Suggeſtion, that the Cardinal by that Means would be ſooner induced to reſign *Durham*; on which Occaſion there would be more than an Equivalent for what ſhould be remitted on Account of [ſ] *Wincheſter*; the Firſt Fruits of *Durham* amounting to Nine thouſand Florins. Theſe Firſt Fruits were called *Annates*, becauſe they were as One in Ten to the Proportion of yearly Profits ariſing from eccleſiaſtical Benefices; as the Tenths were in a like Proportion to the Firſt Fruits anciently paid to the Pope for the Support of his Dignity, not only in *England*, but through all the Weſtern Patriarchate. His Holineſs, as Paſtor of all other Paſtors, claiming the Tenth Part of the Tenths appropriated to the ſupreme Paſtoral Charge; and his Title to them was founded on Pretence of a divine Claim, after the Example of the High Prieſt of the *Jews*, who by God's ſpecial Appointment had Tenths of the *Levites*. Now, tho' it is a good Rule, where we have no poſitive Command to regulate the exact Meaſures of any Duty, that we ſhould follow the beſt Precedents, and eſpecially, if that can be found, a divine Precedent; yet the Circumſtances of Times, Places, and the principal Deſign in any former Appointment, ſhould alſo be very carefully conſidered.

4. If we examine the Reaſons upon which God appointed Tythes under the *Moſaick* Law, it was to ſupport the *Levitical* Order, not only after a Manner, which might preſerve the Miniſters of it from Contempt and ſervile Dependencies, but enable them to diſcharge their Function, without involving themſelves in ſecular or foreign Affairs. The Reaſon for ſuch a Support is certainly the ſame, if not greater, under the chriſtian Diſpenſation. As the Adminiſtrations proper to a Religion, the Worſhip whereof conſiſts

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[r] Coll. N° 96. *a*.

[ſ] Coll. N° 96. *b*.

in *Spirit and in Truth*, whoſe Doctrines are more ſublime, and whoſe Morality is more extenſive and refined, require a greater Abſtraction of Mind, than ſeemed on all Accounts abſolutely neceſſary under a Diſpenſation, which conſiſted ſo much in outward Obſervances, and in Obedience to a *carnal* Commandment. So that admitting the *Jewiſh* Law did not oblige Chriſtians, by Virtue of a Divine Authority, in reſpect to Tythes; yet ſo far I will preſume to ſay, every Perſon regularly ordained in the chriſtian Church to miniſter in Things pertaining to God, has a *Divine Right* to ſuch a Maintenance as is neceſſary to preſerve his Character, in ſuch a Manner, as may enable him to attain thoſe Ends of his Miniſtry, which God deſigned he ſhould attain, when he received his miniſterial Commiſſion. Such Endowments therefore, which have been granted by chriſtian Princes or States to the Church, are not to be conſidered as mere arbitrary Donations reſumable, from the Church, at Pleaſure; but as Grants, in conſequence of that Obedience, which Princes owe to the Order and Appointment of God. For wherever God Wills any End, and his Will is by any Means, either from the Reaſon of the Thing, or the Deſign of any former poſitive Law, notified to us; ſuch a Notification is to be conſidered by us, as having, in Effect, the Force of an expreſs and divine Law. Accordingly the Apoſtle in the[t] *New Teſtament*, founds the Right of a competent Maintenance for the Miniſtry, both in the Reaſon of the Thing and the *Moſaick* Inſtitution. The State may not only prohibit the Payment of Tythes, but of every Thing neceſſary to the Support of the Miniſtry; and ſo they may prohibit Parents to contribute any Thing towards the Education or Maintenance of their Children; but it would be a very falſe Conſequence to infer, that the Right therefore which Children have to be educated by their Parents, proceeds from an Act of mere Favour in the State, which they may cancel or revoke at Pleaſure: The Argument will equally, and unanſwerably hold, as well in one Caſe, as in the other: And therefore, let no Perſon, out of any falſe or ſervile Obſequiouſneſs, ſay; much leſs let it be ſaid by any of the Children of *Levi*, that the Clergy eat the *King*'s Bread, except in the ſame Senſe that Children eat the Bread of their Parents. Bread, which the Parents indeed provide, but which, according to the *Order* of Nature, and the *Reaſon* of the Thing, they are obliged to provide. As to ſuch *Donations* which the Piety of good Princes hath, at any Time, induced them to make to the Church; which are deſigned to add greater Honour and Luſtre to it; and which they were not ſtrictly bound to grant, towards the neceſſary Support of particular Eccleſiaſticks; tho' they ought to be highly applauded for ſuch additional Marks of their Favour and Eſteem for the Order; yet I will not preſume to ſay, ſuch Donations are abſolutely inalienable, in caſe the State be reduced to any imminent Danger of being ſubverted. I only contend for a *Divine* Right to ſuch a Maintenance at leaſt to the Clergy, and to *every* Clergyman in particular, as is neceſſary to qualify him for the Diſcharge of that Office, which is conferred on him by a divine Appointment, in the Station, wherein he is placed; otherways, which cannot without Blaſphemy be admitted, it might be at any Time, in the Power, juſtly in the Power of Man, to oppoſe and fruſtrate the Deſign of God.

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[t] 1 Cor. ix. 7, 11. Gal. vj. 6. 1 Cor. ix. 13, 14.

5. I have longer inſiſted upon this Article, to ſhew, whatever juſt Grounds of Complaint there were againſt the Court of *Rome*, in the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth, on Account of thoſe Exactions, that were made by it, in reſpect to Firſt Fruits or Tenths, whereby the Treaſure of the Nation was continually exhauſted; and whatever juſt Grounds the ſupreme Authority of this Nation had to withdraw thoſe Payments for the Future; yet there appeared no Manner of Neceſſity for annexing to the temporal State, the Revenues ariſing from eccleſiaſtical Preferments, tho' they had been formerly diverted into a wrong Channel; eſpecially, when we conſider, how great a Number of Clergy there was at that Time in *England*, unprovided of any competent Support. Had thoſe Subſtractions, that were made from the Court of *Rome*, been applied to augment the poor Vicarages and other Cures throughout the Nation; many of which do not afford an Income, as they have been purloined, equal to that of the meaneſt Mechanick; this had been an Act of Piety indeed, which would have added a Luſtre to the Reformation, that, in the Opinion of many good and religious Perſons, it has been thought very much to want.

6. It ought not to be diſſembled, that ſome Advances have been lately made, towards obviating future Scandal to the Reformation, on this Account. And the Progreſs of ſo good a Work, gives Ground to hope, that what has been defective in any former Appointments towards the Support of the Clergy, will, by the Bleſſing of God, be, one Time or other, ſupplied in ſuch a Manner, that the Incompetency of the Proviſion made for them, may no where expoſe them to the Reproach of Poverty; the greateſt Crime, that can be laid to their Charge, and which will render, and always hath rendered their Miniſtry more deſpiſed, than all other Crimes whatever.

7. But to return to the Demands of the Court of *Rome* before the Reformation: By Reaſon of the Sums exported on the forementioned and other Accounts, the Kingdom was ſo much exhauſted, that notwithſtanding the Claim of Divine Right, ſeveral of our Kings prohibited the Payment of them; particularly [u] King *Edward* the Third forbid the Pope's Nuncio to collect the Firſt Fruits: And it appears from ſeveral Collections by [x] *Coke*, that the Pope's Collectors were under ſevere Prohibitions: And he obſerves, that in one Statute, to remedy that Grievance, it was termed a horrible [y] Miſchief and damnable Cuſtom; and by another [z] Parliament, a very *Novelty*.

8. The Popes obſerving that ſome of our Kings were more reluctant to theſe Payments, than others; that they might not totally endanger the Loſs of ſo conſiderable a Revenue, as ſome have thought, but as others, out of Regard to the Exigency of their Affairs, and any ill State to which the Government was accidentally reduced, would make a Ceſſion of the Firſt Fruits, for a leſs or longer Time, as the Occaſion might require. An Inſtance we have of this Remiſſion in Pope *Urban*, who aſſigned them to [a] *Richard* the Second, towards ſupporting him in his Wars againſt the *French* King. This was a well-deſigned Expedient, both to facilitate a cuſtomary Payment from the People, and to engage the Kings to approve it: ſeeing at any Time, in caſe of Neceſſity, they might propoſe to make their own Advantage by it. But the Parliament, in the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth, would no longer truſt to the Pope's Benevolence, or depend on him for a Subſidy, as a Favour, which in their Legiſlative Capacity, it was apprehended they might reſume and transfer to the Crown. Afterwards a [b] Court was erected for regulating the Payment of Firſt Fruits, but which was diſſolved in the firſt Year of Queen *Mary*; who yet did not give them again to the Pope, but diſcharged the Clergy from Payment of them, by Authority of Parliament.

Afterward, in the Beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, they were reſtored to the Crown; tho' the Court was never reſtored; but the *Court of Exchequer* had the Direction of them, and a new Office, with an Officer, called a *Remembrancer of the Firſt Fruits and Tenths of the Clergy* was created, with whom Compoſitions for them are made, and who iſſues out Proceſs againſt ſuch as neglect Payment.

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[u] 2 Edw. 3. Clauſ. Rot. m. 425. Edw. 3. Edw. 3.
[x] Juriſdict. of Courts, cap. 14.
[y] Stat. 2 Hen. 4. c. 1.
[z] 1 Rich. 2. *See* Romiſh Horſeleech.
[a] Id. ex. Pol. Virg. Hiſt. L. 20.
[b] Stat. 32 Hen. 8.

9. The Cardinal was inſtalled, as appears from the authentick [c] Inſtrument referred to in the Margin, at *Wincheſter*, on the eleventh Day of *April*, in the Year 1529; but whether Perſonally, or by Proxy, the Record doth not mention: Mr. *Fullman*'s manuſcript Papers ſay, he was inſtalled by Proxy. The Number of Perſons collated by him, in Right of his being Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, was not conſiderable; I have added, however, a [d] Copy of thoſe who were collated to any eccleſiaſtical Benefices by him. Not but that ſeveral other Collations were made there, during the Time he continued Biſhop; yet, not in Virtue of his own, but of the King's or the Court's Nomination: For I find in the *Cotton* Library, that the King, after the Cardinal fell into Diſgrace, ſent a [e] Commiſſion to him to ſign, whereby he is reſtrained from making any more Preſentations in the Dioceſe of *Wincheſter*; which ſhould not be made, otherways, than by the King's commandment; but by what good Authority ſuch a Prohibition was or could be made, I have not been able to learn.

10. Some time before Things were in ſo bad a Situation with reſpect to the Cardinal, he had Intelligence from our Ambaſſadors at *Rome*, that the Pope was ſick, and in great Danger, with the private Means they had of obſerving what paſſed in relation to the State of his Diſtemper and Affairs: Upon which, he wrote a [f] Letter to *Gardiner*, under the Title of Doctor *Stephens* then at *Rome*, ſolliciting the Divorce; the Arguments which he uſed to recommend himſelf to the Popedom, and the Methods he directs ſhould be taken towards the Succeſs of this laſt Effort for the Papal Chair, which are not to be ſcrupulouſly examined, may be ſeen in the [g] Letter: But the Recovery of Pope *Clement*, rendered all the Meaſures taken to this End ineffectual.

11. The King, by our Ambaſſadors now at *Rome*, requeſts, that the Pope would by Bull, ſuppreſs ſeveral of the larger and beſt endowed Monaſteries in great Towns, towards erecting them into Epiſcopal Seats. In a Letter to the two Legates, his Holineſs expreſſeth his Deſire to oblige the King in his Requeſt; and to en-

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[c] Anno 1529, Anno Sexto Clementis Papæ menſe Aprilis 11°. venerabilis & egregius vir Mr. — Wilhelmus Britten utriuſque Juris Doctor, Capellanus, Conſiliarius, & Procurator Reverendiſſimi in Chriſto Patris D. Dom. Thomæ Miſeratione divina Tituli Sanctæ Ceciliæ Sacroſanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ Presbyteri Cardinalis, Eborum Archiepiſcopi, Apoſtolicæ ſedis etiam de Latere Legati, Angliæ Primatis & Cancellarii & Eccleſiæ & Epiſcopatus Wintonienſis Adminiſtratoris perpetui per Obitum Bonæ Memoriæ Richardi Epiſcopi Wintonienſis Inſtallatus fuit.

[d] See Collect. N° *97*.

[e] See Collect. N° *98*.

[f] See Collect. N° *99. a*

[g] See Collect. N° *99. b*.

quire how the Scheme may be rendered practicable; and afterwards ſent a [b] Commiſſion to erect as many Biſhopricks upon that Scheme, as might be judged convenient.

12. I find alſo two [i] Extracts among the Manuſcripts of Dr. *James*; One relating to the Erection of Cathedral-Churches upon diſſolved Monaſteries; the Other, to the Lands ariſing from them to be ſettled upon the College at *Windſor*, and the *King's College* in *Cambridge*; the Latter giving an Account of a certain Doubt moved by the Pope, on that Occaſion.

13. But I ſhall not enter upon any further Inquiry, concerning the Legality of ſuch Alienations, if they ought not rather to be termed, where they are really better applied, tranſlations from Uſes pious and beneficent, to Uſes more pious and beneficent. And as I do not deſign to reſume this Subject again, in the Sequel of my Work; I ſhall only take Occaſion to add two Obſervations concerning the Hiſtory of Sacrilege in general, from the Preface of *Clement Spelman* to Sir *Henry Spelman*'s [k] Book upon that Subject; the First of which has relation to the Cardinal, the Second to Pope *Clement* the Seventh, ſo often mentioned in this Hiſtory. "The Cardinal, in diſſolving his forty Monaſteries, had uſed the Help of five Men (beſides *Cromwell*) whereof two afterwards fought a Duel, in which one was ſlain, and the Survivor hanged for Murder; ſo each died guilty of his own and the others Blood. A Third becomes, *Judas* like, his own Executioner; for throwing himſelf into a Well, he is there drowned. The Fourth, a great rich Man (to whom nothing is ſo terrible as Poverty) lives to beg his Bread from Door to Door. The Fifth a Biſhop, cruelly murthered in *Ireland*, by *Thomas Fitz-Garret*, Son to the Earl of *Kildare*.

"*Clement* the Seventh, after his voluntary Conſent to deſtroy poor religious Houſes, is himſelf forced out of his ſtately Palace at *Rome*, and being beſieged in his Caſtle of Saint *Angelo*, is there conſtrained to eat Aſſes Fleſh; and taking ſuch Conditions as a victorious Enemy would give, is driven to plunder his own Church to pay an Enemy's Army; and at laſt dies wretchedly of a miſerable Diſeaſe."

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[b] Coll. Eccleſ. Hiſt. P. 2. p. 31.

[i] Tum ex Rationibus a Domino Stephano dictis ſenſi ſuæ Sanctitati tantum eſſe perſuaſum ut diceret, forte erit bona iſta erectio Cathedralium, & correctio monaſteriorum. John Caſſal. Romæ, 1 Nov. —— Ponderat etiam illa verba Dominus D. noſter ubi dicitur neceſſe eſſe ſupprimere pro Sereniſſimi Regis Collegio Monaſteria cujuſcunque Ordinis; illud inquam *cujuſcunque Ordinis* ponderavit. Ib. Cod. Man. James 27.

[k] De non temerandis Eccleſiis.

14. But I return to the Hiſtory of the Divorce, concerning which, *Godwyn* reports, *Campejus* kept Matters relating to it, for ſome Time, in ſuſpenſe; that, in caſe of the Pope's Death, he might, poſſibly, obtain an Enlargement of his Powers; and by that Means be rendered more capable of doing acceptable Service to the King; having, upon his being preferred to the Biſhoprick of *Salisbury*, aſſured his Majeſty, that all Things ſhould ſucceed to his Deſires; and fearing, if the Event ſhould prove otherways, he ſhould at once incur the Imputation of being falſe and ungrateful. But ſo ſoon as he received Advice of the Pope's Recovery, not daring to diſpute, he obeyed his Commands, and caſt the Decretal Bull into the Fire. While the King, inflamed more and more with a Deſire of poſſeſſing the Object of his Love, and impatient of the leaſt Delay that obſtructed it, obſerving, the Face of Things, in reſpect to his Cauſe, was ſenſibly changed, reſolved to ſearch out and diſcover the whole Secret of the Matter: And *then* it was, the Cardinal felt the ſevereſt Effects of the King's Diſpleaſure; who having hitherto, during the Courſe of his Reign, been attended with almoſt an uninterrupted Flow of Succeſs, by Means of his Advice and Conduct, he principally attributed it to him, if not to him only, that this great Affair, the Affair, above all others, of his Inclination, had not terminated more happily.

15. The Reflections which the learned Prelate beforementioned makes, on this Occaſion, appear ſo juſt and reaſonable, that I ſhall endeavour, for the Entertainment of the Reader, who may not underſtand the Original, to render them in *Engliſh*; tho' I am ſenſible they will, by the Verſion, loſe much of that Force and Beauty, wherein this Author excelled, when he wrote in the *Latin* Tongue.

" The Cardinal had now, for the Space of twenty Years, ſerved
" the King, with the greateſt Zeal and Aſſiduity; having ſo
" happily diſcharged his Truſt, that he both acquired to himſelf great
" Power and Wealth, and to his Maſter, the Character of a moſt excellent
" Sovereign. When I reflect, with how much Glory *Henry*
" the Eighth had hitherto reigned, and then caſt my Eye forward
" upon the ſubſequent Diſorders of his Reign, I readily approve the
" Judgement of thoſe, who aſcribe it to the Counſels of Cardinal
" *Wolſey*, that his former Adminiſtration had rendered him ſo
" much revered by all the crowned Heads in *Europe*; if I might not
" rather obſerve, ſo formidable to them. I ſhall not pretend to
" aſſign the ſpecifick Reaſons, why, after the Diſgrace of this Miniſter,
" the King put two of his Wifes to Death; divorced two other;

“ and condemned many Perſons, merely on Account of their religious Principles, to capital Puniſhment; among whom ſeveral were eminent for their great Merit; the Papiſts being ſentenced to the Gallows, and Hereticks, for that was the Diſtinction of thoſe Times, to the Flames; and laſtly, that he had made ſuch terrible Devaſtation of the Patrimony of the Church, or, if ſome will rather chuſe to call it ſo, of the State. This I will adventure to ſay, that if Cardinal *Wolſey* had ſtill been at the Helm, he would never have ſuffered the State to be driven like a Ship without a Pilot, by contrary Winds and Courſes, upon ſo many dangerous Rocks. But the Cardinal's Greatneſs having been ſuch, that himſelf was ſcarce able to ſuſtain the Weight of it; even tho' it had not been rendered ſtill leſs ſupportable, on Account of the Envy, which his great Power and Riches had drawn upon him, no ſooner began to decline in the King's Favour, and to feel the Effects of his Diſpleaſure; but being equally ſurpriſed and terrified, as if he had unexpectly met a Lyon in the Way, was ſo much depreſſed, that tho' he made certain Efforts towards riſing again, he was never afterwards able to ſtand erect. Neither, after the King was thus once alienated, had the Cardinal ever a Permiſſion to come into his Preſence. Of ſo great Force was Calumny in his Enemies, if I might not ſay, conſidering his vaſt Riches, of Avarice, where it ought not to be named, than the Remembrance of his paſt Services, and the moſt faithful, diligent, and obſequious Behaviour, whereby he had advanced the King's Glory, and his own Reputation, for a Courſe of ſeveral Years. Yet, as I am not ignorant, neither ſhall I diſſemble, that ſeveral high Crimes were laid to his Charge; which yet did not appear to be founded upon ſuch very cogent Reaſons, but a Man, of no extraordinary Penetration, might eaſily diſcover, they were exhibited by his Enemies: Neither had any Man, at that Time, ſhould the Cardinal have been really chargeable with them, either the Courage or Honour to form an Accuſation againſt him, before he fell under the Diſpleaſure of the King, and was continually menaced and reproached by him, becauſe the Affair of the Divorce had not ſucceeded according to his Majeſty's Expectation and Deſire; who, having obſerved the dilatory Proceedings, or rather Prevarication of the Pope, and finding no certain Way out of the Labyrinth, wherein he had been involved for the Space of almoſt five Years, was now determined, at any Rate, to break through Matters of Form; and to effect by Force, what could not be obtained in an ordinary Method; and ſo, with the *Grecian* Heroe, to cut the Knot, which he could not untie. Taking therefore an Occaſion of conferring with the Car-

“ dinal, he diſcovers to him his Deſign of contracting a ſecond
“ Marriage, without Regard to the Pope's Approbation or Con-
“ currence; and at the ſame Time requires, that he would aſſign
“ ſome juſt Cauſe, why his Collegue, *Campejus*, notwithſtanding
“ the contrary Inſtructions he had lately received from *Rome*, ſhould
“ proceed to give Sentence for the Divorce. His Majeſty alledged
“ ſeveral Things in Defence of what he propoſed, and particular-
“ ly repreſented the Effects of his royal Diſpleaſure, which the Car-
“ dinal had Reaſon to fear he might incur, in caſe he ſhould ſhew
“ himſelf reluctant to ſo reaſonable a Demand. It doth not ap-
“ pear what Anſwer was returned by the Cardinal; this only is cer-
“ tain, That whether it were from ſome Diſlike which he expreſ-
“ ſed of the Thing, when it was firſt moved, as proceeding from
“ ſome raſh and ill-concerted Scheme, or that he wholly diſpaired
“ of bringing his Collegue into it; or as *Sleiden* conjectures, for
“ he cites no Authority for it, that his Majeſty was by ſome Means
“ aſſured, that Cardinal *Wolſey* himſelf had adviſed the Pope not
“ to ratify the Sentence of Divorce, leaſt the King ſhould marry
“ one who was inclined to favour the *Lutheran* Hereſy; to which
“ of theſe Cauſes we are to impute the King's Anger, or whether
“ to any other: this I ſay, is certain; the Cardinal was ſo ſevere-
“ ly reproached and menaced by the King, that upon his with-
“ drawing, he diſcovered a moſt ſenſible Diſorder and Conſterna-
“ tion of Mind: For when the Biſhop of *Carliſle*, who, upon his
“ Return to *Weſtminſter*, attended him in his Barge, obſerved it
“ was a very hot Day, the Cardinal made anſwer, *If you had been*
“ *as well chafed, as I have been within this Hour, you would then ſay,*
“ *you were indeed very hot.*”

16. I have made this long Extract from *Godwyn*, as the Sentiments of that learned Prelate in Relation to the political Conduct of Cardinal *Wolſey*, and the Effects of it, which were ſo glorious to the King and to the Kingdom, are in general agreeable to the Account, imperfect as it is, which I have endeavoured to give of his Adminiſtration. This Biſhop wrote with the Spirit and Ingenuity, which became a Father of the Church of *England*. He was an Enemy to Popery, and he has ſaid many Things that are ſevere enough upon Cardinal *Wolſey* in particular; where he apprehended that great Stateſman and Eccleſiaſtick, juſtly deſerved his Animadverſion. But this did not hinder him from doing that Juſtice to his Memory, to which he had real Pretenſions from a diſtinguiſhed and ſuperior Merit. It is ordinary indeed, for Men of little and impotent Minds, engaged in ſome weak or wicked Cauſe, to place the main Strength of it, in their Endeavours to blacken and depretiate

thoſe of a contrary Principle; they will allow no good Qualities, except within the Sphere of their own Activity; and they form all their Judgements, both of Perſons and Things, only as they have Relation to their partial and narrow Views; or perhaps merely to ſome faſhionable Opinions, *which are but of Yeſterday*; and about which, ſucceeding Ages will wonder how Men of common Apprehenſions and common Honeſty, could poſſibly have ever been ſo very much divided. A Lover of Truth, on the other Hand, forms all his Judgements from the Evidence of Truth, and from that only. As the perſonal Qualifications of Men are of no Conſequence to determine what is true or falſe, ſo there is no Neceſſity, that the Juſtice or Honour of any Cauſe ſhould be made to depend on them. It is of no Manner of Uſe, in the Search after the true Church, whether *Luther*, King *Henry* the Eighth, or Pope *Leo* the Tenth, was a better Chriſtian? The true Doctrine of the Church, and the proper Method of diſcovering it, is the ſame, whatever the Character may be of thoſe, who either oppugn or profeſs it. Biſhop *Godwyn*, in his Hiſtorical Writings, regulated himſelf by theſe wholſome Maxims. He was zealous for the Reformation, but knew, it did not want to be ſupported by any unjuſt Invectives, or vile Detractions. In particular, with reſpect to the Affair of the Divorce, he did not think it requiſite to inquire, as upon an Article, wherein the Merits of the Reformation were concerned, whether Cardinal *Wolſey*, or Archbiſhop *Cranmer* acted with more Integrity and Reſolution? a Paſſage, I ſhall afterward cite from him, which hath ſome Reference to this Queſtion, appears, at leaſt, very honorary, and advantageous to the Cardinal.

CHAP. XI.

1. *The King's Progreſs into* Northamptonſhire, *wherein he is accompanied by* Ann Bolein. 2. *Concerning the Time of her returning from* France *to* England, 3. Campejus *departs out of* England, *and complains his publick Character had been violated.* 4. *The Grounds of ſuſpecting him.* 5. *The Circumſtances wherein he left his Collegue* Cardinal Wolſey. 6. *The Great Seal demanded of the Cardinal by two Dukes.* 7. *He demands a Sight of their Orders, which the next Day they produce.* 8. *He removes from* York Place (*now* Whitehall) *his rich Furniture there.* 9. *Prepares to go to* Aſhur; *and what happened by the Way.* 10. *Whether the Submiſſions he made conſiſtent with Greatneſs of Mind.* 11. Cromwell's *Motion to him; and his Speech from* Cavendiſh *to his Servants.* 12. *Additions to that Speech from* Stow. 13. *A farther Propoſal of* Cromwell.

well. 14. *The Additions made in the latter Speech, ſuppoſed genuine.*

1. AFTER the Revocation of the Cauſe to *Rome*, the King commanded the Queen to be removed from Court, and for his Diverſion took a Progreſs into the Country, accompanyed with *Ann Bolein*. Having given a particular Account of the moſt memorable Things that happened, relating to Cardinal *Wolſey* and his Collegue, in that Progreſs I ſhall not here repeat them. *Grafton* in *Northamptonſhire* was the Place, to which the King then repaired, and it was the laſt Scene of Enterview between his Majeſty and the two Legates. Cardinal *Wolſey* after that, was never admitted into the King's Preſence; and *Campejus* thought it was now Time for him to think of making his Return to *Rome*. I mentioned ſome Incidents, on Occaſion of their attending the King in that Place, which may not be diſagreeable to the Reader, if he will give himſelf the Trouble of conſulting my firſt [l] additional Paper. I have there ſaid ſome Things in general, both concerning the Character of *Campejus*, and of *Ann Bolein*. In Relation to the latter I ſhall here, by the Way, take the Liberty of obſerving a Miſtake, which Biſhop *Burnet* has committed about the Time of her Return from *France*. "How "long, ſaith he, ſhe continued in that Service I do [m] not find; "But it is probable, ſhe returned out of *France*, with her Father "from his Embaſſy in the Year 1529. When, as *Stow* ſays, he "brought with him the Picture of her Miſtreſs, who was offered "in Marriage to the King." Afterward the Hiſtorian proceeds to mention the Buſineſs of the Contract, between the Lord *Piercy* and this Lady out of *Cavendiſh*, but complains, that Writer hath not told us, in what Year this happened. 1529.

2. *Cavendiſh* being a Writer of ſo great Authority with our Hiſtorian, he might have conſulted him with more Attention, than he appears to have done. Then he would have found this Author ſaying in Manuſcript, for it is not in the printed Copies, that *Ann Bolein* came over into *England*, when the *French* Queen died, and as this Hiſtorian himſelf ſaith, in the Year 1524. After this it is highly probable, the [n] Contract happened with the Lord *Piercy*, upon [o] which ſhe was diſmiſſed from Court, and ſent Home for ſome Time, to her Father: Then ſhe was called to Court again, and the [p] King fell paſſionately in Love with her, all which

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[l] Addit. Pap. A.
[m] P. 1. B. 2. p. 44.
[n] Cavendiſh. C. 9.
[o] id. ib.
[p] Cav. C. 10.

happened before the King had moved any Thing publickly relating to his Divorce. For [q] *Cavendiſh* ſaith, the Cardinal's Embaſſy into *France* in the Year 1527, was the Effect of *Ann Bolein's* Contrivance, in Concurrence with his Enemies at Court. And the Letter of this Cardinal to Sir *Gregory Caſſal*, which was the firſt Diſpatch our Hiſtorian could find, concerning the Divorce, is dated on the Fifth of *December*, 1527. From theſe Circumſtances laid together, beſides the poſitive Teſtimony of *Cavendiſh*, it ſeems reaſonable, or rather neceſſary, to place the Return of *Ann Bolein* into *England* earlier than that Year. Neither is it certain from *Stow*, that Sir *Thomas Bolein* then brought over the Picture of the *French* King's Siſter with him; all this Annaliſt ſaith, is, "that Year was a common Report about *London*, that the King "had been told, his Marriage with Queen *Catherine* was not law- "ful; whereupon the King ſhould ſue a Divorce, and marry the "Ducheſs of *Alanſon*. And thereupon, Viſcount *Rochfort* had "brought with him the Picture of the ſaid Lady." From which Words it cannot be certainly inferred, that Sir *Thomas Bolein* might not have brought this Picture with him from *France* before this Year. It is indeed more than probable, he did bring it ſooner; becauſe this Ducheſs was in the Year 1527 married to Count *Albert* titular King of *Navarre*; and conſequently, which is an Error our Hiſtorian has fallen into, could not be offered in Marriage to King *Henry* at this Time. *Saunders* may be ſuſpected to have led moſt of our Writers into this Miſtake; But Doctor *Heylin* having corrected it, it might reaſonably have been expected, that our learned Hiſtorian would have taken Care to avoid it.

3. *Campejus*, upon his Audience of Leave, was not only reſpectfully treated by the King, without any Sign of Diſpleaſure or Reſentment, on Occaſion of what had paſſed, but diſmiſs'd with a Reward, and ſent under an honourable Conduct, toward the Sea Side in Order to his Embarkation. But when he came to take Ship, all his Baggage was opened and ranſacked with his Papers, by the Searchers. And when this Legate afterward complained of ſuch Uſage, as a Violence and Indignity offered to him, contrary to the Law of Nations, and the Rights of his legatine Character, which entituled him to the common Privilege of Ambaſſadors, the King remonſtrated, that, in Reſpect to the Searchers, that what they had done, being occaſioned by Miſtake, in purſuance of certain general Orders which they had received, and were bound by Oath to obſerve, and not done on any Account particularly re-

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[q] C. 13.

lating to him, He was concerned at what had happened, and deſired it might be excuſed. But concerning the Privilege *Campejus* pleaded in Virtue of his *Legation*, the King wondered, how he underſtood our Laws ſo little, as to aſſume, after that Time, the Name of a Legate in *England*; Since, after he was made Biſhop of *Salisbury*, he was bound by Oath to maintain the Royal Prerogative. There is another Argument in Anſwer to this Complaint of *Campejus*, and the firſt of the Three in Order, concerning the Validity of which, as of the other Two, the Reader may judge for himſelf: They are at leaſt as ſpecious, as ſome Arguments, which have been made uſe of in other Reigns, and under other Governments, to defend unjuſt Violences againſt Perſons inveſted with a publick Character. But Princes ſeldom want Reaſons to aſſert and maintain, whatever they have Power to execute. What raiſes a generous Indignation in the Breaſt of every Man of Probity, is, that Princes and Miniſters ſhould imagin, Mankind either do not ſee through thoſe thin artificial Colours with which they would varniſh over any diſhonourable Action; or if they do ſee through them, which is commonly indeed the Caſe, yet that ſomething at leaſt is to be done in Order to ſoften Matters, and as much, as may be poſſible, to ſalve Appearances.

4. Yet I do not apply theſe Reflections to the Caſe before us; they only riſe accidentally from it; and whatever the *pretended* Reaſons might be of this Uſage, which *Campejus* met with, it is very probable ſeveral of our Hiſtorians have obſerved the *true* Reaſons of it. The firſt whereof was, that this Legate was violently ſuſpected to have carried away clandeſtinely, either Money or Letters of private Correſpondence. And, particularly, that Cardinal *Wolſey* having a Deſign to withdraw out of *England*, had taken an Opportunity, under Cover of his Collegue, to conveigh great Summs of Money to *Rome*. The other Reaſon, and perhaps the principal Reaſon was, that the King hoped by this Means to recover the *decretal Bull*, which he ſo much deſired ſhould be lay'd before the Council; and which he could not eaſily believe *Campejus* had deſtroyed. Tho', in Caſe, by this Means, the decretal Bull had been recovered, and publickly expoſed not only before the King's Council, but the great Council of the Nation in Parliament aſſembled, it might ſtill be queſtioned, whether an Inſtrument obtained after ſuch an irregular Manner, or rather extorted againſt the Conſent of the Party entruſted with it, would either have done any great Service, or Credit to the King's Cauſe?

5. Cardinal *Wolſey* being now left alone, diſcharged of his Commiſſion for trying the King's Cauſe, expoſed not only to the Diſpleaſure and Reſentments of the King, but of the preſent and future Queen, and having many other powerful Enemies at Court, began to apprehend, that his Affairs were in an ill Situation. Yet he did not ſuſpect his Ruin and Diſgrace were ſo near, as he had ſhortly after Cauſe to believe. Beſides the Reaſons of Diſguſt beforementioned, taken againſt him by the King, *Edmund Campian* in his little Treatiſe of the Divorce, obſerves, that Sir *Francis Bryan* being at *Rome*, did, by Means of a Courteſan, the Familiar of one who was in the Pope's Confidence and kept his Papers, procure a Letter of the Cardinal's, which wrought his Ruin after the following Manner; having ſhewed to her the Cardinal's Hand, and payed the Price of her Treachery, ſhe conducted the Affair ſhe had undertaken with ſo much Art, that upon Pretence of viſiting this Servant of the Pope in his Study, ſhe took the Opportunity of conveying away that Letter, which Sir *Francis* immediately tranſmitted to the King. This Account of *Campian*, Lord *Herbert* ſuppoſeth to be very improbable, upon a Reaſon aſſigned by him, which ſeems effectually to confute it; becauſe he "found by original Diſpatches, that *Bryan* was come from " *Rome*, before any Argument of the King's Disfavour to the " Cardinal appeared."

6. However, now that the Cardinal could not be ignorant the King was much alienated from him, he would not appear (ſo free, eaſy, and prudent was his Manner) to take the leaſt Notice, as if he was declining in Favour, or apprehended, that any ill Deſigns were forming againſt him. So that when *Michaelmas* Term began, he went into *Weſtminſter* Hall, without abating any Thing of his uſual Pomp and Dignity; and there ſat as Chancellour, but no longer than the firſt Day of the Term; the next Day he ſtay'd at Home, expecting the coming of the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, who yet did not come till the Day following; And then by Order of the King, which was only verbal, acquainted him, it was the King's Pleaſure, he ſhould ſurrender up the great Seal of *England* into their Hands; and that he ſhould depart to *Aſhur*, a Seat near *Hampton Court*, belonging to the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*.

7. The Cardinal demanded a Sight of the Commiſſion, which gave them this Authority. To which it was anſwered, they were ſufficiently authoriſed from the King's own Mouth; But he did not think that a full and effectual Warrant, repreſenting that

“the[r] great Seal was perſonally delivered to him by the King, to enjoy the Miniſtration thereof, together with the Chancellorſhip, during the Term of his Life; whereof, for ſurety, he had the King’s Letters Patents to ſhew.” After ſome warm Debate, the Dukes departed without effecting the Deſign, upon which they came, and returned to the King at *Windſor*; who ſent them back the next Day to the Cardinal, with more authentick Credentials, having empowered them, by his Letters Patents, to demand of him the Broad Seal: In obedience to which he ſubmitted, and delivered the Seal to them.

8. The King afterward commanded him to leave *York-Place*, now *Whitehall*, a great Part of which he built, as he did *Hampton-Court* entirely; and then he was to repair to *Aſhur*. But before his Departure, he called his Officers before him, taking an Account of the Things ſeverally committed to their Charge. Concerning the Value of his rich Furniture, ſome general Computation may be made from the Inventory of *Cavendiſh*, which I ſhall recite in his own Words. “In his Gallery were ſet divers Tables, upon which were laid divers and great Stores of rich Stuffs; as whole Pieces of Silk of all Colours, Velvets, Sattins, Muſts, Taffaties, Grogarams, Scarlets, and divers rich Commodities. Alſo, there were a thouſand Pieces of fine Hollands, and the Hangings of the Gallery with Cloth of Gold, and Cloth of Silver, and rich Cloth of Bodkin of divers Colours, which were hanged in expectation of the King’s coming.

“Alſo, on one Side of the Gallery were hanged the rich Suits of Copes of his own providing, which were made for the Colleges of *Oxford* and *Ipſwich*, they were the Richeſt that ever I ſaw in all my Life; then had he two Chambers adjoining to the Gallery, the One moſt commonly called the *Guilt Chamber*; wherein were ſet two broad and long Tables, whereupon was ſet ſuch abundance of Plate of all Sorts, as was almoſt incredible to be believed, a great Part being all of clear Gold; and upon every Table and Cupboard where the Plate was ſet, were Books, importing every Kind of Plate; and every Piece, with the Contents and Weight thereof.”

9. Orders having been given by the Cardinal for the Delivery of all this Furniture, if it might not rather be ſaid of all this Treaſure, to the King, he prepared to go by Water for *Aſhur*; but before he took Boat, Sir *William Gaſcoign* his Treaſurer, officiouſly came

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[r] Cavendiſh.

unto him, and expreſſed much Concern to hear it reported, that he was to go ſtraight to the *Tower*. This Inſtance of Sir *William*'s Regard to his Maſter, tho' the Effect of a well-intended Zeal, was not well received by the Cardinal; he gently reprimanded that Knight for his too eaſy Credulity, and as not having taken a right Method of adminiſtring the beſt Comfort to his Maſter in Adverſity; he ſaid, he would have him, and all the Authors of ſuch falſe Reports to know, that he never deſerved to come there. There is ſomething ſo well expreſſed, and which diſcovers ſo perfect a Reſignation of Mind, ſo generous a Ceſſion of all thoſe Things to the King, which he acknowledged himſelf to have received by his Favour, that I ſhould be injurious to him to vary in the leaſt, either from his Sentiments or Diction. "Although it hath pleaſed the King to "take my Houſe ready furniſhed for his Pleaſure, at this Time, all "the World ſhould know, I have nothing, but it is of Right for "him, and of him I received all that I have. It is therefore con"venient and Reaſon, to render the ſame to him again."

10. When he entered his Barge at the Privy-ſtairs, there were a vaſt Number of Boats upon the Water filled with People, expecting to ſee the Cardinal carried to the *Tower*. If *Cavendiſh* his Obſervation upon this general Conflux of the Populace be true, that "all Men in Favour are envied by the common People, tho' they "do adminiſter Juſtice truly:" How much more enflamed will the Emotions of their Envy be, or rather of a juſt and laudable Indignation againſt very wicked, cruel, and corrupt Miniſters?

The Cardinal, after he landed at *Putney*, had not gone far upon his Mule, before he obſerved a Horſeman riding down the Hill totowards him; whom, upon Inquiry, he found to be Mr. *Norris*; who came to him with a Meſſage from the King, and aſſured him in the King's Name, that he was as much in his Majeſty's Favour, as ever he had been, and ſhould ſo continue; that his Majeſty therefore adviſed him to be of good Comfort, and not give Way to any deſponding Thoughts, for he ſhould not Want: And although he had proceeded ſo unkindly againſt him, it was more at the Inſtigation of other Perſons, than from any Motive of Anger or Reſentment in himſelf. He added, the King was able to make him a Return more than equivalent to his Loſs, and of double the Value; and for his own Part, he had great Hopes of living to ſee him in better Eſtate, than ever he had been.

Upon this Meſſage of Mr. *Norris*, the Cardinal is ſaid to have alighted with great Agility, and without the Aſſiſtance of any Servant, from his Mule, and to have kneeled down upon both his Knees in the Dirt, holding up his Hands in a Tranſport of Joy to

Heaven. This Action of the Cardinal has been very differently interpreted. Some have made it an Argument of the Meanneſs and Deſpondency of his Mind, and of his acting below the Dignity of thoſe Characters which he ſtill ſuſtained. And indeed, to ſee a Prince of the Church, and Archbiſhop of *York*, humbling himſelf in the Dirt, upon the Receipt of an inſiduous Meſſage, as the Event proved it to be, from a Prince, who had no better conſidered his great Services, and at beſt ruined him with a very ill Grace, did not appear to give any extraordinary Evidence of the Force or Firmneſs of his Mind. But, as it has been obſerved, concerning ſome Generals, who had given repeated Proofs, on all other Occaſions, of a brave intrepid Reſolution, that at certain particular Conjuncture, their uſual Proweſs and Preſence of Mind have failed them; ſo it might happen to the Cardinal, that at this critical Seaſon, through ſome bodily Indiſpoſition, or a Concurrence of foreign unhappy Circumſtances, he was leſs Maſter of himſelf, or leſs ſenſible, for the Time, of what he owed to his own Dignity. It will be hard however, to form a general Character of any Perſon, from one or two particular Actions, under Circumſtances of great Diſtreſs, againſt the former general uninterrupted Courſe of their Behaviour; and I believe few Men will be found among thoſe who are moſt celebrated for their Fortitude, that would ſubmit to be tried by this Rule. It will be yet more difficult to account for the Cardinal's Manner of writing to *Gardiner*, then Secretary of State, who had been frequently employed by him, if he did not owe the Opportunity he now had of ſerving the Cardinal at Court, principally to his Favour. In this Letter, which was ſent by *Cromwell*, the Cardinal ſollicits the favourable Interpoſition of the Secretary, after a Manner, which I ſhould be willing to conceal, if the Character of a faithful Hiſtorian, did not oblige me to report it. He deſires *Gardiner*, "as he tendered his *poor Life*, and at the Reverence "of God, and that Holy Time (of *Chriſtmas*) he would ſend him "his Letter, appealing alſo to his Pity, knowing in what Agony "he was; and that he would not only deſerve towards God, but "bind him thereby to be his continual *Beadſman*; and ſo ended "from *Aſhur*, written, (theſe ſaith Mr. *Strype*, from whom I now quote, are his Words,) "with his rude Hand, and ſorrowful Heart; "ſubſcribing himſelf [1] *the moſt Miſerable* Thomas *Cardinal of* York." A memorable Inſtance of the Viciſſitude of what we call Fortune! A great Miniſter, whoſe Power and Intereſt for ſome Years, had given him, in a Manner, the intire Direction of Affairs in the Court of his Maſter, great Weight and Authority in ſeveral foreign

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[1] T. Cardinalis Ebor. miſerrimus.

Courts, if they had not rendered him, in ſome Degree, formidable to them; is here, in the moſt abject Manner, proſtrating himſelf, and his Dignities of Cardinal and Archbiſhop, before a *Creature* of his own making! Shall we call this a judicial Act of Providence to humble a Man, who, with all his great Qualities, had too much diſcovered the Air and Manner of a Perſon elated with Proſperity and Succeſs? Such Inſtances of Revolution in the Fortune and Tempers of Men, are very proper to ſhew us, that *it is not in Man*, whatever ſhining humane Qualities he may be Maſter of, *to direct his Way*: but that God often makes the Height of his Pride and his Power, the Occaſion of rendering him more *deſpicably* Wretched: Or, ſhall we ſay, there is ſomething ſo mean and unworthy of Cardinal *Wolſey*, in this Addreſs, that the natural Genius and Force of his Mind was now departed from him, by Reaſon of an ill State of Body, and of his wanting at *Aſhur*, not only the Conveniences, but what, by Perſons of Condition, would be thought the neceſſary Supports of Life; for, according to the Account of his Gentleman-Uſher *Cavendiſh*, who attended him in that Place, *they had neither Beds, Sheets, Table-cloaths, or Diſhes to eat their Meat in; nor Money wherewith to buy any*. Under theſe Circumſtances, the pitiful Application which was made to *Gardiner*, may be conſidered, not properly as the Act of the great Cardinal *Wolſey*, but of a Man juſt creeping feebly out from a Fit of Sickneſs, and in great Diſtreſs on other Accounts; who had not yet recovered any competent Degree of Strength, either in Regard to the Faculties of his Body, or Mind.

11. Others have thought, theſe low Submiſſions of the Cardinal might be conſidered as Arguments of his Humility; I ſhall ſay nothing more concerning the latter Inſtance. But as to the Former; his kneeling in the Dirt, an Act of pure *voluntary Humility*, to which the Circumſtances he was in, did not oblige him; it is ſaid, it was, upon that very Account, a more ſenſible Token of a Mind truly humble; that it was at leaſt, a Manner of Behaviour agreeable to his Circumſtances at that Time, tho' he was not ſtrictly obliged to it; and that it is no Way inconſiſtent with the Character of a great and generous Mind, to deſcend to do thoſe Things, in certain Caſes, which, at other Times, would be very improper, and perhaps diſhonourable or indecent; that there are Expreſſions and Inſtances of Humiliation in the Devotions and Hiſtory of *David*, which ſeem to require a Judgement ſhould be made of them by this Rule: and that it was no juſt Imputation upon the Courage or Bravery of *Belliſarius* to beg, when he was reduced to a Neceſſity of begging. The Painters therefore, and Statuaries, who

would expreſs the Air and Manner of that General, under the Circumſtances of a Beggar, have taken Care, at the ſame Time they repreſent both thoſe Characters, to preſerve them diſtinct. They give him the Elevation of one conſcious of his Merit, and of the Dignity, from which he was fallen; yet to which he ſtill appears, in all Reſpects, equal. But this noble Conſciouſneſs is tempered with a modeſt and humble Air, ſuitable to the Circumſtances of a Perſon, under the Preſſure and other Diſadvantages of extreme Want.

12. While the Cardinal continued at *Aſhur*, *Crom-well* took an Occaſion of repreſenting to him, that he ought in Conſcience to conſider, no competent Proviſion had been made for ſeveral of his Servants, who had been very true and faithful to him, and had never *forſaken him* (that was his Expreſſion) *in Weal, nor Woe*. To which the Cardinal, anſwered "Alas! *Tom*, you know I have "nothing to give you, nor them, and am aſhamed and ſorry "that I cannot requite your faithful Services." *Crom-well* propoſed that his Chaplains whom he had preferred to rich Benefices; ſome to the Value of a Thouſand, others of five hundred Pounds Annually, ſhould ſeverally contribute towards the Support of his Servants.

13. Upon this Repreſentation, the Cardinal, in his Epiſcopal Habit, called all his Gentlemen, Yeomen, and Chaplains, who then attended, before him: But there is ſomething ſo moving in *Cavendiſh* his Account, of what paſſed on that Occaſion, that I think my ſelf obliged to report it in his own Words. "My "Lord, *ſaith he*, went with his Chaplains to the upper End of "his Chamber, where was a great Window, beholding his goodly Number of Servants, who could not ſpeak to them, until "the Tears ran down his Cheeks; which being perceived by his "Servants, cauſed Fountains of Tears to guſh out of their ſorrowful Eyes, in ſuch Sort, as would cauſe my Heart to relent. "At laſt, *continueth he*, my Lord ſpake to them to this Effect "and Purpoſe."

Moſt faithful Gentlemen and true hearted Yeomen, I much lament that in my Proſperity, I did not ſo much for you, as I might have done, and what was in my Power to do; I conſider, that if in my Proſperity I had preferred you to the King, then ſhould I have incurred the King's *Servants Diſpleaſure; who would not ſpare to report behind my Back, that there could no Office in the Court eſcape the Cardinal and his Servants; And by that Means I ſhould have run into open Slander of all the World; but now is it come to paſs, that it hath pleaſed the*

King to take all that I have into his Hands, ſo that I have now nothing to give you; *For I have nothing left me, but the bare Cloaths on my Back*; "with many other Words in their Phraſe; and ſo he gi-
" ving them all hearty Thanks, went away, and afteward *many* of
" his Servants departed from him. Some to their Friends; Ma-
" ſter *Cromwell* to *London*, it being then the Beginning of the
" Parliament."

14. *Stow* in relating this Speech of the Cardinal, hath ſeveral Particulars not mentioned by *Cavendiſh*: The Cardinal does not, according to that Annaliſt, lament to ſee his Servants about him; but he laments a certain Ingratitude on his own Behalf, towards them; as he did not know, or conſider before, the Treaſure he had in his Houſe of ſo many faithful Servants. He did not reflect upon any Thing with greater Remorſe, than on his having neglected to prefer them according to their Merits; yet reminds them, that he had not ſo many temporal, as ſpiritual Preferments in his Diſpoſition. He tells them no Prince had been ſo truly and faithfully ſerved; he requires them to have Patience, and doubts not, but the King, conſidering how falſe the Suggeſtions of his Enemies were, and that there is no manner of Proportion between his Puniſhment, and any Offence he had given, will ſhortly reſtore him to Favour; and then he ſhould have more Power, as he would not want Inclination to ſerve them; for whatever might be the Surpluſage of his yearly Revenues above his Disburſements, ſhould be divided among them. "I will ne-
" ver, *ſaith he*, during my Life, eſteem the Goods or Riches of
" this World any otherwiſe, than ſhall be ſufficient to maintain the
" Eſtate that God hath, and ſhall call me to. And if the King
" do not ſo ſhortly reſtore me, then will I write for you, either
" to the King, or any Nobleman in this Realm, to return your
" Service. For I doubt not, but the King, or any Nobleman of
" this Realm, will credit my Letter in your Commendation.
However, after having adviſed them for a Time, to repair ſeverally Home to their Wives or Parents; he recommends to them, that they would not chuſe to ſerve any under the Degree of a King; and ſpeaks with Aſſurance, that the King would not refuſe them.

Cromwell having obſerved, that ſeveral of the Servants, who were ready to obey the Commands of their Maſter, wanted Money to this End, did himſelf propoſe a Contribution, and recommended it after a very handſome inſinuating Manner, eſpecially by an Act of his own Liberality. His Example was *followed*

followed by the Chaplains, and by that Means a competent Sum was raiſed for the Benefit and preſent Supply of the Servants.

Stow hath not mentioned where he had this Speech; yet I am much inclined to believe, the Additions, which he has made to that of *Cavendiſh*, genuine. The former does not appear on all Accounts ſo full and tender, as might have been expected on the Occaſion; there are ſeveral Topicks of Conſolation uſed by the Cardinal in the latter, with a more open and generous Reproach of himſelf, for his former Neglect of his Servants, which it became a good and benevolent Maſter to employ, under Circumſtances of *Diſtreſs*; but which, great as it was at preſent, did not, obliterate the Senſe of his Dignity or former Grandeur; if we may judge from the Advice which he gave to them, that they ſhould not willingly ſerve any other Maſter, below a crowned Head.

CHAP. XII.

1. *A Bill of Indictment preferred againſt the Cardinal.* 2. *Whether prior to the Articles of Impeachment.* 3. *An Imputation caſt upon the Cardinal, by a learned Hiſtorian conſidered.* 4. *Concerning the Articles exhibited againſt the Cardinal in Parliament.* 5. *The Reaſon of an occaſional Remark made by the Author, with an Account of a Conference between the Cardinal and Judge* Shelley. 6. *The Cardinal's Submiſſion.* 7. *The prudential Reaſons of his making it.* 8, 9. *The Prejudice which* Ann Bolein *had entertained againſt him; with a memorable Conference referred to, between the Cardinal and the Queen's Almoner, upon the Subject of the Divorce.* 10. *A Miſtake of Biſhop* Burnet *corrected.* 11. *Other Reaſons for the Cardinal's Submiſſion.* 12. *Reflections upon Breach of Promiſe, eſpecially when made by Perſons of the firſt Diſtinction.*

1. WHILE the Cardinal continued under theſe diſtreſs'd Circumſtances, at *Aſhur*, the Proceſs againſt him, upon a Bill of Indictment by *Hales* the Attorney General, was carried on with all imaginable Vigour. That Indictment ſet forth, "How "*Thomas Legate de Latere*, Cardinal and Archbiſhop of *York*, being "not ignorant of the Duty, he owed to his Sovereign, yet had "obtained certain Bulls from Pope *Clement* the Seventh: which "ſaid Bulls he cauſed to be publickly [t] read in *Weſtminſter*. By 1529. 1530.

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[t] *Aug.* 28.

“ Virtue of which, he exerciſed Juriſdiction and Authority-Legatine, to the Deprivation of the King's Power eſtabliſhed in his Courts of Juſtice; which he had exerciſed to that Time, to the Prejudice of both ſecular and eccleſiaſtical Perſons. And that by Colour thereof, he had given away the Church of *Stoke Guildford* in the County of *Surrey*, (being of Right in the Donation of the Prior of St. *Pancrace*) to one *James Gorton*, who alſo enjoyed it accordingly. All which was to the Contempt of the King and his Crown, and contrary to the Statute of the 16 of *Richard* the Second. Moreover, that by Colour of the ſaid Authority, he had cauſed the laſt Wills and Teſtaments of many (out of his Dioceſe) to be exhibited and proved in his Court; and their Goods and Chattels to be adminiſtred by ſuch as he appointed. Alſo that under Colour of the ſaid Authority, he had made divers Viſitations out of his Dioceſe, and drawn divers Penſions from Abbeys, to the Contempt of the King and his Laws.”

2. *Cavendiſh* makes the Articles exhibited againſt the Cardinal in the Parliament Houſe, prior to his Indictment; and repreſents, as if his Enemies had been conſtrained to take this Method, upon the Miſcarriage of the Bill of Attainder, by Means of the excellent Defence made for him by *Cromwell* in Parliament. But this Author was miſtaken in his Account of the Matter; for the Parliament did not ſit 'till the Third[u] of *November*, 1529; and on the twenty eighth of *October*, *John Scuſe* and *Chriſtopher Genney*, were authoriſed by Writ, and at the King's ſpecial Permiſſion, to appear in Court, as Attorneys for the Cardinal. And in Virtue of the Submiſſion he made, purſuant to the Proceſs againſt him, all his Effects had been ſeized, whereby he was reduced to the laſt Circumſtances of Diſtreſs at *Aſhur*, before the[x] Articles of high Treaſon were preferred againſt him in Parliament. Having made ſome Remarks on thoſe Articles, in the firſt additional Paper, I ſhall not here reſume the Conſideration of them; or make any farther Reflections upon the Cardinal's Acquittal by the Commons principally upon the Defence, if not ſolely, that was made by one of his menial Servants, newly introduced into the Houſe, without Power and Authority; without Quality, or any conſiderable Fortune; without thoſe Influences; which Men have ſince underſtood to manage with Succeſs; without any ſecret or more open Direction from Court, or rather againſt the known Diſpoſition of it: Theſe are Circumſtances which offered as ſtrong a negative Argument

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[u] *Lord* Herbert 293.

[x] *Coll.* Nº 100.

in Proof of the Cardinal's Innocence, eſpecially as to the main Articles againſt him, as perhaps ever happened in any Caſe, or can well be ſuppoſed to happen in any Time future. And therefore, we may juſtly preſume, he had very good Grounds for the modeſt Aſſurance, wherewith he delivered himſelf in the following Paſſage, in a Letter, which he wrote to *Cromwell*, from *Aſhur*. “[y] As “ touching the Articles laid unto me, whereof a great Part be “ untrue; and thoſe which be true, are of ſuch Sort, that by doing “ of them, no Malice or Untruth can be juſtly arrected unto me; “ neither to the Prince's Perſon, nor the Realm; this may be “ urged to the King.”

3. But beſides what I have ſaid in another [z] Place, I cannot here omit to make ſome farther Remarks on a very heavy, if I might not ſay, moſt diſingenuous Imputation, caſt upon the Cardinal, by the learned Hiſtorian ſo often mentioned, in his Hiſtory of the *Reformation*. “ He (Cardinal *Wolſey*) not only ſerved the King “ in all his ſecret Pleaſures, but was lewd and vitious himſelf; ſo “ that his having the *French Pox* (which in thoſe Days was a “ Matter of no ſmall Infamy, *in a Perſon of his Character*) was ſo “ publick, that it was brought againſt him in Parliament, when he “ fell in Diſgrace.

Among the many Articles preferred againſt the Cardinal in Parliament, this was confeſſedly one: “ That he came daily to the “ King and blew upon him, rowning in his Ear, when he knew “ he had the contagious Diſeaſe of the great *Pox* broken out upon “ him, in divers Places of his Body.” And from hence our Hiſtorian learnedly concludes, his having that Diſeaſe was notorious. But is it then reconcileable to any known Law of Equity or Juſtice, to infer the Guilt of any Perſon, barely from his being accuſed? This might perhaps be a convenient Method in certain Caſes, to prevent tedious Delays and embarraſſing Forms of Law in the Proſecution of Criminals: But Men will never be therefore convinced, that any Criminal ought to ſuffer, or be found guilty upon a bare Indictment, without good Evidence. And our Hiſtorian himſelf, if we may judge from what he has ſaid on other Occaſions, where he was under no perſonal Prejudice, was really of the ſame Opinion. Eſpecially, where he affirms, “[a] It was a “ Blemiſh never to be waſhed off, and which could not be enough “ condemned, and was a Breach of the moſt *ſacred* and *unalterable* “ Rules of Juſtice, which is capable of no Excuſe, to attaint Per-

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[y] *See the laſt Additional Paper*, p. 258.
[z] *Addit. Pap.* 1.
[a] P. 1. B. 3. p. 359.

" ſons without bringing them to a Tryal." And yet here he condemns Cardinal *Wolſey* as guilty of a Crime, which was indeed charged againſt him, but never proved, or I might rather ſay from which he was acquitted. I am not at all ſollicitous for the Cardinal's Honour and Reputation in this Matter, any farther, than the Laws of common Humanity and Candour oblige me: But as thoſe are particularly indiſpenſable Qualifications of a good Hiſtorian, they ought to have influenced our learned Hiſtorian, ſo much at leaſt, as to have made him more cautious in his Cenſures, upon ſo ſlight a Foundation.

It is well known, that tho' the Cardinal did not perſonally make Anſwer to the Articles exhibited againſt him, yet *Cromwell* vindicated him ſo well in the Houſe of Commons, that as this Hiſtorian himſelf [b] confeſſeth, they were thrown out of the Houſe. And in the manuſcript Life of the Cardinal, Mr. *Cavendiſh* ſaith, the Cardinal told him, that " If he might come to his Anſwer, he feared " no Man alive. For he liveth not, *ſaid he*, that ſhall look upon " *this Face* (pointing to his own Face) that ſhall be able to accuſe " me of any Untruth, and that know well my Enemies."

4. I ſhall only add, in Relation to the Articles, that tho' my Lord [c] *Coke* affirms, he printed very correctly from the Original, the Articles exhibited to the King againſt Cardinal *Wolſey*; yet ſome have thought there is Reaſon to ſuſpect the Truth of his Record, from Sir *Thomas More*'s ſubſcribing firſt before the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*; it being certain, the Act of Parliament, which eſtabliſheth the Precedence of the Lord Chancellor, was not then made. But however, this Difficulty may be accounted for; the Subſcription of the Chancellor before thoſe two Dukes, cannot be of any Force to overthrow the Credit of my Lord *Coke*'s Teſtimony, there being nothing, in this Method, but was agreeable to that obſerved in other Inſtruments; particularly in the [d] Conveyance made of *York-Place* for the Uſe of the King. What is much more ſurprizing in that Conveyance, is, the Concurrence of ſo great and excellent a Perſon as Sir *Thomas More*, and ſo famed for an unbiaſſed Integrity; and who had moreover, as himſelf acknowledgeth in the [e] Extract I have taken of a Letter from him, many perſonal Obligations to the Cardinal.

5. The Reaſon why I make this Remark, and which I am unable perfectly to reconcile with the Character of Sir *Thomas More*,

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[b] P. 1. B. 2. p. 81, 172.
[c] 4 Inſtitut.
[d] See Coll. N° 103.
[e] *Addit. Pap.* p. 253.

will appear more fully from what I am going to obſerve, in Reference to a Converſation between the Cardinal and Judge *Shelly*, who was ſent by the King, to demand, in his Majeſty's Name, *York-Place* of the Cardinal; requiring him, as he pretended, according to the Opinion of all the King's Judges and learned Council, that his Grace ſhould make a Recognizance, and before a Judge, acknowledge and confeſs, the *Right* thereof to belong to the King and his Succeſſors; and ſo his Highneſs ſhould be aſſured thereof. I am not ſo well verſed in the Laws of the Land, as to be able to determine, whether, according to the Letter of any Law then in being, a Biſhop could, by a perſonal Act, make an abſolute Ceſſion for himſelf and his Succeſſors, of the Church's Patrimony. Admitting there might poſſibly then be a Power in the Crown, acting according to the utmoſt Extent of it, to authoriſe or receive ſuch a Ceſſion; yet the pious and equitable Reaſons alledged by the Cardinal againſt the Exerciſe of it are ſo ſtrong, that one would think a good and religious Prince ſhould not have been able to withſtand the Force of them; which the Reader will beſt diſcover in the Cardinal's own Words.

" Maſter *Shelly*, I know the King, of his own Nature, is of a " royal Spirit, not requiring more than Reaſon ſhall lead him to, " by the Law; and therefore I conſel you, and all other Judges " and learned Men of his Council, to put no more in his Head, " than Law, which may ſtand with Conſcience. For then you " tell him, that although this be Law, yet it is not Conſcience; " for Law without Conſcience, is not fit to be miniſtred by a King " nor his Council, nor by any of his Miniſters; for every Coun- " cil to a King ought to have reſpect to Conſcience before the Ri- " gour of Law; [f] for it is honourable to do what is equitable and " becoming, not always what is ſimply lawful. The King ought, " for his royal Dignity and Prerogative, to mitigate the Rigour " of the Law; and therefore, in his princely Place, he hath con- " ſtituted a Chancellor, to order for him the ſame: And therefore, " the Court of *Chancery* hath been commonly called the *Court of* " *Conſcience*; for that it hath Juriſdiction to command the Law, " in every Caſe, to deſiſt from the Rigour of the Execution. And " now I ſay to you, Maſter *Shelley*, have I Power, or may I with " Conſcience give that away, which is now mine for me, and my " Succeſſors? If this be Law and Conſcience, I pray you ſhew me " your Opinion.

To which this weak Judge, to ſpeak as tenderly as the Nature of the Thing will allow, replied,

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[f] Laus eſt facere quod decet, non quod licet.

“ Forſooth, there is no great Conſcience in it, but having Re-
“ gard to the King's great Power, it may the better ſtand with
“ Conſcience, who is ſufficient to recompence the Church of *York*
“ with the double Value.

The Cardinal's Anſwer to this inſidious Argument, was ſuch, as became a prudent and faithful Guardian of his epiſcopal Rights. “ That I know well, *ſaith he*, but there is no ſuch Condition, but
“ only a bare and ſimple Departure of others Rights. If every Bi-
“ ſhop ſhould do ſo, then might every Prelate give away the Pa-
“ trimony of the Church, and ſo in Proceſs of Time, leave no-
“ thing for their Succeſſors to maintain their Dignities; which
“ would be but little to the King's Honour.

6. However, the Cardinal was at laſt prevailed upon to ſubmit to the King's Commands: How he ſatisfied, or could ſatisfy his own Conſcience in the Matter, I do not pretend to examine; but that he made his Submiſſion with the greateſt Regret of Mind, may be very reaſonably inferred from the Appeal which he then ſolemnly entered before Judge *Shelley* in the following Words, “ There-
“ fore I charge your Conſcience to diſcharge me; and ſhew his
“ Highneſs from me, that I muſt deſire his Majeſty to remember,
“ that there is both Heaven and Hell.”

7. But tho' I meddle not with the ſecret Motives of Conſcience upon which the Cardinal made this Ceſſion, relating to *York-Place*, and (as it appears from a ſubſequent Act of Parliament to confirm it) for the *King's ſpecial Pleaſure and Paſtime*; yet, it may not be here improper to recite the prudential Reaſons, upon which he confeſſed himſelf guilty, and ſubmitted to the Indictment of *Premunire*. *Cavendiſh* his Words, in the Manuſcript, relating to his Submiſſion, are remarkable, “ From *Peterburgh* the Cardinal went and
“ ſtaid three or four Days at Sir *William Fitz-williams*, in whoſe
“ Garden I had much private Diſcourſe with my Maſter the Car-
“ dinal; among other Things, he asked me what was ſaid of him
“ at *London*? I anſwered, I had heard him blamed there for ſo
“ tamely ſubmitting to the King, and acknowledging himſelf guil-
“ ty of the *Premunire*. Well, ſays he, they who cenſured me thus,
“ perceived not ſo much as I: For I conſidered that my Enemies
“ had brought the Matter ſo to paſs againſt me, that they cauſed
“ the King to take the Matter into his own Hands; and after he
“ had once Poſſeſſion of all my Goods, rather than he would have
“ delivered them again, or taken Foil therein at my Hands, with-
“ out doubt he would have imagined my Undoing and Deſtru-
“ ction; whereof the Beſt would have been perpetual Impriſon-

" ment, And I had rather confeſs the Matter as I did, and live at " large like a poor Vicar, than lie in Priſon with all the Goods and " Honours I then had. Beſides, *ſays he*, if I had ſtood it out " with the King, there was a *Night-Crow* (meaning *Ann Bullen*) " that ever cried in his Ear againſt me; and if ſhe might have per- " ceived any Obſtinacy in me, would not have failed to have ſet " it forth with ſuch Vehemency, that I ſhould rather have obtain- " ed the King's Indignation, than his lawful Favour: Therefore I " thought it beſt to keep ſtill his Favour, with Loſs of Goods and " Dignity."

8. It is the more difficult to account for the Prejudice, which this Lady had entertained againſt the Cardinal, on Account of the great Zeal and Aſſiduity, he had all along diſcovered in puſhing the Divorce. I have given ſeveral Inſtances of his Sincerity in that Affair; but it ſtill appears more fully, from a [g] Paper, among other of my moſt valuable Collections, communicated by the very worthy and learned Mr. *Baker*, entituled, *A Memorial of ſuch Communication as my Lord Legate's Grace had with the Queen's Almoner*, which, I believe, hath never been printed before, and cannot but be acceptable to the curious Reader.

9. But whatever the true Reaſons of this Lady's Diſtaſte at the Cardinal might be, it is certain in Fact, and from the Paſſage juſt cited from *Cavendiſh*, that ſhe was his Enemy. And therefore, what our learned Hiſtorian has aſſerted, that *many* kind Meſſages were ſent to him both from the King, and *Ann Bolein*, ſeems very much to want Confirmation. *Cavendiſh* ſaith indeed, ſhe did, at the King's earneſt Entreaty, ſend the Cardinal a Preſent of a Tablet of Gold that hang by her Side; but this was the only Meſſage he received from her. In the [h] Collections of Mr. *Maſter*, are ſeveral Extracts from Letters between the Cardinal and *Cromwell*, during the Cardinal's Diſgrace. In one of them, " He entreats *Cromwell* to ſollicit the " King to be gracious unto him, and to practiſe, that the Lady " *Ann* may mediate for him." *Cromwell*, in a Letter to the Cardinal, writes, " Mr. *Page* received your Letter directed to my La- " dy *Ann*, and delivered the Same; there is yet no Anſwer; ſhe " gives kind Words, but will not promiſe to ſpeak to the King for " you." And in another Letter to a third Perſon, *Cromwell* writes, " None dares ſpeak to the King on his (the Cardinal's) Part, for " Fear of Madam *Ann*'s Diſpleaſure.

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[g] See Collect. N° 100.

[h] *See Additional Paper*, p. 258, 259.

10. In the *Hiſtory of our Reformation,* there is one Miſtake committed relating to the Cardinal, and the Time concerning which I am now ſpeaking, that deſerves to be corrected. We are told by the [i] learned Hiſtorian, "The Cardinal was admitted to ſit in the "Houſe, where he ſhewed himſelf as ſubmiſſive in his Fawning, "as he had formerly done in his Scorn and Contempt of all who "durſt oppoſe him."

Here is a Fact which never ſubſiſted, made the Occaſion of introducing a Charge, which would have required other Evidence, beſides the Author's poſitive Affirmation, ſuppoſing the Fact had been really true.

Beſides the Difficulty of Explaining the Senſe of this Paſſage, and of reconciling it with the Propriety and common Uſe of the *Engliſh* Tongue, to ſay, That a Man was *Submiſſive in his Scorn and Contempt of all who durſt oppoſe him*; the curious Reader will naturally enquire, by what Authority, or upon what probable Grounds this is ſpoken? For firſt, it is ſufficiently plain from *Cavendiſh,* who attended the Cardinal at this Time, that he remained at *Aſhur* during the whole Seſſions of Parliament. Secondly, There are great Improbabilities which ſhake the Credit of this Story, from the Cardinal's being found guilty of the *Premunire,* and his ſtanding obnoxious all this Time to the Penalties of it. Under theſe Circumſtances, without ſome direct or poſitive Proof, it is not very natural to ſuppoſe the Cardinal would chuſe to appear in Parliament. It is true, on the Twenty-firſt of *November,* the King granted him his *Protection*; but he was not pardoned 'till the *February* following; which was two Months after the Breaking-up of the Parliament. But what I take to be the moſt conſiderable Objection againſt this Story, is, that the King had made a Seizure of *York-Place,* and all the Cardinal's rich Moveables; ſo that he had no Houſe for his Reſidence in Town, or near to it: And it is highly improbable, that he ſhould come in the Morning from *Aſhur,* diſtant about twenty Miles from *London,* where, for the Moſt part, he was in an ill State of Health, and then return again at Night, at the very Seaſon of the Year, when the Days were ſhorteſt.

In Doctor *James* his Collections, I find a Letter from [k] Sir *Gregory Caſſal* at *Rome,* bearing Date the Third of *January* 1529, wherein a very extraordinary Overture is made by the Pope to the Cardinal: His Holineſs propoſeth, that if the Cardinal ſhould deſign a Journey into *Spain,* himſelf would go too, and that they ſhould proceed in Quality of two Legates, acting conjunctly as Brothers, or Coadjutors veſted with equal Powers, and treating one another with equal Regard; for that theſe Conditions ſeemed requiſite, in order to induce the Emperor to comply with the Terms, which they ſhould demand of him: The Pope thinks it adviſeable, that himſelf ſhould take the Opportunity of conferring with the *French* King by the Way. Yet I am ſenſible this Letter, upon a Review, ought not to be referred to the preſent Year, according to the *Engliſh* Stile, but to the Year preceeding. However, having omitted it in the proper Place, I thought it mght not be altogether unacceptable to the Reader here.

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[i] P. 1. B. 2. p. 83.

[k] Coll. N° 102. Literæ Gregorii Caſſalis ad Dominum Vincentium Patruelem ſuum Romæ. *E. Manſ. Jam.* 27.

11. Beſides the Reaſons already mentioned, upon which the Cardinal was induced to make his Submiſſion to the King, by confeſſing himſelf guilty upon his Indictment, it may be proper to obſerve, that he had Aſſurances given to him, in conſequence of his ſubmitting of Favour, and kind Uſage, which he never received. He writes to *Cromwell* from *Aſhur*, about the Beginning of the Year 1530, that for his [l] Maintenance, and to put him into a Capacity of doing Good to his Servants, and of beſtowing Alms, which *York* will not do, the King if he take from him *Wincheſter*, will allow him a Penſion out of it: "For God, *ſaith he*, be my Judge, I never "thought, and ſo I was aſſured at the Making my Submiſſion, to "depart from any of my Promotions. For the Rigour of the "Law, for any Offence that can be arrected to me deſerveth no "ſuch Puniſhment; and ſo truſting in the King's Goodneſs, I am "come to this Point. I hope his Grace will conſider the ſame ac"cordingly. I have had fair Words, but little comfortable Deeds. "Thoſe Noblemen did otherwiſe promiſe, upon their Honours to "me; upon Truſt whereof, I made the frank Gift of my whole "Eſtate."

In the ſame [m] Collections I alſo find this Remark: "When "the Cardinal ſubmitted, and made a free Gift of all that he had "to the King, which he did at the Perſuaſion of divers Noblemen, "it was promiſed him, that the King would take Order for the "Payment of his Debts, and Maintenance of his Eſtate; now he "writes he is in great Want, and deſires Relief."

12. If the Cardinal at the Inſtance, and upon the *Promiſe* of certain Noblemen, did really make any Ceſſion, as theſe two Extracts import, either of his own Rights, or thoſe of the Church, which he was not ſtrictly obliged to make, and which he could not have been obliged to make by any fair legal Proceſs; tho' his Submiſſion,

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[l] *Addit. Pap.* p. 258.

[m] Ib.

miſſion, in this Reſpect, was not perhaps ſtrictly allowable in one, who could be no Stranger to the inſidious Arts, ſometimes practiſed in the Courts of Princes, by Perſons of the firſt Diſtinction, if not by Princes themſelves, in order to impoſe upon Expectants by colluſive Promiſes; yet, he was at leaſt more excuſable in ſuppoſing, (as it was) Perſons of Honour and noble Birth, could not, on any Account, be induced to falſify their Word: There is ſomething ſo *ſervile*, ſo vile, and ſhocking in ſuch a Falſification, or even in the diſtant Approaches towards it, that a Man muſt have in himſelf ſome very noxious Principles of Corruption, who can believe Perſons of the firſt Dignity, capable of being debaſed to ſo very unjuſt, and ignominious a Degree.

CHAP. XIII.

1. *Meſſages to the Cardinal from Court of a different Kind.* 2. *His Precautions towards obviating the Deſigns of his Enemies.* 3. *An extraordinary Inſtance of the King's Favour to him.* 4, 5. *The Lords of the Council adviſe he ſhould be removed.* 6. *And expreſs ſome Impatience at his Stay.* 7. *He reſolves to go into the North.* 8. *Inſtances of his Superſtition, in Regard to Prophecies and Omens.* 9. *A Reflection of the Author.* 10. *A memorable Inſtance of his Humiliation.* 11. *A large Grant to him made by the King.* 12. *A particular Occaſion of* Ann Bolein's *Diſpleaſure againſt him from Mr.* Strype. 13. *Extract from* Tyndal's *Book of Obedience, upon theſe Words,* He is the Miniſter of God for thy Wealth. 14. *The Progreſs of* Lutheraniſm. 15. *A Citation from Lord* Herbert. 16. *Remark on Occaſion of it.* 17. *A remarkable Speech, from which our modern* Latitudinarians *have copied, mentioned by that noble Hiſtorian; but by no other Author before him.* 18. *Heads of an Anſwer to it.*

1529. 1530. 1. THE Cardinal, during his Reſidence at *Aſhur*, received frequent, *Cavendiſh* ſaith, *daily*, Meſſages from Court, but more of them afflicting, than conſolatory. His Enemies uſing all poſſible Artifices, now they had reduced him ſo low, to cruſh him intirely; they endeavoured at leaſt ſo to mortify and intimidate him, that he ſhould not think himſelf capable, by any Means, of regaining the King's Favour. For they were apprehenſive, if he ſhould be in a Condition to form an Attempt to that End, and ſucceed in it, they would find, to their Coſt, the Effects of his Reſentment; if ſome of them had not cauſe to fear thoſe Conſequences from it, on Account of the malicious and unjuſt Calumnies whereby they had impoſed upon the King, which might have affected them in their neareſt Intereſts. *Never to forgive the injured Party,* is not a recent Maxim practiſed in the Courts of Princes; but has been exemplified almoſt in all Courts, and in all Ages by baſe and corrupt Men in Power; yet in Proportion to the Greatneſs of their Power, for that Reaſon, more vile and contemptible.

2. The Cardinal obſerving the Deſigns of his Enemies, uſed all wiſe and neceſſary Precautions in Order to obviate them; and armed himſelf with ſo much Patience, that they could not provoke him either to ſay or do any Thing, that might juſtly render him obnoxious. However his ſeveral Misfortunes had ſo ill an Effect upon the State of his Health, as it has been commonly ſuppoſed, that at [a] *Chriſtmas* he was ſeized with a dangerous Sickneſs. And Doctor *Butts*, who was ſent by Order of the King to attend him, upon his Return to Court, reporting, that if he ſhould not ſhortly receive Comfort from his Majeſty, he would within four Days be a dead Man; the King made Anſwer, "God forbid that he ſhould "die, for I would not loſe him for Twenty thouſand Pounds. I "pray you go to him, and do your Care to him." Upon which Doctor *Butts* adviſing the King to ſend ſome comfortable Meſſage to him, his Majeſty took a Ring from his Finger charged with a Ruby, upon which his own Picture was engraven, commanding the Doctor to acquaint the Cardinal, that he was not, *in his Heart*, offended with him for any Thing, uſing other Expreſſions which diſcovered a tender and friendly Concern for him. And upon this Occaſion it was, that, at the King's Deſire, whoſe Words I recite in the [b] Margin, *Ann Bolein* took a Tablet of Gold that hung by her Side, and gave it to Doctor *Butts* to be delivered to the Cardinal, in Terms, and after a Manner, very obliging. The Cardinal received theſe Preſents with much Joy; and whether it was owing to the Emotions occaſioned by it, or to the Advice of his Phyſicians, (among whom he had the greateſt Confidence in Dr. *Cromer*) or to any other Cauſe, in the Space of four Days he found himſelf in a good Way of Recovery. And his Phyſicians, to whom he made Offer of a Reward, which they declined to accept, returned to Court, having ſtrict Command from the King, who would gratify them at his own Expence, not to take any Thing of him.

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[a] *At which Time he wrote the Letter abovementioned to* Gardiner.

[b] *Good Sweet-Heart, as you love me, ſend the Cardinal a Token at my Requeſt, and in ſo doing, you ſhall deſerve our Thanks.*

3. Nothing memorable occurs to me that happened to the Cardinal at *Aſhur* from this Time, till towards *Candlemas*; When the King cauſed to be ſent to him, but without imparting his Deſign to the Lords of the Council, four Loads of rich Furniture; after the Receipt of which he made Requeſt to the King, which was granted, that he might be removed from *Aſhur* to *Richmond*.

4. Theſe Favours were not conferred on the Cardinal with ſo much Privacy, but the Lords of the Council, who were his Enemies, had Notice of them; and fearing leaſt, the Place of his Reſidence being ſo near to the Court, his Majeſty might be moved on one Occaſion or other to viſit him, or perhaps to recall him; they adviſed, that he ſhould be ſent down to his Province in the *North*; concealing the true Reaſon of their Advice, as is uſual with Miniſters who would cover their private Deſigns under the Umbrage of publick Good; and pretending, that his Preſence would be neceſſary towards compoſing certain Animoſities in the *North*. The King, upon this ſpecious Suggeſtion, approved the Propoſal, and *Cromwell* was commanded by the Duke of *Norfolk* to acquaint his Maſter the Cardinal, that he muſt immediately repair to his Charge at *York*. Tho' the Cardinal expreſſed an Inclination rather to remove to his Church at *Wincheſter*, but this, when *Cromwell* acquainted the Duke of *Norfolk* with it, was much oppoſed by him.

5. The Lords, who ſuſpected leaſt the Cardinal, being deſirous to plant himſelf ſo much nearer to the King, might one Way or other find Means of favourable Acceſs to Court, endeavoured to divert him from going to *Wincheſter*, and moved, that the King might grant him a Penſion out of that Biſhoprick, to the Value of four thouſand Marks; the Reſt of the Revenues that ſhould ariſe out of it, were to be ſhared by certain gaping Courtiers, the Nobility themſelves, as *Cavendiſh* relates, not diſdaining to participate in dividing the Spoil. The Revenues of St. *Alban*'s were conſigned under the ſame Conditions, whereof ſome of them had Two hundred Pounds; but whether by Way of annual Penſion, or of a plenary Gratuity at once, that Author doth not mention. All the Revenues of the Lands belonging to the Cardinal's Colleges of *Oxford* and *Ipſwych*, the King took into his own Hands; the Adminiſtration whereof, by the Cardinal's Aſſignment, was committed to *Cromwell*; who acquitted himſelf in the Diſcharge of that important Truſt, with great Fidelity and Exactneſs.

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6. Still the Lords expected with Impatience the Removal of the Cardinal to a greater Diſtance from Court; among the reſt of them, the Duke of *Norfolk* obſerving to *Cromwell* that his Maſter made no more Haſte to go *Northward,* expreſſed himſelf in Terms, which do not appear altogether ſuited to the Dignity and Character of ſo very great a Peer, ſo able a Stateſman, and ſo fine a Gentleman.

7. Upon *Cromwell's* Report to the Cardinal of what the Duke of *Norfolk* had ſaid, he immediately came to a Reſolution of taking his Journey into the *North.* The only Excuſe he had for delaying it, was for Want of Moneys, with which he therefore deſired by *Cromwell* that the King would be pleaſed to ſupply him. And you may ſay, (*theſe are his following Directions to* Cromwell,) "that the laſt Money I had from his Grace was too little to pay "my Debts; and to compell me to pay the reſt of my Debts, "were too much Extremity, ſeeing all my Goods are taken from "me: Alſo ſhew my Lord of *Norfolk* and the reſt of the Council, that I would depart, if I had Money."

8. While the Cardinal was walking in the Garden of the Palace at *Richmond,* an Occaſion happened from which, they, who will conſult [c] *Cavendiſh* may obſerve, that this great Prelate and Stateſman was not altogether free from the Illuſions of prophetick Conjectures. And there is another remarkable Inſtance in the ſame Author of his Credulity in Reſpect to what they call [d] ominous Accidents. For when he was one Day at Dinner, his great Croſs, which was placed by him, fell, and in the Fall broke Dr. *Bonner's* Head. Upon his asking whether it had drawn any Blood, and *Cavendiſh,* who was then in Waiting, replying *yes,* he turned his Head aſide, and gravely obſerving it was an *ill Omen,* immediately, after the Bleſſing, retired to his Bedchamber. The Expoſition which himſelf afterward gave of this Preſage to *Cavendiſh* at *Pontefract,* I ſhall recite in that Author's own Words. "The great Croſs that "he bare as Archbiſhop of *York,* betokened himſelf and Dr. *Auſtin*; "the Phyſitian who overthrew the Croſs, was he that accuſed my "Lord, whereby his Enemies caught an Occaſion to overthrow "him; it fell on Doctor *Bonner's* Head, who was then Maſter "of my Lord's Faculties and ſpiritual Juriſdiction, which was "then damnified by the Fall thereof; and moreover the drawing "of Blood betokeneth Death; which, ſaith *Cavendiſh,* did ſuddenly after follow."

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[c] *Chap.* 18. *p.* 90, 91.

[d] *Chap* 19. *p.* 97, 98.

9. I ſhall not undertake to defend the Propriety of this Interpretation, much leſs to ſhew there was any neceſſary Connection, between the Event and the Circumſtances pretended to point towards it. I ſhall only obſerve that the Cardinal ſeems to have had as *good* Grounds for believing vulgar Predictions, whether prophetick or ominous, and as *certain* Rules for expounding them, as ſeveral other great Men that might be named, and even ſome of the greateſt Princes in Hiſtory.

10. It is more for the Cardinal's Honour, that I ſhould obſerve a ſignal Teſtimony which he gave of his Humiliation, under the afflicting Hand of Providence; for inſtead of that *ſoft Raiment*, which he had been uſed to wear in *King*'s *Palaces*, (if he was not the firſt, as he hath been reproached by ſome Writers, had that been really a Crime, who introduced the Wearing of Silk among the Clergy) he now put on a Shirt of Hair, which he wore frequently next to his Body. This Mortification he is reported to have exerciſed by Advice of a certain ancient Father at *Richmond*, who, ſaith *Cavendiſh* very ſignificantly, *converted him to deſpiſe the vain Glory of this World*; with whom, or with ſome other of the more venerable Brethren there, he conferred every Afternoon during his Reſidence in the *Charter-houſe*, to which he removed from the Palace, at *Richmond*, and where he lay at a Lodging which Dr. *Collet* had provided for himſelf.

11. Notwithſtanding all the Oppoſition that was made at Court to any favourable Deſigns of the King towards this great Miniſter now in Diſgrace; yet a publick and effectual [e] Grant was paſſed by his Majeſty, conſigning to him in *Money*, *Goods*, and *Chattels*, as appears from a ſpecifick Account, a Sum exceeding the Value of Six thouſand and three hundred Pounds. Which Grant I have cauſed to be printed, not only for that Reaſon; but becauſe an Eſtimate may on ſeveral Accounts be made from it, concerning the real Proportion. which the Value of Money bears at preſent, to what it bore, during this Period, in the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth.

12. It has been obſerved by moſt, if not by all Hiſtorians, that have written concerning the Cardinal's Diſgrace, that *Ann Bolein* was a principal Inſtrument of it, but Mr. *Strype* mentions an additional Occaſion of her Diſpleaſure againſt him, that no other has obſerved; and upon this, according to him, a re-

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[e] Collect. N° 104.

markable Event depended, which haſtened the Demolition of Abbeys, and forwarded the Progreſs of the Reformation, begun under that Reign.

13. One Motive, towards the Converſion of this Lady, was her reading *Tyndal's* Book, entituled, *The Obedience of a Chriſtian Man.* According to the Account of this learned and reverend Author, which the Reader may conſult in his fifteenth [f] Chapter, there was ſomething providential, both in the Method of putting that Book into her Hands, and in her being obliged to reſtore it to the Cardinal. But I apprehend it may be of more Uſe to give the Reader a ſhort Abſtract of one excellent Expoſition upon a noted Text of Scripture in that [g] Book, than to amuſe him with any curious, however pious Conjectures, about the Circumſtances of that Story. Upon thoſe Words, for *He is the Miniſter of God for thy Wealth, Tyndal* thus deſcants, " To defend thee from a thouſand Inconveniences, " from Thieves, Murderers, and them that would defile thy Wiſe, " thy Daughter, and take from thee all thou haſt; yea, Liſe and " all, if thou didſt reſiſt. Furthermore, tho' he be the greateſt " Tyrant in the World, yet is he unto thee a great Benefit of God, " and a Thing, wherefore thou oughteſt to thank God highly. " For it is better to have ſomewhat, than to be clean *ſtripped* of all " together. It is better to pay the Tenth than to loſe All. It is " better to ſuffer *one* Tyrant, than *many*. Yea, and it is better to " have a Tyrant to thy King, than a *Shadow*, a paſſive King, that " doth nought himſelf, but ſuffers others to do with him what " they will, and to lead him, whither they liſt. For a Tyrant, " tho' he doth not Right unto the Good, yet he puniſheth the Evil " and maketh all Men obey; neither ſuffereth he any Man to rule, " but himſelf only. A King, that is ſoft as ſilk and effeminate, " that is to ſay, turned into the Nature of a Woman, what with " his own Luſts, which are as the Longing of a Woman with " Child; and what with the *wily* Tyranny of them that over-rule " him; ſhall be much more grievous to the Realm, than a *right* " Tyrant. Read the Chronicles, and thou ſhalt find it ever " ſo."

14. The *Lutheran* Principles, by Means of this and other Books that were publiſhed, tho' under ſevere Prohibitions, had now been propagated in ſeveral Parts of the Nation, and the People began to queſtion many of the received Doctrines, and the Reaſonableneſs of aſſenting to them by an implicit Faith. Several Churchmen

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[f] *Memoirs Eccleſ.* p. 112. [g] *Id.* p. 113.

and devout Perſons among the Laity, on the other Hand, looked upon all Innovations as dangerous; and were apprehenſive, that if they were once permitted to be introduced, they might, by Degrees, be carried ſo far, as to ſubvert the very Fundamentals of Religion.

15. Lord *Herbert* on this Occaſion, charges both the [b] *Reformers* and the *Papiſts* with too violent and indiſcreet a Zeal. And as he appears to have delivered himſelf on this Head, with his uſual Freedom, and much Impartiality, I ſhall here recite his own Words. “ Whereas in the Beginning, a voluntary Mitigation of the Rigour of ſome of the late Doctrines of the *Roman* Church, and a benign Interpretation of the Reſt, might have conſerved an univerſal Peace among Chriſtians; they now, by an obſtinate and wilful Impugning of all thoſe, who ſaid it was poſſible for them to err, did leave the Undertaking of this great Work, either to diſcontented Clergymen, or to the more laick and improvident Sort; which therefore, as it proved in ſome Kind tumultuous and refractory, ſo certainly the Authors on either Side were much to be blamed; when in handling of Controverſies, they either out of an Affectation of Glory, or Hope of gaining large Stipends from their Followers, (upon pretence of revealing ſome new and readier Way for obtaining Heaven and everlaſting Salvation) did teach divers peremptory and uncharitable Doctrines. Whereas yet according to the Rules both of Piety and Wiſdom, they ſhould have proceeded more moderately; conſerving, in the Midſt of their Differences, a brotherly Love, and pronouncing the Errors, on what part ſoever, more worthy their Pity, than Hate. Which Rule yet was ſo little obſerved in *England*, that many Reformers Books and Perſons were publickly burnt, while their Diſciples (for Revenge) fell foul upon the Perſons of their Adverſaries, ſetting forth Books to the Prejudice of the whole Eccleſiaſtical Order.

16. But it is no unſual Thing for wicked or weak Men, in the Heat of their Zeal, that they may avoid one Extreme, to run precipitately into another; or even for Fear of granting to the Clergy their juſt and neceſſary Rights, to aſſert all the ſtrange capricious, and extravagant Notions of Eraſtianiſm. Too many modern Inſtances, and ſome of them of the firſt Diſtinction in the Church, might be produced to verify what I ſay.

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[b] P. 320.

17. Lord *Herbert* has produced a remarkable Speech about this Time, upon the Plan of which all our modern *Latitudinarians* have ſuperſtructed: It has been elſewhere obſerved, that I have met with a full and ſatisfactory Anſwer to this Speech, with the Materials of which, his Lordſhip, if he had ſo pleaſed, might have ſupplied us out of the ſame Repoſitory, where he found it. I had once propoſed to inſert both the Speech and the Anſwer to it at Length in this Work; but leaſt I ſhould too far exceed the Bounds of it, muſt ſatisfy my ſelf at preſent with obſerving in general ſome of the principal Aſſertions in the Anſwer oppoſed to the looſe Scheme and dangerous Maxims, laid down by the Author of the Speech; which the Reader may find in Lord *Herbert's* [k] Hiſtory of *Henry* the Eighth, or in Mr. *Collier's* [l] Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. But neither *Hollingſhead*, *Stow*, *Godwyn*, or other of our Hiſtorians, before his Lordſhip, have mentioned any thing of it.

18. It is ſaid then, in the Anſwer, towards obviating any ill Effects, which the Speech might have on prepoſſeſſed or ignorant Perſons, That the Liberty of private Judgement contended for in it, cannot be an Argument that there is no *certain Rule* or *Standard*, whereby the Judgements of Men ought to be regulated. That different Claims or Pretenſions to a Right, however they may be multiplied, do not deſtroy the Nature of Right. That the Diviſions in Point of Doctrine among Chriſtians are ſo far from being an Objection againſt the Truth of Chriſtianity, or the Authority of the Church, that our Saviour expreſly foretold there ſhould *be Hereſies* in the Church, *that they who are approved ſhould be made manifeſt*. That Errors and Irregularities are no more to be prevented in Religion than in civil Life, by allowing to Men a Liberty of private Judgement in Oppoſition to publick Laws. That yet we ought to follow our Spiritual Paſtors and Teachers with our Eyes open, not as Men having Dominion over our Faith, but as probable Guides to inform our Underſtanding, to reſolve our Doubts and direct our Practice. That no Society can ſubſiſt, unleſs the Principles, upon which it is founded and can only be preſerved in a regular State, are aſcertained and explicitly profeſſed; whenever an explicit aſſent to them is required from the ſeveral Members of it. That the external Rites of Religion are only indeed appointed as miniſterial to Virtue and internal Sanctification; yet they are not therefore vain; but rather neceſſary for that Reaſon towards rendering us more happy and perfect. That

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[k] P. 321, 322. [l] P. 45, 46, 47.

natural Principles are, confeſſedy, the main Foundation of all Religion; but there is ſomething more required to recommend us to the Favour of God, than merely not to be impious or atheiſtical; And thoſe natural Principles are ſo far from diſcharging an Obligation to believe, whatever God may think fit to reveal, that our Belief of any revealed Truth does neceſſarily ariſe from them. The Member therefore who ſpake, made a falſe Inference in ſaying, it is indifferent, whether my Lord *Rocheſter*, *Luther*, or other Perſons named by him, were in the Right; becauſe tho' particular Opinions, which do not deſtroy Unity and Order in the Church, may more ſafely be tolerated; yet a Toleration of them, where theſe eſſential preſervatives of Society are in Danger of being deſtroyed, cannot conſiſt with the proper Deſign or Wiſdom of Government. The Biſhop of *Rocheſter* therefore in aſſerting the Rights and Powers of thoſe, whom God has appointed Paſtors and Governours in his Church; and who, from the Nature of their Inſtitution and Office, are the principal Members in the Chriſtian Society, is ſo far from deſerving Cenſure, that he hath ſaid nothing but what became a Father of his apoſtolical Spirit, and primitive Sanctity.

To which I ſhall only add, that the Speech in Lord *Herbert*'s Hiſtory, wherein the Author would be thought to accommodate himſelf to ordinary Capacities; and which appears intended, as an Appeal to *common Senſe*, is in ſome Parts of it as abſtruſe and unintelligible, as ſome modern Performances, which have been publiſhed for the Edification of the populace, with the like admirable Deſign.

CHAP. XIV.

1. *Of the Cardinal's Journey towards* York. 2. *Inſtances of his Piety and Charity.* 3. *He removes towards* Caywood. 4, 5. *Preparations for his Inſtallment.* 6. *He is arreſted for High Treaſon.* 7. *The chief Occaſion of his Diſquiet.* 8, 9. *Conſequences of his Diſgrace, and concerning the Submiſſion of the Clergy and the Supremacy.* 10. *Of the Pains incurred by the premunire.* 11. *Whether the Cardinal was condemned according to Law.* 12. *More concerning the Supremacy.* 13. *A Remark of Dr.* Burnet *upon the Submiſſion of the Clergy.* 14. *The Cardinal entertained by the Earl of* Shrewsbury *on his Way towards* London, *with ſeveral other remarkable Paſſages preceeding his Death.* 15. *A Reflection on his laſt Speech, with the Manner of his Death.* 16, 17. *The Solemnities after it.* 18, 19, 20. *Of the natural Children He is ſaid to have had; and of certain Accuſations againſt him; with the* Concluſion.

1. IN this Chapter I ſhall conclude with the laſt Scene of Cardinal *Wolſey*'s Life; who, towards *Eaſter*, after he had according to *Cavendiſh*, received from the King the Sum of Ten thouſand Pounds, ſet forward on his Journey towards *York*. But it is not improbable, here is ſome Miſtake, either in that Author, or in thoſe who have copied from him; for I do not find that Sum mentioned in any authentick Record. The Preparation however, which the Cardinal made for his Progreſs, was not unſuitable to his Dignity. He had in his Retinue a hundred and ſixty Perſons, with twelve Carts, which were ſent with Goods from his College at *Oxford*, beſides ſeveral other Carriages employed in the neceſſary Uſes for his Buildings. He prepared to celebrate the Feſtival of *Eaſter* at *Peterborough*, and on *Palm-Sunday*, went in ſolemn Proceſſion with the Monks there, bearing his Palm. Upon *Thurſday* following he kept a *Maundy*, waſhing and kiſſing the Feet of fifty nine poor People, and after he had dried them, gave to every One of them twelve Pence, with three Ells of good Canvaſs to make them Shirts, a Pair of new Shoes, and a Cask of red Herring. On *Eaſter*-Day he roſe early to his Devotions; and afterward went in Proceſſion, in his Cardinal's Habit, having his Hat on his Head, and ſinging high Maſs ſolemnly himſelf. After which he pronounced the Bleſſing with plenary Remiſſion of Sins to all the Audience.

2. In his Way from *Peterborough* he travelled by eaſy Journeys, till he came to *Stoby*, where he continued till after *Michaelmas*, excerciſing many Acts both of Charity and Piety. Every *Sunday*, if the Weather permitted, he would go to ſome poor neighbouring Pariſh, and there celebrate divine Service; and when he had either ſaid or heard Maſs, cauſe one of his Chaplains to preach; and afterwards dine in ſome Houſe of good Reputation in the Place; where Diſtribution was made of Meat and Drink to the Poor; or of Money, where thoſe, in a great Conflux of People, were wanting. Beſides, he frequently interpoſed, by his good Offices, while he reſided in thoſe Parts, to reconcile Perſons at *Variance*, and to adjuſt the Differences between them.

3. Shortly after *Michaelmas* he removed towards *Caywood* Caſtle, one of the Seats belonging to the Archbiſhop of *York*, and about twelve Miles diſtant from that City; where, by his pious and prudent Behaviour, and his great Hoſpitality, he acquired much Honour, Love, and Eſteem, from Perſons of every Diſtinction. There, at great Expence, he repaired the *Caſtle*, employing on that Oc-

caſion, three hundred Perſons daily at Work. To this Place his Clergy of the Church of *York*, as it was their Duty, repaired to their chief Head, the Patron of their Dignities, and their ſpiritual Father; who received them after a Manner agreeable to that ſacred Relation; To whom he declared "it was the moſt ſpecial Cauſe "of his coming, to be amongſt them, as a Father, and a natu"ral Brother."

4. They, who would be acquainted with certain Ceremonials to be obſerved by the Archbiſhops of *York*, before and at their Inſtallment, may conſult [a] Mr. *Cavendiſh*, on Occaſion of what paſſed in Relation to that Affair, between the Cardinal, and his Clergy. The Effect of their Conſultation was, that his Grace ſhould be inſtalled on *Monday* following the Feſtival of *All-Saints*, but without that Pomp and magnificent Appearance, wherewith the Inſtallment of his Predeceſſors had been uſually celebrated.

5. The Cardinal's Deſign not being unknown to the Country, where for his *Purity* and *Liberality, and alſo for his familiar Geſture and good Behaviour*, (thoſe are the Words of *Cavendiſh*,) he was in great Eſtimation and had gained much Love; ſuch Store and Variety of Proviſion was ſent in by the Gentlemen, Abbots, and Priors, as was almoſt incredible.

6. Yet during the ſhort Interval, before the Day, againſt which all theſe Preparations were made, he was arreſted by the Earl of *Northumberland* and Sir *Walter Welch* upon a Charge of high Treaſon. This Arreſt was contrived by his Enemies, to whom the great Eſteem and Veneration pay'd to him by all Perſons in the *North*, and the Support of his Dignity by a juſt and regular Conduct, had rendered him ſtill more invidious. Beſides they apprehended, leaſt the King finding him now ſo popular, and recollecting his former Services, might the ſooner be induced to recall him, if not prevented by ſome ſiniſter Accuſations of this Kind; which yet had ſuch Effect, that the King was moved to much Indignation againſt him, and was determined he ſhould come up and receive his Trial in Perſon. But this Reſolution his Enemies, who conſidered the Conſequences of charging him Face to Face, rather ſubmitted to, than approved. However on *Friday* before the Day appointed for his Inſtallment, he was put under an Arreſt. Upon the firſt Exchange of Civilities between him and the Earl of *Northumberland*, who had been ſometime educated

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[a] Ch. 18. p. 94, 95.

in his Family, far from apprehending the Deſign, upon which the Earl came, he treated him not only with all the Regard due to his Quality, but with all the Tenderneſs and Complacency, that could have been ſhewed to an ancient Domeſtick, and a Friend, whom he loved. Yet after he had taken the Earl by the Hand, and led him into his Chamber, while they were both ſtanding at the Window, the Earl *trembling* ſaid, *I arreſt you of high Treaſon.* At which Words the Cardinal was ſo ſurpriſed, that he ſtood for ſome Time without ſpeaking. But at Length, recovering himſelf, he deſired to ſee the Earl's Commiſſion, which that Lord denying to ſhew, he refuſed to obey the Arreſt. But afterwards Sir *Walter Welſh*, who was a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber coming into the Room, the Cardinal ſurrendered to him, as being ſufficiently commiſſioned by his Poſt. *Therefore*, ſaith he to that Knight, after ſome other Expreſſions which diſcovered the Force and Compoſure of his Mind, "put your Commiſſion in Execution, I will
" obey you and the King: For I fear not the Cruelty of mine
" Enemies, no more than I do the Truth of my Allegiance;
" wherein, I take God to Witneſs, I never offended his Majeſty
" in Word or Deed; and therein I dare ſtand Face to Face with
" any, having a Difference without Partiality."

7. What principally afflicted the Cardinal on this Occaſion, and for which he moſt refuſed to be comforted, was a generous Reflection, that he had nothing wherewith to reward his true and faithful Servants, and in particular *Cavendiſh* his Gentleman Uſher. On *Sunday* following, when he was ready to ſet forward on his Journey towards *London*, the Porter had no ſooner opened the Gates of his Palace, but there was ſeen aſſembled before it a Multitude of People, in Number above three Thouſand, "Crying
" out with a loud Voice, *God ſave your Grace*, *God ſave your Grace*,
" the foul Evil take them, that have taken you from us; and thus
" they ran after him through the Town of *Caywood*; for he was
" there very well beloved both of rich and poor."

8. The Cardinal's Diſgrace did not only affect himſelf, his Friends, and more immediate Dependents; but appears to have been the principal Occaſion, that the whole Clergy of the Realm were proſecuted in a *Premunire*. The Effects of which were yet perhaps more ſupportable to them, than the Submiſſion which they were obliged to make in Conſequence of it; whereby they departed from certain eccleſiaſtical Rights they had long exerciſed, and obliged themſelves for the future not to enact, promulge, or put in Execution, any Commiſſion or Ordinance, except his Majeſty's Con-

ſent and Licenſe to that End, ſhould be previouſly obtained. And, more expreſly, towards aſſerting to his Majeſty the Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy, A Petition was offered in Convocation, to be preſented to him, that he ſhould be ſtiled, the *Protector and ſupreme Head of the Church, and Clergy of* England. But certain Members took Umbrage at the modern Title Supreme Head *of the Church*, and made great Oppoſition to it; upon which it was moved, this following Qualification, *as far as is lawful by the Law of Chriſt*, ſhould be added. But the King diſliked that Addition, as leaving his Power ſtill diſputable and indetermined; repreſenting however, (as being conſcious how dangerous and irregular a Uſe might ſometime be made of ſo high a Claim) that Words are not always to be taken in the ſtricteſt Senſe. Several have thought, upon the Authority of Archbiſhop *Parker*, that this Title paſſed in Convocation, without the additional Clauſe: But herein that learned Primate, as Biſhop *Burnet* has very well obſerved for the following Reaſon, was certainly miſinformed. "For [b] when the Convocation in the Province of *York* demurred about the ſame Petition, "and ſent their Reaſons to the King, why they could not acknowledge him *Supreme* Head, which (as appears from the "King's Anſwer to them) were chiefly founded upon this, that "the Term *Head* was improper, and did not agree to any "under Chriſt; the King wrote a long and ſharp Anſwer to "them, and ſhewed them, that Words are not always to be underſtood in the ſtrict Senſe, but according to common Acceptation, and among other Things he ſhewed this Explication was "made in the Province of *Canterbury*, *in ſo far* as was *agreeable* "to the Law of Chriſt. By which it appears the King was ſatisfied, at that Time, to have it paſs any Way: And ſo it was "agreed to by nine Biſhops, the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* being One; "and fifty two Abbots and Priors, and the major Part of the "lower Houſe of Convocation in the Province of *Canterbury*.

9. By Way of Commutation for the Forfeitures, which the Clergy had incurred by offending againſt the Statutes of Proviſors, a Grant to the King was propoſed of a hundred thouſand Pounds; upon which he paſſed a general Pardon to the Clergy of the Province of *Canterbury*. That of *York* made an Offer, towards redeeming themſelves, of eighteen thouſand eight hundred and forty Pounds, and were alſo pardoned; but the Ceſſion, to which they at length ſubmitted, of their Eccleſiaſtical Powers and Privileges, was not made without great Difficulty and Oppoſition.

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[b] *Hiſt. of the Reform. p.* 1. *B.* 2. *p.* 112.

10. Concerning the Penalties incurred by the *Premunire*, it has been generally thought, that notwithſtanding the Proceedings againſt the Cardinal, for obtaining and exerciſing his legatine Powers, were rigorous, yet they were not ſtrictly ſpeaking illegal; and that the Clergy therefore who ſubmitted to his Authority, were legally obnoxious to the ſame Penalties, becauſe the Statutes of *Proviſors* had never been repealed. But this Opinion, were the Matter to be ſtrictly examined, is not ſo clear as to admit no Diſpute, according to "certain [c] Maxims in the civil Law, national Statutes may be repealed, not only by expreſs Notification, but by Diſſuetude, by tacit Conſent of the People, and Connivance of the Legiſlator." Whether the Form of Government in any Nation is popular, ariſtocratical or regal, theſe Rules hold equally good. Thoſe eſpecially who are entruſted with a Share in the Legiſlature, may be ſuppoſed to have an Intention to vacate any Law, as well by their Silence, as by their Suffrage. For what Superiours who beſt know the Reaſon and Senſe of the Law, either do, or ſuffer to be done, muſt naturally be preſumed agreeable to what they really intend.

If it ſhould be queſtioned then, how we ſhall know, that the ſupreme Power is willing a Law ſhould no longer oblige? this, we ſay, may be known, not only by a direct Revocation of the Law; but, in all Caſes, where any Offence againſt the Rule of it, is ſo far from being complained of, or puniſhed, that it has rather received Marks of publick Approbation; which was the very Caſe of Cardinal *Wolſey*, and other Legates before him, from the Time, when the penal Statutes, concerning which I am ſpeaking, were made. For as Biſhop *Burnet* [d] obſerves, "the Pope's Uſurpations ſtill encreaſing, thoſe Statutes lay dead, among the Records, and ſeveral Cardinals had procured and exerciſed a Legatine-Power, which was clearly contrary to them."

11. What I argue is, that if any Law can ceaſe to operate, by Diſuſe, or the tacit Conſent of the Legiſlature, few Inſtances in Hiſtory have occurred ſo remarkably evidential of ſuch Diſuſe and Conſent, as in the Caſe more particularly of Cardinal *Wolſey*; Who not only obtained, and for the Space of fifteen Years exerciſed his Legatine Powers, by Approbation of the Sovereign, but without the leaſt Remonſtrance againſt it, by either of the two Houſes of Parliament, or any regular Complaint, had that been

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[c] Receptum eſt, ut Leges non ſolum Suffragio Legiſlatoris, ſed etiam tacito Conſenſu omnium per Diſſuetudinem abrogentur——Quid intereſt Suffragio populus Voluntatem ſuam declaret; an Rebus ipſis, & Factis?——Qui tacet, conſentire videtur.

[d] *Hiſt. Ref. p.* 1. *B.* 2. *p.* 112.

requiſite, from the People without Doors. It is not indeed univerſally true, that the Silence of Perſons in Authority, does always imply their Conſent: Yet the Rule, I conceive, will ever hold good in all Caſes, under theſe three Conditions, that the Action, which is the Subject of Inquiry, be contrary to a known Law, and frequently repeated: And that the Adminiſtrator or Adminiſtrators of the Law, have Power to cenſure or hinder it. The Reaſon of this Rule is, that all Perſons in Authority are preſumed to do their Duty, but eſpecially the collective Body of a Nation, regularly aſſembled, and acting in a legiſlative Capacity. If this Way of arguing be well founded, King *Henry* the Eighth did not ſo much proceed againſt Cardinal *Wolſey*, with an ill Grace, and according to the Rigour of Law, which are the ſofteſt Expreſſions that can be uſed on the Occaſion, but againſt the common Law of Nations.

12. It might here, upon my having mentioned the *Submiſſion* made by the Clergy, not be improper, to ſtate the Arguments on both Sides relating to the Supremacy, without determining any thing poſitively on ſo nice a Subject, as I have done in the Caſe of diſſolving Monaſteries, and of the Divorce. But my Work is now too much protracted, to permit a diſtinct Inquiry upon that Head. The Principles, that I have on ſo many Occaſions laid down, as the genuine Principles of the Church of *England*, concerning the independent Powers and Rights of the Clergy; and which are founded upon immutable Reaſons of *Wiſdom* and *Order*, ſuppoſing the Church a regular Society, and the Founder of it a wiſe Legiſlator; Thoſe Principles, I ſay, are ſufficient to ſhew, what it might have been proper for me to have ſaid, relating to this Branch of the Queſtion. They, who would know, where to find the main Strength of the Arguments for the civil Supremacy, may conſult ſeveral Acts of Parliament provided in that Behalf, with the *Reaſons* upon which they eſtabliſh it, and the Pains and Penalties whereby it was convenient to enforce them. But ſuch who would enter into the Detail of this Controverſy, may conſult my Lord *Coke*'s learned Collections and Arguments in the Caſe of *Cawdrey*, with the Anſwer to them by *Parſons*. In the Former he will find the Facts and Reaſons much better propoſed than in any of our modern Writers, ſome of which have advanced Notions, ſo deſtructive to the true Rights of the Chriſtian Church, that they cannot be thought of, without Horror. In the Latter, there appears as much Subtility, if I might not ſay, as ſtrong an Eſſay of human Wit, as perhaps any Writer in Controverſy has produced in any Age.

13. All I ſhall farther obſerve upon the Submiſſion of the Clergy is a pertinent Remark of Doctor *Burnet*, for he was not then a Biſhop, relating to one Article of it.

“ The Clergy, *ſaith he*, [e] did not bind themſelves never to
“ meet without the King's Writ: They only ſaid the Convoca-
“ tion had ever been, and ought always to be aſſembled by the
“ King's Writ, which only ſhews what is their regular Method of
“ Aſſembling themſelves. But tho' this obliges them to meet al-
“ ways when they are required to do it, by the King's Writ;
“ yet it doth not bind them from Meeting, in Caſe the Neceſſity
“ of the Church requires it, and the King refuſes his Writ; for
“ then they are reduced to thoſe prudential Conſiderations, in ma-
“ naging their Matters, as in a Caſe of *Perſecution*.

14. But I return, from theſe incidental Obſervations, to the Cardinal, who in his Journey towards *London* was entertained with much Kindneſs and Reſpect by the Earl of *Shrewsbury* at *Sheffield* Park, with whom he ſtay'd a Fortnight; whilſt He was there one Day at Dinner, He complained of a ſuddain extraordinary Coldneſs at his Stomach. If he had any foul Play done to him, there was more Reaſon to ſuſpect it from thoſe who were charged with the Cuſtody of him, than from any Attempt he made upon his own Life; his Behaviour from the Time of his going into the *North*, having been confeſſedly pious, and ſuitable to his high Character and Station in the Church. *Cavendiſh* indeed ſpeaking of the Effects, wherewith this violent Diſorder was attended, and from which the Cardinal never recovered, ſaith, *It was apparent he had poiſoned himſelf.* But it is highly probable, this Expreſſion ought to be taken in a ſofter Senſe, than the Words ſtrictly import, and that he only intended by it, that he was poiſoned by taking ſomething prepared for him, by other Hands. For, when his Body after he was dead, lay publickly expoſed, with his Face uncovered at *Leiceſter*, and the Mayor and Aldermen there, to prevent falſe Reports of his being alive, took a formal View of it, there appeared no Symptoms of his being poyſoned. Neither indeed, was there at that Time, any Reaſons for his offering Violence to himſelf, but rather many, why, in reſpect to the Circumſtances he was then under, he ſhould not be ſuſpected to have had any ſuch Deſign. He not only behaved himſelf with Spirit and a becoming Reſolution upon this Arreſt, but continually aſſerted his Innocence, preſſed for his Trial, and deſired nothing more than to ſee his Enemies Face to Face. And the Earl of *Shrewsbury*,

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[e] *Reflect. on the* Oxford. *Theſes relating to the* Engliſh *Reformation.*

who, had mediated to the King, that he ſhould be conducted to *London* by Sir *William Kingſton* Conſtable of the *Tower*, afterwards aſſured him, *that God and his Friends had wrought for him according to his own Deſires, that he had more Cauſe to rejoice than lament, or miſtruſt the Matter: And that his Enemies were more afraid of him, than he had need to be of his Enemies.* In ſhort, *that Sir* William Kingſton *had been ſent to do him Honour, and to convey him forward to* London *by ſuch eaſy Journeys, as he ſhould command.* After this State of his Caſe at that Time, the Reader my judge for himſelf, where the ſtrongeſt Grounds of Suſpicion concerning his being poyſoned, if he really was poyſoned, may be ſuppoſed to lie; whether upon thoſe who ſecretly oppoſed his Return to *London*, and endeavoured to prevent it, or upon himſelf, who ſo earneſtly deſired to ſee his Accuſers Face to Face, and was now put in ſo fair, or rather ſo favourable a Way of obtaining his Deſire? And therefore after Sir *William Kingſton* had ſaluted him with Commendations from the King, and aſſured him in his Majeſty's Name, that he was not ſent for, becauſe his Majeſty ſuppoſed him guilty of the Crimes laid to his Charge, but to the End Juſtice might have its due and regular Courſe, He readily prepared, ſick and infirm as he then was, to proceed in his Journey. But being reduced to ſo weak a State, that in the Opinion of his Phyſitians he had not above four or five Days to live, he was not able, as he had propoſed to ſet forward the next Day, but two Days after he arrived at *Nottingham*, lying one Night at a Houſe of the Earl of *Shrewsbury*'s called *Hardwick-Hall*; and, which proved his laſt Stage, the next Day at *Leiceſter* Abbey: Where at his coming in late, having been ſo ſick by the Way that he could ſcarce ſit on Horſeback, the Abbot with all the Convent met him at the Gate with lighted Torches, whom they honourably received and wellcomed with great Reverence: To whom he only made this ſhort but moving and prophetick Speech; *Father Abbot, I am come to lay my Bones among you.* After this, which happened upon *Saturday*, he was led up Stairs, but not without much Difficulty, to Bed. On *Monday* Morning, Mr. *Cavendiſh* about Eight of the Clock ſtanding by his Bedſide thought, *he perceived his drawing on towards Death.* The Cardinal obſerving him, asked, *what is it a Clock*; upon which he anſwering *Eight of the Clock*, the Cardinal repeated thoſe Words ſeveral Times, ſaying at Length, "That can-"not be, For at Eight of the Clock you ſhall ſee your Maſter's "Time draw near, that I muſt depart this World." Which Words *Cavendiſh*, with others to whom he reported them, underſtood as ſpoken alluſively to his Maſter's Death at Eight a Clock the next Morning. Before he died, he made a Speech directing himſelf to

Sir *William Kingſton*, wherein, after he had declared, he only waited *God's Pleaſure to render up his poor Soul to him*; he adds, “I pray you have me heartily commended unto his Royal Majeſty; and beſeech him on my Behalf to call to Remembrance, all Matters that have been between us from the Beginning, and the Progreſs; And eſpecially between good Queen *Katherine* and him; And then ſhall his Grace's Conſcience know, whether I have offended him or not?

“He is a Prince of moſt royal Courage, and hath a princely Heart; And rather than He will miſs or want any Part of his Will, He will endanger the one Half of his Kingdom.

“I do aſſure you, I have often kneeled before him, ſometimes three Hours together to perſuade him from his Will and Appetite, but could not prevail. And Maſter *Kingſton*, had I but ſerved God as diligently, as I have ſerved the King, He would not have given me over in my grey Hairs. But this is the juſt Reward, that I muſt receive for my diligent Pains and Study, not regarding my Service to God, but only to my Prince.”

15. Theſe penitential Confeſſions, like others which frequently occur in the Devotions of good Men, are not to be underſtood abſolutely, but comparatively. For the Cardinal, doth not appear in the Courſe of his Life to have been chargeable with any culpable Neglect of God's Service private or publick. His Zeal, if we recollect certain Paſſages in his Hiſtory, was rather, in both Reſpects, commendable and exemplary. But that he exceeded in too obſequious a Compliance with the Will of a Prince, who rewarded him after the Manner we have mentioned, is what I will neither pretend to deny or to excuſe: The Reſt of his Speech relating to Innovations in Religion, may be ſeen in *Cavendiſh*. The greateſt temporal Concern, except that perhaps for his [f] Colleges which ſeems to have afflicted him more than any thing, [g] was the Satisfaction of his Creditors. And to ſhew his Deſire to do Juſtice to the King, he declares he will diſcover before he dies, where a certain Sum of Money, to which his Majeſty laid Claim, might be found. The laſt Words of his Speech were, *Maſter Kingſton Farewel. I wiſh all Things may have good Succeſs. My Time draws on*; *I may not tarry with you*; *I pray you remember my Words.* He dy'd of a *Dyſentery* on *Tueſday* Morning, being the twenty ninth Day of *November*, after he had received extreme Unction, and been aſſiſted by the Prayers of the Abbot.

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[f] *See Addit. Pap.* 258, &c.

[g] *See* Cavendiſh, *p.* 110. 111. Ed. 1641.

16. And thus concluded the Life of the great Cardinal *Wolſey*. The next Day after he had been, with his Coffin open, barefaced to be ſeen of all Perſons that deſired to ſee him, till three of the Clock in the Afternoon, the Abbot with great Solemnity performed the Funeral Office over him.

17. On the Feaſt of Saint *Andrew*, which was the Day following, early in the Morning about four of the Clock, ſeveral religious Rites were performed, as was uſual at the Interment of Biſhops; the Abbot ſaying Maſs; after which his Body about Six of the Clock was depoſited in the Middle of the Chappel of the Abbey; but of which even the Ruins are not at preſent to be diſcovered.

18. As the Cardinal was an Eccleſiaſtick, whom the Laws of the Church, in that Age, reſtrained from Marriage; And as, in every Age, Clergymen in particular are reſtrained from all impure Commerce with Women; it will not be very natural for the Reader to expect, that I ſhould here proceed according to the uſual Method of *Riographers* to inquire, what Iſſue He left, or whether He left any? However as I would not be, or appear chargeable, on any Account, with *partiality*, I ſhall not diſſemble, the Cardinal is ſuppoſed in the thirty eighth Article of his Impeachment, to have had two Children by one Woman. Whether *Winter* called his Son in the twenty ſeventh Article, was one of them, I have not been able to diſcover. Nor ſhall I here reſume the Queſtion, what Weight a publick Accuſation ought to have, which was never proved? Without conſidering the Force of any Argument drawn from the Authority of thoſe Articles, I readily grant, that *Winter* was generally ſuſpected to have been the Cardinal's natural Son; and that there are indeed ſome ſtrong Preſumptions, that he was really ſo. The Cardinal took Care, that he ſhould have a learned and liberal Education; He ſent him, at his own Expence, to ſtudy at *Paris*; He multiplied Preferments upon him, beyond what the Rules of Prudence, or a juſt and regular Uſe of his Power would allow; And in the Grant of Arms made to him, wherein his ſeveral [g] Prefer-

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[g] 1. *Dean of* Wells.
2. *Prebendary of* Lutton *in that Church.*
3. *Archdeacon of* York *and* Richmond.
4. *Prebendary of* Strenſall *in the ſame Church.*
5. *Chancellor of* Sarum.
6. *Prebendary of* Bedwin *in the ſame Church.*
7. *Provoſt of St.* John *of* Beverley.
8. *Prebendary of* Milton *in the Church of* Lincoln.
9. *Prebendary of* Norwell *in the Church of* Southwell.
10. *Rector of* Rindley *in the Dioceſs of* York.
11. *Rector of St.* Mathew *in* Ipſwich.

ments are enumerated, there is a near Affinity between them, and thoſe of the Cardinal; this however ought to be mentioned to the Cardinal's Honour, that the Relation of *Winter* to him, if he was really the Cardinal's natural Son, was not thought a ſufficient Cauſe for advancing him to the Dignity of a Biſhop. Not that he wanted a common ſhare of Learning, or a juſt [h] Character in reſpect to his Morals. But even in that dark and ignorant Age of Popery, I queſtion whether one Perſon could be found upon the Epiſcopal Bench, who was not diſtinguiſhed by his Learning, and Superior Abilities.

19. Neither ſhall I omit to obſerve, there were ſeveral ſcandalous Aſperſions caſt upon the Cardinal, in a Libel written by one *Skelton*, Poet Laureat; but what Credit may be given to the Invectives of his [i] Poem, we may conclude from the vile and infamous Conſtruction, which he put upon the Cardinal's moſt noble and magnificent Deſign in founding his [k] Colleges, particularly that of *Oxford*; A Copy of the Grant of Arms to which I have exhibited [l] in the Collections; And ſhall here take an Occaſion of referring to the Inſcription upon the [m] Foundation Stone of it.

20. There was alſo a *Memorial*, as it was called, highly injurious to the Cardinal, Printed in the Year 1706, under the borrowed Name of *Cecil*, *Lord Burleigh*; wherein however this Ho-

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[h] Diu in virtute claruit & perſeveravit, *&c.* ib.

[i] *The Copy of which was communicated to me with ſeveral other curious Memoirs, by the learned Antiquary* Peter Le Neve, *Eſq;* Norroy *King of Arms.*

" [k] *The Goods that he thus gaddered,*
" *Wretchedly he hath ſcattered,*
" *In Cauſes nothinge expedient;*
" *To make Windowes, Walles, and Dores,*
" *And to maintain Bauds and Whores,*
" *A grett parte therof is Spent.*

And afterward

" *In theſe Parties it is verifyed,*
" *That he hath a College edified,*
" *Of mervelous Foundation,*
" *Of prevy Houſes of Bandry,*
" *He hath made a Stues openly,*
" *Endued with large Exhibition.*

[l] N°. 106.

[m] Hic textus inſculpitur in prima petra jacti fundamenti Collegij Cardinalis *Oxon.*

Reverendiſſimus in Chriſto Pater & Dominus Dominus *Thomas Wuley* miſeratione divina tituli Sanctæ Ceciliæ ſacroſanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ presbyter Cardinalis Eboracen. Archie'pus, Angliæ Primas & Apoſtolicæ ſedis Legatus; E'pus Dunelmenſis, exemptiq; Monaſterij Sti Albani perpetuus Commendatarius, Cancellarius Angliæ, ac dictæ ſedis Apoſtolicæ ad vitam ſuam etiam de latere Legatus, hanc petram poſuit in Honorem Stæ & individuæ Trinitatis, glorioſiſſimæ Virginis Mariæ, Sanctæ Frideſwidæ & omnium Sanctorum, viceſimo die Marcij, Anno Dom. milleſimo quingenteſſimo viceſimo quinto.

Communicated by the Reverend Dr. Aſtry *Treaſurer of St.* Paul's.

nourable Atteſtation has been given to him by the Author, whoever he was, that *his Decrees in Chancery were equitable and juſt.* Which Teſtimony, I apprehend, is equablly applicable to the Decrees made by thoſe, who were impowered by Commiſſion from the King, when he could not ſit in Court himſelf, to act in his Name. For that there might be no Delay of Juſtice, during the Time the Cardinal was taken up in the Adminiſtration of publick Affairs, the King, at his Inſtance, was pleaſed to grant a [n] Commiſſion under the great Seal, impowering *John Tayler* Clerk, Maſter of the *Rolls*; *Richard Leiſter* Chief Baron of the *Exchequer*, and eighteen other Perſons therein mentioned, or four of them, to hear Cauſes in *Chancery*. And tho' I have not met with any former Copy of the like Commiſſion, yet it is highly probable, as hath been before obſerved on the Credit of other Hiſtorians, that the Cardinal, for the more eaſy and expeditious Diſpatch of Buſineſs in *Chancery*, had formerly taken the ſame Method; And it ought to be mentioned in Honour to his Memory, that this Precedent has been continually followed; and the like Commiſſions have been ſucceſſively renewed to the preſent Time, with little Alteration as to the Form, in appointing the Maſter of the *Rolls*, ſeveral of the Judges and Maſters in *Chancery*, or three of them, to hear Cauſes, Motions and Petitions. It does not appear that there hath been any Objection to ſuch Commiſſion, except in the firſt Year of *Edward* the Sixth; when the Earl of *Southampton*, then Chancellor, was cenſured, and the Seals were taken from him, for putting them to a Commiſſion for empowering the Maſter of the *Rolls* at that Time, and three Maſters in *Chancery*, or any two of them, to hear Cauſes. But the Cenſure he incurred, was not *ſtrictly* for ſetting the Seals to ſuch a Commiſſion; But for ſetting the Seals to it, *without Warrant* from the Council.

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[n] June 11. 21. Hen. 8.

De Commiſſariis ad audiendas Cauſas in Cancellaria ad Relevamen Cardinalis Eborum.

A. D. 1529.
An. 21. H. 8.
Pat. 21. H. 8.
Pat. 1. M. 27.
Dor.

REX Dilectis & Fidelibus ſuis Johanni Tayler Clerico, Magiſtro, ac Cuſtodi Rotulorum, Cancellariæ Noſtræ, Richardo Lyſter Capitali Baroni Scaccarii noſtri, Antonio Fitz Herbert Militi, Uni Juſticiariorum Noſtrorum de Communi Banco; Johanni Scot uni Baronum de Scaccario noſtro, Richardo Wolman Clerico, Rogero Lupton Clerico, Willellmo Frogmorton Clerico, Edwardo Higgens Clerico, Rolando Lee Clerico, Thomæ Newman Clerico, Johanni Skeus, Waldenio Mallet, Waltero Tuko, Humfredo Wyngefelt, Willielmo Conynsby, Johanni Hynde, Johanni Baltwin, Franciſco Mountford, Thomæ Watſon, Chriſtophero Jenny, Salutem. Sciatis, quod cum Reverendiſſimus in Chriſto Pater Thomas, Miſeratione divina, Tituli Sanctæ Ceciliæ trans Tiberim, Sacroſanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ Presbyter Cardinalis, Legatus a Latere, Archiepiſcopus Eborum, Angliæ Primas, & Apoſtolicæ Sedis Legatus, ac Cancellarius Noſter, Pro Bono Pacis, & Quieto Regimine Regni & Subditorum Noſtrorum Angliæ, ac pro Bono Commodo & Utilitate Reipublicæ occupatus, continueque Verſatus Exiſtat, conſiderantes pieque compatientes Ejus in hac parte Vigiliis, Sollicitudinibus, & Laboribus intollerabilibus, quos inde patitur ſuffertque, & ne Hujuſmodi infiniti

tam

It ſufficiently appears from the Phraſeology and modern Terms of the Memorial before-mentioned, it was not written by the Lord *Burleigh*, and from the Title and Deſign of it, that it was publiſhed under a fictitious Reference to the Adminiſtration of Cardinal *Wolſey*; with a Deſign of reflecting on two Miniſters of State, who at that Time, had the chief Direction of Affairs.

It may perhaps be expected, that in Conformity to many modern Examples, I ſhould here in the Concluſion give a ſummary Character of Cardinal *Wolſey*; but I rather Chuſe, the Reader ſhould collect it himſelf from the foregoing Hiſtory. If the Judgement of Biſhop [o] *Godwyn* is true, as it appears to be very well founded, the Cardinal was greater under Circumſtances of the laſt Diſtreſs at *Aſhur*, where he wanted every Thing, than when he was arrayed in all his Glory at Court. For according to the Extract I have made from that learned Prelate, the Deſign of the King in uſing the Cardinal after that Manner, and ſometimes by ſhewing Favour to him, was only that he might bring him at laſt to do, what Archbiſhop *Cranmer* did afterwards, by giving Sentence for the Divorce. This Reflection diſcovers to us one of the brighteſt Parts of Cardinal *Wolſey*'s Character, and enables us to form a better Judgement of him. Amidſt the Affluence of a great Fortune, a Man muſt be very weak, or very wicked, who does not preſerve a good Reputation. But an in-

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tam Mentis quam Corporis Vires ita (quod abſit) Extenuent, ne tam noſtris neceſſariis Negotiis, Sano firmoque Corpore vacare valeat ea, qua ſolet, ſumma Diligentia; Volentes præterea Complementum Juſticiæ unicuique Noſtrorum ſubditorum fieri, De Fidelitatibus & Circumſpectionibus veſtris plenarie confidentes, Aſſignavimus vos viginti decem & Novem, Treſdecem, Duodecem, Undecem, decem, & ſeptem, ſexdecem, Quindecem [Quatuordecem, Quinque, aut quatuor Veſtrum] ac vobis viginti decem, & novem decem & octo decem, & ſeptem, Sexdecem, Quindecem, (in Quibus quidem quatuor ad minus duos ex vobis vos prefati, Johannes Tayler, Richarde Antoni, Thoma Englefeld, Richarde Ragne, Wilielme Frogmorton, Edvarde Rolande, & Thoma Ape, volumus ſemper) Poteſtatem & Auctoritatem Tenore præſentium damus & concedimus, Ad omnes & ſingulas Cauſas Querelas & Querimonias quorumcunque ſubditorum Noſtrorum Coram Nobis in Cancellaria noſtra pendentia, pendentes motas & movendas, & per prefatum Dominum Cancellarium, vobis ſeu Aliquibus, vel Alicui veſtrum impoſitas & Commiſſas, & impoſterum de Tempore in Tempus imponendas & committendas, audiendum Examinandum & perſcrutandum, ac debito Fine, ſecundum Allegata & probata, juxta Sanas Diſcretiones Veſtras diſcutiendum & finaliter determinandum, & plenariam Executionem ſuper inde fieri mandandum.

Et Ideo Mandamus, quod circa premiſſa, diligenter intendatis, vere faciatis, & exequamini, cum Effectu.

Damus autem Tenore preſentium omnibus & ſingulis, Officiariis, Miniſtris, & ſubditis Noſtris quorum intereſt in hac parte firmiter in Mandatis, quod vobis in præmiſſis Omnibus, & ſingulis faciendis, & Exequendis intendentes ſint, ſicut & obedientes in omnibus, prout decet.

In Cujus, *&c.*

Teſte Rege apud Weſtmonaſterium Undecimo Die Junij.

[o] Quorſum enim crebræ Miſſitationes, Gratiam & Reconciliationem Oſtentantes, ſed graviſſimis indies Contumeliis intermixtæ, ultimam Indignationem minitantibus, niſi, ut Hominem Rex Blanditiis pelliceret, ac Terroribus, ac minis propelleret, ad ferendam pro Divortio Sententiam, eo ſaltem modo, quo poſtea *Cranmerus* Cantuarienſis Archiepiſcopus. *Godn. Ann.* p. 45.

digent Condition ſhews what a Man is, and takes off thoſe falſe Colours, under which, in a Flow of Proſperity, Vice not only finds a thouſand Ways of Concealment, but, with vulgar and ignorant Perſons, of *Triumph*. There is ſcarce indeed any Trial, that is difficult to a Man of the leaſt Honour and Virtue, who is eaſy in his Fortune, which ſhould induce him to act contrary to his Conſcience. The greateſt Difficulty lies in overcoming the Temptations incident to Men, whoſe Minds are depreſſed with the Apprehenſions of Want, or of that Diſgrace and Neglect, which are ſuppoſed inevitably to attend it. I do not know, whether ſeveral Perſons living and dead might not be named, who, under thoſe Apprehenſions, have engaged in mean and diſhonourable Deſigns, to which they were above all Things reluctant; who would otherways have been unmoved at all the Flatteries, and at all the Terrours, of this World. And therefore the inflexible Virtue and Conſtancy of Cardinal *Wolſey*, during ſo great and ſevere a Trial, and over which he finally triumphed, is what I would leave an Impreſſion of upon the Reader's Mind. For if it do not prove, what it is not intended to do, that he was a Man of conſummate Virtue, it muſt be admitted at leaſt, he gave hereby one of the ſtrongeſt Evidences, which *could* be given, that he was a Man of Honour and Probity.

FINIS.

COLLECTIONS.

BOOK I.

E Libro Teſtamentorum in Regiſtro principali. Dni. Epi. Norwic. Multon *inſcripto.* f. 146. a.

I*N Dei Nomine Amen* the xxxi day of the Moneth of *Septembr* the yer of our Lord god. a m CCCClxxxxvi. I *Robt Wuley* of *Ipyſwiche hooll* of *Mend* and in good memory beyng make my teſtament and my laſt wyll in this maid wyſe Fyrſt I bequeth my Soull to Almyghty God our Lady Sent *Mary* and to all the company of hevyn and my body to be buryed in the Churche yard of our Lady ſent *Mary* of *Neumket* Alſo I beq. to the hey Aut of the Pariche of ſent *Nicholas* of *Ippyſwiche* vi *s.* viii *d.* Alſo I beq. to the pentyng of the Archangell ther xl *s.* Itm I wyll that if *Thomas* my Son be a preſt wtin a yer next after my deceſse yan I wyll that He ſyng for me and my Frends be the ſpace of a yer and he for to have for his Salary x marc and if the ſeyd *Thomas* my Son be not a preſt yan I wyll that a nother honeſt preſt ſyng for me and my Frends the term aforeſeyd and he to have the Salary of x marc Itm I wyll that *Johan* my wyf have all my Lands and tents in the pariſhe of ſent *Nicholas* in *Ippiſwych* aforeſaid and my free and bondlonds in the piche of St. *Stoke* to geve and to ſell the Reſidew of all my goods afor not bequethed I geve and bequethe to the good diſpoſicion of *Johan* my wyff *Thomas* my Soon and *Thomas Cady* whom I order and make my Executors to diſpoſe for me as ther ſhall think beſt to ples almyghty God and pfyt for my Soull and of this my teſtiment and laſt wyll I orden and make *Richard Farrington* ſupviſour and he for to have for hys labuor xiii *s.* iiii *d.* and yf the ſeid *Richard* deſerve more he for to have more of *Johan* my wyf Itm I beq. to the ſeyd *Thomas Cady* my Executour aforſeyd xiii *s.* iiii *d.* yevyn the day yer and place above vretyn. N°. 1. p. 3.

Probatum fuit preſens Teſtamentum apud Gipwic. *coram nobis Offic. Conſ. Dm. Epi.* Norwic xi. *die menſis Octobris Anno Dm. millimo* ccccmo. lxxxxvi. *In cujus rei Teſtimonium ſigillum*, &c.

E Libro Inſtitutionum, &c. xiii. *in Reg'ro Ricardi Dm. Epi. Norwic.* f. 66.

RIcus permiſſione divina Norvicen. Epus, *&c.* Dilecto nobis in Chriſto Dno. *Thomæ Wolſey* Capellano Salutem in Dno ad Eccleſiam parochialem de *Redgrave Norvic.* Dioces n'træq; Juris'nis N°. 2. p. 10.

per mortem naturalem dni *Roberti Hemleyn* ultimi Rectoris Ejuſdem vacant' ad Quem per venerabilem & religioſum virum Abbatem Monaſterii ſcti *Edmdi De Bury* ipſius Eccleſiæ Patronum nobis preſentatus exiſtens admittimus teq; Rectorem in eadem canonice inſtituimus cum ſuis juribus ac pertinentiis univerſis Curam Animarum Paroch' ejuſdem tibi in dno Comit' Juribus & Conſuetudinibus nris Epalibus & Eccleſiæ noſtræ Cathedral. ſtæ Trin. de *Norvic.* Dignitat. & prærogativis in omnibus ſemper ſalvis Dat' *London.* viii. die menſis *Junii* Ann. Dom. m.ccccc Sexto ut Scriptum fuit Archi'no Sudbur ad inducendum eundem.

Letter of Archbiſhop Bambrige *to the Cardinal.* Coll. Lib. Vit. B. F. 51. b.

An Original.

N°. 3. p. 20. BRoder Maſter *Almner* in my beſt manner I commende me unto you advertiſing you that of treuthe ſuche honour and noblenes is here ſpoken of the Kingis grace by reaſon of his moſte victorious Interpriſe aganſte thennimyes of the churche and his odr demenor that his glorie is here extemyde to be immortal. It is unto all his trew ſubgiettes lovers and frendes Joye and comfort ineſtimable. And ye may be well aſſuride itt is noo leſſe pean and ſorowe unto our common Enymes who here be utterlie diſcuragide. Wold our Lord Ihu it war my fortune convenientlie to ſe thare his grace yon and odr my Lordes and freindes of his gracis companey in this his journey I truſt ther levithe no man that be more deſirous therunto then I am. but in the mean tyme I ſhall hartylie pray to God for the prouſperous preſervation of his grace and you all his company with the beſte and moſt diligentt ſervice that I can doo here for the ſame. I wrott lately unto the Kingis grace my mynde enempſte the buſhop of *Murreys* late benefice of *Cottyngham* which now I am informyde his grace haithe yeven as vacande by his acceptinge the Archbuſſhopriche of *Biturien.* My mynde was (the Kingis grace ſoo contentide) to have doon ſom pleaſour for you therin ſoo farr as myght have lyen in me to doo tho I ſhulde have borne ſom charge therby and have ſuffride the ſaid ſcottis buſſhops malice. If he attemptt the matier in this Court as latelie his Proctour was myndede to doo. I woll ſounde all wey, aganſte hym for the Kingis title. And ſoo I was determying to have doon affore I wrott unto the Kingis grace ſuppoſing then itt ſhuld have fallen in your haundes If itt ſoo had fortunyde I ſhulde have extemyde my labours Doublie well biſtowide boithe for the Kingis title and in like maner for your cauſe. If all ſuccede ſoo well with the Kingis grace as I truſt in God itt ſhall doo peraunt the ſaid Buſſhop ſhall have butt harde nebourhede in his ſaid Archebuſſhopriche. And if ſoo wer. I thynke itt wer butt condigne for his demerettes. Sir if ther be ony thyng wherin in thies parties I can or may doo unto you ony pleaſure during myne aboode in the ſame, I ſhall deſire.——

Note, *The remaining part of this Letter directed, as mentioned in the Reference to it, is at preſent be miſlayed, but will be added at the End of the Collections.*

The Form of the Oath taken by the Biſhop of Murray *in the Name of* James *King of the Scots.* Rymer T. 16. 261.

An Original.

No. 4. p. 30. I *Andrew*, Byſhop of *Murray*, Commendatour of *Pettinweme*, Oratour Ambaſſadour and Commiſſioner ſufficiently in this behalve Deputed and Ordeigned by the Right High and Mighty Prince my mooſt drad Souveraign Lord *James*, by the Grace of God, King of *Scotlande*, in the Name and for the ſame my Soverain Lord and in the Perill of his Soule Promyſe and by theſe Holy Euvangelies and Canon of the Holy Maſſe, by Me bodely Touched, ſwere that my ſaid Souverain Lord *James* King of *Scotland* ſhall, for his Part wele and truly Kepe and obſerve the Treatie of perpetual Peas and Amitie and every Article of the ſame, paſſed and concluded by ſufficient Auctorite and in the names of My ſaid Souverain Lord King of *Scotlond* on that oon Partie, and the Right Excellent, Right High and Mighty Prince *Henry*, of moſt Famous Memorie, by the Grace of God, Late King of *England*, and of *France* and Lord of *Irland* on the other Partie, Bering Date the twenty fourth day of *January*, the Yere of our Lord God, after the Courſe and Compte of the Churches of *Scotlond* and *Englond* one Thouſand five Hundred and oon.

And afterwards by the Right Excellent, Right High and Mighty Prince *Henry*, by the Grace of God, now King of *England*, and of *France*, and Lord of *Irland*, ſecond Son, Heire and Succeſſour of the ſaid *Henry* late King of the ſame, according to the ſaid Treatie of perpetual Peax Ratified and Confermed, and to my ſaid Souverain Lord King of *Scotland* on his behalve delyvered, and by him accepted, and the ſame Treatie of perpetual Peas and every Article thereof my ſaid Souverain Lord King of *Scotland* ſhall cauſe in likewiſe, as far as in Hym is, to be obſerved and Kept by His Subgiettis.

And in Witneſſe of this my Dede, I, the ſaid Biſhop have ſubſcribed this Writing with my owne Hand, at the Manoir of *Hanworth* in *England*, the twenty ninth day of *Auguſt*, and of the Reigne of my ſaid Souverain Lord King of *Scotland* the twenty Second

Andro of *Murray* Commandour of *Pettynwene*
and *Cotyngam*, &c.

Juſjurandum quo Henricus *Archiep. Cantuar. Obedientiam Fidemq; Pontifici ſpoſpondit.*

No. 5. p. 44. EGO Henricus Archiepiſcopus Cantuarienſis fidelis & obediens ero Beato Petro, ſanctæq; Apoſtolicæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ, & Domino meo Johanni xxiii ſuiſq; ſucceſſoribus Canonicè intrantibus. non ero in conſilio aut conſenſu ut vitam perdant aut membrum, ſeu capiantur mala captione. Conſilium quod mihi credituri ſunt per ſe, aut nuncios, ſeu literas, ad eorum damnum me ſciente nemini pandam. Papatum Romanum & regalia ſancti Petri adjutor ero iis ad retinendum & defendendum, ſalvo ordine meo contra omnem hominem. Legatum Apoſtolicæ ſedis in eundo & redeundo honorificè comitabor, & in ſuis neceſſitatibus adiuvabo, vocatus ad Synodum veniam, niſi præpeditus fuero Canonica præpeditione. Apoſtolorum limina ſingulis trienniis viſitabo, aut per me aut per meum

nuncium, niſi Apoſtolica abſolvar licentia. Poſſeſſiones ad menſam meam Archiepiſcopalem pertinentes non vendam, neq; donabo, neq; impignorabo, neq; de novo infeudabo, neq; alio modo alienabo, inconſulto Romano Pontifice ſic me Deus adiuvet & hæc ſancta Evangelia.

Ducki Vita Henrici Chichele.

Adrian. Epiſcop. Wigorn. *& Cardinalis ad Elemoſynarium.* Biblioth. Cotton. Vitell. B. II. Fol. 40.

Autographum.

Nº. 6. p. 56. RDe mi D'ne Elemoſynarie poſt Comen. *&c.* Accepi perhumanas l'ras v'ræ D'nis 13°. præteriti Menſis ſcriptas ex quibus quum ab illa pro ſua ſingulari humanitate me magnopere amari liquido colligere poſſim, eidem qualeſcunq; poſſum gr'as ago. Illam enim non ſolum mihi bonum amicum & fratrem futurum, ſed etiam me in omnibus meis cauſis iſtic optimo favore proſecutur. omnino ſpero, & ut hoc efficiat eandem quantum in me eſt, rogo & obſecro. Præterea qd tam benigne pro me cum ſereniſſima n'ra Regina operata ſit, illi & immortales gras ago quum ad ſuam contemplationem præfata maj'tas ſua non ſolum ad me ſcribere ſed etiam nonnullas ſuas res mihi imponere ſua benignitate dignata eſt, quas quidem res omni reverentia amore & diligentia ſanctiſſimo domino noſtro ea qua potui dexteritate & poſui & ſignificavi, Illiq; lras ſuæ ſereniſſimæ Mtis præſentavi, ex quibus profecto ſua ſanctitas maximam p'cepit voluptatem & conſolationem. Et quamvis demum exemptio illor. ſex Capellanor. ſit res admodum ardua reſpectu juriſdictionis ordinariorum tamen pſata ſua ſanctitas illam concedere libenter contenta fuit, de pecuniis vero ejuſmodi compoſitionis quæ ſuæ Sanctitati debent contingere, illas, nihil penitus vult recipere. Sed ſi bulla ſub plumba expedietur, erit neceſſe ſolvere taxas ordinarias. Sua enim Sanctitas juravit qd nulli Officialium Curiæ ſua vult adimere jura, & hoc per Capitula in Conclavi ſancitum fuit. De p'tio vero in p'ſentia nihil mihi ſatis conſtat, ſed per ſequentem nuncium, & Veſtra Dominatio & ſua ſereniſſima Mtas de hoc certiores a me diligenter fient.

Quantum ad diſpenſationem, quam p'fata V. D. poſtulat ut poſſit obtinere beneficia valoris duar. milium librar. aut ſaltem duar milium Marcar' etiamſi fuerint pluſquam tres Eccleſiæ parochiales *&c.* de hac re cum p'fato Sanctiſſimo Domino Noſtro & Datario diu locutus ſum quibus non ſolum virtutes Veſtræ Dominationis ſed etiam magnam auctoritatem quam hebet cum iſta ſerma regia Mte diligenter declaravi & breviter nolunt concedere hujuſmodi diſpenſationem dicentes quod nunqm audierunt talem rem factam fuiſſe, referuntq; qd Dtio V. diligenter inquirere faciat ejuſmodi diſpenſationes per totam Angliam, omneſq; videat copiamq; mittat, & ſiquid unqm in iſto regno in tali re alicui conceſſum fuit, Vræ quoq; Dni libenter concedet. Deus ſcit quod in tali negocio quicquid fieri potuit effeci, & ſum uſus majori diligentia, quam ſi eſſet res mea, & ſine dubio ſi D. V. in hac re compos voti effecta fuiſſet magnum theſaurum lucrari mihi viſum eſſet, quoniam tantum deſidero illi inſervire ut nulli amicor' ſuor' concedam.

De Novis vero quæ hic habeantur, nihil attingam. Scio enim quod D. V. ex lris Rmi Carlis Eboracen ad Serenimam R Mtem eadem ad unguem intelliget, qd pſatus Rmus Carlis diebus ſupe-

rioribus parumper male ſe habuit, ſed nunc (Deo bene volente) jam fere convaluit, & feliciter valeat *V. D.* cui me etiam atq; etiam commendo. Romæ 10. *Maii.* 1513.

E. V. D.

V'r tanquam fr' Sil. Epus' Wigornienſ. N°. 8.

Reverendo D'no Thomæ Vlſey *Regio*
Elemoſinario digniſſimo tanquam f'ri
honorar.

Letter from Archbiſhop Bambrige *to the King.*

An Original.

I Sende unto your grace att this tyme a Copie of a Bill maide N°. 7. p. 73.
in forma Inſt'ri by the Sciſmatiques Sanctt and ſanctt Severine, and rede the 17th day of this monthe in the 7th Seſſion of the generall counſaill of Latrynen. Wherein your grace ſhall p'ceve ſuch ſubſtanciall demenor as they have uſide. The Popis holines ſaide unto me that he hade cauſide this ſaide bill ſoo to be rede oonly for the Rebuke ſhame and infamy of the ſaide Sciſmatiques. His holines is determinyd to reſtore theme ſhortlie. but if he ſoo doo. it ſhall be doon (as he ſaithe) withe thare grett ſhame and honor of all ſuch as haithe taken armes againſte them: biſidis that the Sciſme ſhall contynue ſtill in *France.* And that he woll never doo ony thyng concerning thabſolution of *France* from thenterdictt; nodr' for ſuche Sciſmatiques as be thare withoutt thexpreſſe conſentt of his confederattes. My Lorde the Cardinall *Hadriane* doithe now gretlie avauntt hym ſelf that ſithen thet I dide ſhow unto hym your gracis moſt honourable l'res aganſt the ſaide Sciſmatiques he haithe laboride extremelie aganſte them and brought the matier unto this paſſe, the whiche is nothyng ſoo. For itt is here oppenlie knowne to all men that all thyng, whiche haithe been doon aganſte the ſaide Sciſmatiques, haith been brought aboutt oonlie by the Cardinale *Sanctt Vitall' Sedunen'* and my ſelf. All odr' that ony thyng haith doon herin, they have doon itt att our inſtances. tho' I be verray loithe to writt ony thyng aganſte ony p'ſone unto your grace. Yitt in ſuche thynges as be doon or ſaide aganſte your gracis honour by ſuche as ſhulde and be bounde gretlie to regarde the ſame having ther leving of noo odr' criſtian prince butt oonlie of your grace. I can nott of dutie hould my peax. thambaſſador of *Arragonne* being reſidentt here did latelie come unto me in my title whiche is a complett myle from his houſſe, to ſhew unto me, that the ſaide Cardinall *Hadria'* dide dyvulgate emonges the Cardinalls and odr', certain thynges aganſt your gracis honour. Furſt that your grace wolde come over the See, Nott to invaide thennymyes of the churche butt to maike a peax at your pleaſour. Secundlye he ſhewide unto the ſaide Ambaſſadour that noo man in *Rome* hade ony trew tythynges from *Englounde* but he, by reaſon that he haithe oon factour thare namide *Polidorus* who he ſaide was bodie and ſoull to my Lorde of *Wincheſtre.* and from hym he hade writing that your grace wold nott in ony caſe p'ſonallie p'cede aganſte the *Franſhmen.* the whiche relacion did gretlie diſcomforthe all ſuche

as be your gracis ſervaunttes and regardith your honour. and gretlie incuragithe all thoos that be your Enymyes. When I dide advertiſe the ſaide Cardinall herof deſiring hym to maike noo relacion contrarie to your graces owne l'res to me directide in the whiche was never founde lie. he did ſwer that he never did ſay ony ſuche thynges. tho nott oonlie the ſaide Ambaſſadour. butt alſo ſome of the beſte Cardinalls in *Rome* woll prove itt affore his Face. in ſoo moche as the ſaid Ambaſſadour of *Arrogon* doith writte att this tyme as he haithe certifyyde me unto thambaſſadour of *Arrogon* reſidentt in your gracis courtt deſiring hyme to ſhewe this thing in ſuch maner thare that the ſaide Cardinall maye be warnyde to deſiſte from making of ſuche untrewe relacion contrarie unto your gracis l'res and honour. Yiſterday the ſaide Ambaſſadour of *Arrogon* hade worde from the *Viceroy*. that themp'ours armye that kepide the Citie of *Verona* aganſte the *Venecians* was departid from thence into a ſtrong caſtile of themp'ours nye unto itt. for lake of paymentt of ther wages. ſoo that the *Venyſhans* may entre the ſaide citie at ther pleaſour. the ſaide Ambaſſadour ſhewide me alſo that the ſaide *Viceroye* was myndide to procede aganſte the *Venyſhans*. and how the Popis holines had promyſide unto hyme and alſo writen unto the ſaide *Viceroy* that he wolde paye wages to thre thouſaunde *Swices* that ſhulde june with hyme. and alſo ſende unto hym foure hundrethe men of Armes aganſte the ſaide *Venyſhans*. When we hade yiſterday knowlege that the Popis holines had ſentt for the two Sciſmatiques for thare forſaide reſtitucion. thambaſſadours of themperour and the King of *Arrogon* and I dide goo all to geders unto his ſaide holines. and deſiride hym inſtantlie that like as his predeceſſour did nothyng in the privation of the ſaide Sciſmatiques withoutt the conſentt of all princes cryſtinyde frendes unto the churche. in like maner he wolde do no thyng concerning ther reſtitution withoutt ther like conſenttes. hereunto his holines aunſwerde that the mater was ſoo farr paſſide that he couthe not revocke itt. Albe itt he ſaide that in the maner of ther reſtitucion he wolde regarde thonour of the confederattes in ſuche forme as affore I have writen and thare he made unto us all a ſolompne promyſe that he wold nothyng doo nother touchyng the relaxacion of thenterdictt of *France* ne the reſtitucion of thoder Sciſmatiques withoutt thexpreſſe conſentt and conſaill of all the confederates. the Popis holines is myndid as your grace may p'ceve by his breve to ſende oon Legate unto your grace for to treatte univerſall peax. After myne opinyon it ſhall nodir be honourable ne p'fitable that your grace doo admytt ony ſuche Legate and ſpecially for that intentt. For his holines doithe it oonlie for aſhewe and to be ſean to kepe his Oithe. For his mynde is verraylie that your grace ſhuld make noo maner of peax. but ſuche as ſhulde be for your grett honour. Albe it when I ſhall have knowlege of your gracis pleaſour herein I ſhall applie me to the ſame. Every man here haithe regarde unto his own honour and proffett. wherfor I doubtt nott butt that your grace woll doo the ſame. I movide the Popis holines oppenlie in the conſiſtorie when this matier was treatide that he ſhulde ſende noon unto your grace bifore he ſhuld have knowlege of your mynde and pleaſour therin. And for that cauſe. he writith att this tyme therof unto your grace. My lorde of *Worceſter* your gracis oratour here haith and doith dalie unto your ſaid grace right goode ſervice in all your cauſes. by reaſon of the verray goode favours that he is in withe

the Popis holines. thus I ſhall dalie beſiche the bliſſide trynytie for the preſervacion of your moſt highe and Royall aſtate. From *Rome* the 25 day of *June* 1513. Your mooſte humble beedman and Subjecte

Chri. Eboracen' Cardinalis Anglie.

Another Letter from the ſaid Archbiſhop and Cardinal to the King. Cott. Lib. Vit. B. ii. F. 42.

An Original.

N°. 8. p. 74.

PLeaſe it your grace the Popis holines this day, at 22d of the cloke recevide l'res from his Meſſanger lyyng in the Douchery of *Millan* conteygnyng that uppon *Sonday* laſt a grett moſt cruell batill was commyttyde at a cytie in *Lumbardy* callide *Neware*. In the w'ch towne was p'ſente the Duke of *Millane* withe fyve thouſande and fyve hundreth *Swices* abyding thare the co'myng of ſeven thouſonde moo *Swices* in there Ayde and p'tie. The *Franſhemen* in the mean tyme being in nomb'r oon thouſande men of Armes fyve hundreth light horſe and eght thouſaunde footmen maide a grett aſſawlit unto the ſaid towne of *Noware* and with ther artillary did beatt downe above fyvety zerdes of the walles. All beitt the *Swices* beinge within the ſaid citie with grett violence put them bake and ſtronglie Iſhewide outt againſte them p'ceving p'fitelie thatt the ſaide ſeven thouſonde *Swices* war in maner att thare haunde. Thare they toke by force the *Franſhmens* Artillary. And dide ſhoot the ſame aganſte them. Wheruppon the ſaide ſeven thouſonde come into thare aide. And thare ſtrightlie begane emongis them a marvalus cruall batell. In the whiche was ſlayne uppon the *Franſhe* p'tie, the greatt capitan namyde Monſigniour *de la Tramoglia*, with his two ſonnes, and Segniour *Johan Jacobe Eryvlew* heade of the *Franſhe* faccion in the Ducherie of *Millane*, whoos deithe importith uppon the *Franſhe* p'tie as moche as oon thouſonde launces. Oon of his ſonnes alſo namyde *Camyllo* was thare ſlane with all odr' capitanes oon exceptide, namyde the Barron *de Barnyſe* who with a verray ſmall company is flede into a certain caſtill and thare is obſedide in ſuche maner as he can nott aſcaipe. As for the reſt of the ſaide *Franſhe* hoſt, foure partes therof completly war ſlayne in the felde. And they that flede be kyllide extremly by villans. Uppon the *Swices* p'tie the victorie ys here extemyde m'valous noble. Albe itt thare be ſlayne of them uppon fyve thouſounde. In the tyme of this moſt cruall batell, the *Viceroy* of *Napulls* was paſſing over the water of *Powe* for to have joinyde withe the foreſaide *Swices* aganſte the *Franſhemen*. Albe itt the Duke of *Millane* ſentt hym worde in all haſt after the feld was doon, that he ſhulde taike the nextt way aganſte the *Venyſhans* hoſt, and noo farther com towardis hym. he alſo ſentt worde in all haſt to the Capitanes of themperours hoſte beinge within *Verona*. that they ſhulde ſtrightlie ſtoppe the paſſe ſoo that the *Venycians* ſhulde nott flee in ony wiſe for thententt that they ſhulde be introcludide bytwixtt the foreſaide *Spanyardis* and there ſaide hoſte intending therby there utter diſtruction whiche is verray like to ſuccede. As hereaſtire every thyng ſhall here come to paſſe or that more ſpeciall knowlege in the premiſſes ſhall be hade. I ſhall nott faille to advertiſe your grace. The Popis holines att the heringe hereof haith more declaride hym ſelf againſt the *Franſhmen* then he haithe doon heretofore as itt is here oppynyonyde by reaſon that this night he haith ſhott in the *Caſtill angill* a ſolempne peall of gonnes in tryhumphe of the premiſſes. The Popis ſaide holines and all od'r grett men here doith nowe looke daylie to here that your grace ſhall utterlie extermynate the *Franſh* king whiche I ſhall daylie beſiche the moſt bliſſide trynytie to bryng to ſuche paſſe as your grace woll deſire with prouſp'ous p'ſervacione of youre moſte highe and noble aſtate. From *Rome* in verray grett haſte as apperith the 10th day of *June* att thre of the Cloke aſtire that the ſonne was ſett. 1513. Your mooſte humble ſubjecte and beedman

Chri Ebor Cardinal of Yngland. Fol. 51.

Letter from Mr. Wolſey *to* Fox *Bp of* Wincheſter. Ibm. Fol. 98.

An Original.

No. 9. p. 75. AFtyr moſte humbyl comendacions with lycke deſire of yowr helth and p'fygth recouery pleaſyt yowr good lordſhyp to undyrſtand that on *Sonday* laſte paſte the kyng reſeyuyd letters from Sr *Robert Wyngfeld* datyd the 4th of this moneth by the contynue whereof he aduertyſyd the kyng that the Emp'or had nut onely worde from the cowrte of *Rome* but from dyuers other placys that owr holy father the Pope ſhuld be in ſuche danger of lyfe that ther ys no hope of hys recouery for all the lower p'tys of hys body from the mydes downward wer ded mortyfyd and as colde as any ſtone wherfore the Emp'or myndyng and intendyng to his beſte the Auancement of the Cardynall *Adryan ad papatum* hath ſent the Buſhope of *Gurce* to *Rome* effectually to ſollycyte the ſame and to the entent that thys hys purpoſe ſhuld the better be browgth abowth he hath wy nyd with hym Sr *Robert Wyngfeld* wych alſo at the ynſtant deſyre of the Emp'or intendyth to go to *Rome* yeſterday at maſſe I brake with the kyng in thys matter and ſhewyd onto hys grace how mych honor and alſo furtherans of all hys afferys in tyme to kome ſhuld inſue to hym yf that by hys comendacion ſume Cardynall mygth atteyne to be Pope and ſeyng that the Emp'or was effectually intendyng the p'ferment of the Cardynall *Adryan* wych in maner ys as the kyngs bownden ſubiect with hys gracyous help the matt' ſhuld mych the ſonner browgth to paſſe I fownde his grace very conformabyll and aggreabyll to my ſayyng howbeyt I durſte nut further wade w't hys grace as towchyng yowr letters of recommendacion as well for the renonelyng of yowr other letters and the datys of the ſame as alſo that we haue no ſuer knowleg of the Popys deth other wyſe than ys before ſeyd yowr Lordſhyp I truſt is nothyng myſcontent, w't that I p'ſumyd to breke yowr inſtruccions for aſſurydly except Mr. *Treſorer* no herthly man ys nor ſhalbe made preuy to yowr letters I am half afrayd that ye be dyſpleaſyd for as myche as I haue reſſeyuyd no wryttyng from yow this longe ſeaſon I truſte ye woll take my doyng wych procedyd of good wyll thynckyng that yt was for the beſte in good parte. My lorde in comynycacion at the large I haue felt how that my lorde *Chambyrleyn* and of *Dureſme* be myche inclynyd to the Cardinall of Seynt *George* and in all ther talke they kan nut ſpeke to myche honor of hym dyſſpreyſyng the Cardinall *Adrian*, yf yowr lordſhyp war here thys matter wold be ſone browgth to yowr purpoſſe And my lorde for dyuers vrgeynt cauſys yt ys thowgth very exſpedyent y't ye ſhuld repare to the kyng for all hys gret matters be defferryd on to yowr commyng wych ys dayly lokyd for and deſyryd of all thos that wolde the kyngs cauſys ſhuld procede in a good trayne. The M'r of the *Rolls* ys co'myn to *Dover* we loke for hym dayly he hath wryttyn hyther that neuyr man had wers chere than he in *France* no thyng hath he done further than I wrot on to yow in my laſte letters as towchyng hys charge.

The Ambaſſador of *Arrogon* hath lyberally delte with my lorde * *Darcy* he hath geuyn to hym alle wante for one hole moneth aftyr 6 *d.* the day and for 15 days aftyr 8 *d.* the day for euery ſolger more than of very dute he cowde demavnde And the kyng owr maſter hath for hys p'te gouyn to hym the thowſand pownds wych at hys departyng hys grace lent on to hym thus the kyngs money goyth awey in euery koyne And as towchyng the kyngs abode here he intendyth not to dep'te hens tyll w'tin fower of fyve days affore alhallowtyd, one *monday* next comyng hys grace purpoſyth to ryd to *london* to ſe hys Shyp —— ther to tary two days and ſo retorne hyther ageyn my lord *Stra*—— ys nut yet co'myn to the cowrt w'tyn 3 or 4 days he intendyth to be here My lorde *Treſorer* at hys laſte comyng to the kyng wych was thys day ſennyght had ſuche maner and cowntenance ſhewyd on to hym that on the morowe he dep'tyd home ageyn and at yet is nut retornyd to the cowrte w't lytyll help nowe he mygth be vtterly as towchyng loggyng in the ſame excludyd wherof in my poore iuggement no lytyll goode ſhuld inſue the kyng is myndyd as yet to ſend Mr *Deane* of *Wyndſore* to the kyng of *Scotts* as well to declare the cauſe whiche hath takyn hys Shyppys and thus intretyd hys ſubiects as alſo to bere the quenys beqeſt for the wych ſhe hath inſtantly wryttyn Mr *Howard* meruelusſy incendyth the kyng agenſt the *Scotts* by whos wantone meanys hys grace ſpendyth mych money and ys more dyſpoſyd to ware than paxe yow'r preſence ſhalbe very neceſſary to repreſſe thys appetyte other Nuys we haue none here but that yt ys thowgth that the quene ys w't chyld when other ſhall occure I ſhall aduertyſe yow of the ſame as knowyth God who p'ſerue yow'r good lordſhyp in good helth At *Wyndſor* in haſte the laſte day of *September* w't the rude hand of yowr lovin and humbyll preſt.

As towchyng the p'ferment of Mr *Yng* I nede nut wryt on to yow for I ſuppoſe he hath aduertyſyd your lordſhyp at the leyngth in that behalf and alſo deſyryd yow'r cownſell now that the kyng hath ſhewyd hym hys pleaſure how for the exſpedicion of hys matter he ſhalbe ferther orderyd and demeanyd And ow'r lorde ſend yow helth and ſtrey——

To my ſynguler goode lorde
my lorde of Wyncheſter.

Thamas Wulcy.

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* *Sent into* Spain *with* 1500 *Archers, upon his Arrival, News being brought, that a Peace was concluded with the* Moors, *He was liberally rewarded and diſmiſſed.* Godw. H. 8. Anno 1511.

To the former Letter I thought it might not be improper to add the following. Fol. 98. b.

An Original.

N°. 9. p. 77. AFtyr moſte humble commendacions my lorde I beſeche yow to arreſt no blame to me that ſythyns my dep'tyng from yow I haue not wryttyn to the ſame all ſuche Nuys as hath occurryd for the tyme for in ſayth on to thys day I cowde attayne no tyme ſo to do onles I ſhuld haue wryttyn but half a tale ſuyr I am here of ye wol meruel but at ow'r next metyng yowr lordſhyp ſhall knowe the cauſe And as for the materys of *Spayne* howe the ſame do goo I am ſuyer ye haue bene aduertyſyd by ſuch wryttyngs as hath beyn ſent to yow from thens howbeyt ye ſhall by Mr *Knygtts* l're wych I nowe ſend on to yow knowe in ſubſtance all that ys wryttyn by my lorde Marques *John Style* or any other by the wych l'res I nowe p'cayue yow'r olde ſayng to be trewe towchyng the ordyr and payne wych *Inglyſhemen* wole abyde indure I trowe ther deſyre to returne home ſhalbe to the hynderance of the Ynterpryſe of Gyen equyualent to the kyng of *Arragons* ſlacnes from whom the gentylman wych was ſent hyther in tyme of the p'lyament to vyen the kyngs artyllery a man full of words ys lately comyn to the kyng the ſubſtance of whos chargye reſtyth onely in excuſyng the kyng hys maſtere that hys army hath nut Joynyd w't the kyngs army hytherto allegyng that the danger of *Nauar* with the colorable delyng of the kyng of the ſame hath beyne the cauſe of thys longe delay howbeyt nowe he dare geopart hys lyff that bothe armys be Joynyd the kyng hys maſtere affirmyth by the othe of a prynce that he ſhull neuyr deſyſte from the warre nor leue the kyng on to ſuche tyme as hys grace hath recoueryd and attaynyd to the crowne of *france* w't many other pleſant words I pray God the dedys may followe and Inſue accordyngly. And as towchyng the ſtate of *Itally* and howe alſo ow'r Ambaſſadors do in ther maters yow'r lordeſhyp ſhull p'ceyue by ſuche l'res as I ſend to the ſame in thys pacquet. whych whan ye haue rede I beſiche yow to ſend ageyne.

1512. Aug. 12. And to aſſerteyne yow of the lamentabyll and ſorowfull tydyngs and chance wych hath fortunyd by the ſee owr folks on *tuyſday* was fortnygth met w't 20. gret Shyppys of *frawnce* the beſt w't ſayle and furnyſhyd w't artyllery and men that euyr was ſeyn. And aftyr innumerabyll ſhotyng of gunnys and long chaſyng one a nother at the laſte the regent moſte valyently bordyd the gret *Caryke* of breſt. wherin wer fower lords 300. gentylmen 800. ſolgers. and marynes. 400. crosbowe men. 100. guners. 200. Tunne of wyne 100 pypys of 60. barills of gonepowder and 15. gret braſyn cortawds w't 10 merneloſe a nombyr of ſiſet and other gunys of euery ſorte ow'r men ſo valyently acquyt them ſylf that w'tin one ower ſygth they had vttirly venquyſhyd with ſchot of gonnys and arrowys the ſayd *Caryke* and ſlayne moſte p'te of the men w'tin the ſame And ſodenly as they war yeldyng them ſylf. the *Caryke* was one a flamyng fyer and lycke wyſe the regent w'thin the turnyng of one hand ſhe was ſo ankyrryd and faſtyd to the *Caryk* that by no meanys poſſybyll ſhe myghth for hyr ſalfgarde dep't from the ſame. And ſo bothe in ſygth w'thin thre owerys war burnt. And moſte p'te of the men in them. Sr *Thomas Knyuet* wych moſte valyently acquyt hym ſylf that day was ſlayne with one gonne Sr *John Carewe* with dyuers others whos namys be nut yet knowne belycke wyſe ſlayne I pray God to haue merſy on ther ſowlys And my lorde at the reuerens of god kepe thes tydyngs ſecret to yowr ſylf for ther ys no lyuyng man knowyth the ſame here but onely the kyng and I. yowr lordeſhyp knowyth rygth wel that yt ys exſpedyent for a whyl to kepe the ſame ſecret. to ſe howe the kyng takyth the matere and behauyth hym ſylf. ye wold meruel and myche allowe hys wyſe and conſtant maner I haue nut on my fayth ſeyn the lycke And thus with heuy harte and ſorowfull penne I make a ende beſecheyng God to p'ſerue yowr good lordeſhyp. from *farnecham* thys mornyng in wonderuſe haſte the 26 day of *Auguſt* with the rude hande of yowr aſſuryd Chapleyn

Thomas Wulcy.

The reſydue of the *frenche* flete aftyr longe chaſſyng was by owr folks put to flygt. and drevyn of in to *breſt hauyn.* ther war 6. as gret Shyppys of the ſayd flete as the regent or ſouerayn. howbeyt as cowards they flede Sr *Edward* hath made hys voue to god that he wyll neuyr ſe the kyng in the face tyl he hath reuengyd the dethe of the nobyll and valyant knygth Sr *Thomas Knyuet*

The l'res of thancks to my lorde Cardynell *Adryan* I ſend to yowr lordeſhyp in thys pacquet.

Ibm. Fol. 180.

Litera papæ Leonis ad Regem de Enſe & pileo. Fol. 66. LEO. P. P. X.

An Original.

CAriſſime in Chriſto fili noſter, Salutem & Apoſtolicam benedictionem. Imitati vetus inſtitutum Romanor' Pontificum prædeceſſorum noſtrorum, Cum in proxima Natalis Dominici nocte, inter Miſſarum ſolemnia, Enſem & Pileum manibus noſtris conſecraſſemus, ut eo poſtea munere, uti conſuevit fieri, aliquem ex Chriſtianis Principibus de hac ſancta ſede bene meritis donaremus, convertimus cogitationem noſtram in tuam præcipue Majeſtatem, pro paterna noſtra ac ſingulari in eam benevolentia, proq; tuis & illuſtrium progenitor' tuorum erga ipſam ſedem & Chriſtianam religionem clariſſimis ac teſtatiſſimis meritis, teq; tantum ac talem Principem, ſanctæq; hujus ſedis ab ipſo Deo utrunq; gladium habentis, devotiſſimum filium hoc noſtro præclaro munere, de venerabilium fratrum noſtrorum Sanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ Cardinalium conſilio decrevimus decorandum. Quod quidem donum, fili Chariſſime, non tam materia quam miniſterio prætioſum eſt. Signatur enim hoc gladio unigeniti Dei filii, de inventore mortis ac humani generis hoſte victoria, ac Dei infinita potentia in ipſo filio ſuo vero Deo & homine æque cum Patre ſubſiſtens. Figurat etiam Pontificalis hic gladius poteſtatem ſummam temporalem a Chriſto Pontifici Maximo Vicario ejus in terris collatam. Pileus vero cum enſe iccirco conjungitur, ut eo veluti Galea quadam Salutis aſſumpto, aſſiduus intrepiduſq; propugnator adverſus inimicos fidei & S. R. Eccleſiæ protegaris & armetur caput tuum Spiritus ſancti gratia, qui per Columbam margaritis ornatam ſignificatur. Suſcipe igitur, Chariſſime fili, munus hoc ſa- N°. 10. p. 77.

crum Regia tua animi magnitudine ac præſtanti virtute digniſſimum. Accipe manu iſta bellica Enſem bellicum, hoc tu fœliciſſimis auſpiciis bella geres, hoſtes fidei noſtræ ſubiges, Chriſtianæ Rei-pub. fines ac Imperium propagabis. Huc te, Princeps fortiſſime, animum decet advertere, ad tantum decus, tantum meritum etiam ante oculos evolare, contra infidelium rabiem tuæ Militiæ facinora exercere, primitias virium roboris ætatis Deo O. M. conſecrare; ut in præliis per hoc munus cæleſti auxilio fretus, celebres referas ex Chriſti hoſte Triumphos. Pace vero deinde parta idem tibi munus perpetuo ſit decori atq; ornamento. Quod ut tibi gratius eſſet, mittimus illud per dilectum filium Leonardum de Spinellis affinem & familiarem noſtrum nobis admodum gratum: ut perſonæ auctoritas gratiam muneris augeat, & ſimul ut Majeſtati tuæ intimam noſtram erga te charitatem & benevolentiam coram uberius oſtendat. Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum, ſub annulo Piſcatoris, die prima *Martii* 1513. Pontificatus noſtri anno primo.

Chriſtianiſſimo in Chriſti filio noſtro *Ja. Sadoletus.*
Henrico *Regi Angliæ illuſtri.*

Cardinal Bambrige *to the King concerning the Succeſs of his Arms, and the Title of moſt Chriſtian King.* Vitell. B. II. Fol. 49.

An Original.

No. 11. p. 78. PLeaſe it your Grace, the 5th day of this monthe the Popis holines was advertiſed from oon Ambaſſadour of the Florentynes reſident in the *Franſhe* court, upon your gracis late conflict withe thennymyes of the churche; and the maner of your moſte victorious tryumphe obteignyde aganſte the ſame. whiche was unto his holines, and all odre your gracis frendes lovers and ſervaunttes here marvalus greatt joye and comforthe. And ſurelie unto youre Ennymyes in this courtt noo leſſe pean and diſcurage. Uppon the morowe nexte aftur, I wentt unto the Cardinall *Sinogalen* deſyring hym in your gracis name, for to have deliverde unto me the Breve that your grace knowthe of, putt into his kepinge for your highnes by Pope *July* of bliſſide memory according to the ſaide Popis commaundement. He aunſwerde me that nodre he is, ne ever was of oder mynde, but that your grace ſhulde have itt upon thaccompliſhyng of ſuche condicions as be compriſide in the ſame, whiche he grauntithe that nowe your grace moſte noblelie and withe moſte glorious victorie haith fulfillide. Albeitt he ſaithe that bicauſe the ſaide breve is of ſoo greatt and ſoo weghtie Importance, apperteignynge the perpetuall honour of ſoo highe and myghtye a prince, he durſte nott be ſoo boulde as to deliver itt from his haundes unto ony leving creatour withoutt ſpeciall commaundmentt geven unto hym from your grace in writing, whiche hade, he ſaithe, he will withe all his hartt and mynde deliver itt unto me for your gracis bihove and honour. Soo he grauntithe that the ſaide Pope *Julie* commaundide hym. He praithe yowr grace to latt it be noo odrewiſe ſhewide; butt that ye hade the ſaide breve in your haundes in Pope *Julys* days. He wolde nott that the Popis holines that now is ſhulde in ony maner knowe the contrarye. And ſtonding that his holines haithe confirmyde all ſuche Indulties and graces as the ſaide Pope *Julie* dide graunt unto your grace, whereof this ſaide

breve is oon and moſt of gravitie. Me ſemyth yow'r highneſs may right honourablelie and condignlie deſire of his holines ſpeciall confirmation of the ſaide breve in more ample maner under leade whiche I truſte veralie nodre he woll ne convenyently may denye. I ſende unto your grace withe thies preſenttes a lettre from my ſaide lorde Cardinall *Sinogalen*, writen with his owne haunde uppon his loving contynuyde goode mynde and woll towardis your grace in the premyſſes. If itt may ſtonde withe your gracis pleaſour att convenyentt tyme aftur your receptt of the ſaide breve, to geve unto hym ſome promocion more or leſſe in recompence of his trewe and faithfull demenour towardis your ſaide grace in this behalfe, I thynke that nott oonly itt ſhulde grettly redunde unto your honour, butt alſo reteigne hym ever to contynewe as oon of your gracis moſte kynde and loving frendes during his lyve. Afture that thies Newes affore ſaide war dyvulgate in the citie here thambaſſadour of *Venyce* beyng here reſidentt deſiride me withe grett inſtance moſte humblelie to beſiche your grace uppon thare bihalf, that ſtoundyng that themperour is now preſentt withe your grace ye woll voichſafe to move his majeſtie for ſome goode and indifferentt peax to be aſtabliſhide bitwixt the ſame and them, he depechide a curiour ſtrightlie unto their Signorie with writing uppon this forſaide overthrowe of the *Franſhmen*. and ſaithe he doubtithe nott butt the hoill Signorie woll in all haſte poſſible addreſſe their lettres towardis your grace of moſt humble ſupplication for the premyſſes, ſuppoſing verralie, that by reaſon of themperial Majeſties preſence with your highneſs, ye ſhall ſett ſom goode ordour bitwixt them and doubtith not as he ſaith butt that the ſaide Signorie wolbe right tractable therunto. I have percivide how that latelie my lorde the Cardinall *Hadrian* dide advertice your grace uppon the breve of confirmation of all ſuche graunttes as Pope *Julie* hade grauntide unto your highnes ſundrie days affore that ye wer advertiſide therof frome me ande my lorde your Oratour here. And in like maner uppon the reſtitution of the Sciſmatiques Saintt *Croſſis* and Saintt *Severyne*. I pray your grace nott to thynke herefore that he ſhulde in your cauſes be more diligentt or uſe better ſtudie for thexpede therof then we doo, well I am aſſuride that the ſaide breve was grauntide and finallie expede ſave oonlie at the plombe ſundrie days affore that ever he knewe itt laboride fore. As ſoon as he hade knowlege of itt he corruptide oon of the Secretaries and gatt of hym a copie to thententt he myght ſhewe unto your grace his pretendide diligence and goode ſervice. He myght right longe affore have ſhewide unto your grace the intendide reſtitution of the ſaid Sciſmatiques. His diligence and labours war moche more ſean in brynging that matier to paſſe then ever I dide ſee in hym for ony cauſe apperteigning owdre to youre gracis honour or pleaſour. Thus I ſhall moſt hartlie beſiche the bleſſide trinitee for the preſervation of your moſt highe and royall aſtate. From *Rome* the 12th day of *September* 1513. your mooſt humble beedman and ſubjecte

To the King's grace. *Chri. Eboracen. Cardinalis Angliæ.*

N°.12. p.82.

Ad Epiſcopum Lincolnienſem *Litera Regis, ſuper Communicatione cum Duce de* Longavilla. Rymer Tom. XIII. p. 143, 144.

A D. 1514. MY Lord of *Lynkecolne* I recommande me unto yow.

And lette yow wyte that I have ſpokyne with the Duke; whyche in the begynnynge was as yll affrayde as ever he was in his lyffe leſt no good effecte ſhulde comme to pas.

Neverthelеſ, in farther Communyng, we wente more rondly to oure matters; in ſo moche that I ſayde to hym, ſeinge that the Kyng your Maſter hathe ſoght ſo gentely unto Us for bothe Amyte and Mariage, I aſſure yow (oure Honour ſavyd) we colde be well content to gyffe herkyne therto, and yff the Offers wer reſonable agre upon thos ſame; but this be not reſonable, excepte the Amyte ſhulde no longer contynw then the Payment off Money: And yett natt ſo, except ther wer a reſonable ſumme of Mony to be payd in hand by and by:

Iff hys Maſter wyll have the Maryage, I can natt ſe how itt can be conveniently, excepte the Amyte be made duryng our Lyffes and on yer affter, to the intente that all Supycyon off bothe ſydes may be ſett apart:

Whyche Maryage and Amyte your Maſter may have under thys maner; that is to ſay, Paynge Erly on Hundred Thouſand Crownes, and att hys requeſt I natt to ſtyke for no redy Mony in hande, but I to ſtande contente therwith for Recompenſe off all thynges.

Whyche, yff your Maſter conſidere what Herytaunce he holdyth from Me, and what good my Amyte may do to helpe forth hys Mater in *Italy*, I thinke he wyll nat grettly ſtyke at:

Thys forther more I ſayde to the Duke, ſurly I can natt ſee how the Amyte made for yers can any longer indure then the Payment, whyche exſpyryde ſhulde be occaſion off new Breche and Demans, wherby noder He nor We ſhulde lyff quiettly, whyche, yff ther fall Alyance, I wholde be lothe to ſee; wherfor I ſee no way to eſchwe all Dangers and Parraylles, and to Recompenſe Me for witholdyng off myne Inheritance (whiche I wold be ſlake in my Subjectes wold murmure att) but to make thys Amyte duryng oure Lyffys and on yere affter, Paynge yerly as above reherſed; whyche Amyte wons grantyd, the Alyance ſhulde natt be refuſyde, nor no nother thyng whyche with my Honour ſavyd I myght do:

Saying forther more to hyme that, yff I myght demande with my Honour any leſſe, or take any leſſe offere (ſeyng hys Maſter is ſo well mynded to the forſayd Alyance and Amyte) I wolde be glade to do that at hys requeſt, but leſs then thys hit can nott ſtonde with my Honour, nor my Subjectes wyll nat be content that I ſhulde take.

My Lord, I ſhuyd hym forthermore that, yff he thoght we myght truſt to have thys Ende, I wolde be content that yow and they ſhulde Commune on all other Artycylles, concernyng the Amyte and Maryage, tyll we myght have abſolute aſſurance in that behalfe for lyſyng off tyme:

To whyche he Anſwarde, that he colde natt aſſure Me thereoff; but that he truſtyde, ſeyng my Demans wer ſo reſonable, that hys Maſter wholde agre therto.

On truſt hereon we woll that yow begyne to Penne the reſydue off the Artycylles as ſoone as yow can ;

And thus fare yow well.

Wryttyn with the Hande off yowr lovyng Maſter

Dor. *Henry R.*

To my Lorde Lyncolne.

Promiſſio & Obligatio facta per Michaelem de Abbatis *Secretarium Domini Ducis Mediolani pro ſolvenda ſumma Decem Ducatorum millium ſingulis annis Rev'mo Domino Cardinali* Eboracenſi. Bibl. Cott. Vitell. L. 2. B. II.

Autographum.

EGO *Michael de Abbatis* Secretarius illuſtriſſimi Ducis Mediolani promitto & obligo me ex parte dicti illuſtriſſimi Ducis Domini mei, quod decem Milia Ducatorum fideliter in Anglia perſolventur Reverendiſſimo domino Cardinali *Eboracenſi*, ſecundum promiſſum quod ego ex commiſſione domini illuſtriſſimi Ducis mei Dominationi ejus Rev'mæ feci Perſolventur autem ſingulis annis, vivente præfato Illuſtriſſimo Duce & ſuccedente in principatu ipſius filio vel fratre. Et prima ſolutio incipiet poſtquam præfatus illuſtriſſimus Dux meus ſit liberatus a moleſtiis Ghalicis & ſit ſecurus de ſtatu ſuo. Et dictus Rev'mus Dominus Cardinalis promittet quod erit perpetua & inviolabilis amicitia inter invictiſſimum Angliæ & Franciæ Regem & Ducem illuſtriſſimum Dominum meum, mediante præfato R'mo Domino Cardinale. In cujus rei fidem hanc cedulam manu propria ſcripſi & ſubſcripſi. Nº. 1. p. 99.

Ita eſt idem Michael *manu propria.*

Epiſt. Silveſt. Wegornienſis ad Archiep. Ebor. Bib. Cott. Vit. L. 2. Fol. 131. B. II.

Autographum.

REverendiſſime in Chriſto pater & domine, Domine mi obſervantiſſime. Nunquam defuit profecto Summi Pontificis menſquam optima, Domino Andreæ Ammonio veſtræ Reverendiſſimæ Dominationis ſervulo fideliſſimo, iſtius Collectoriæ officio gratificandi, cum ipſius virtutibus & meritis ſic exigentibus, tum præcipue ſereniſſimi Regis noſtri pluribus literis inſtantia & interceſſione. Itaq; bullas ſuas ipſi domino Andreæ deſuper expeditas ejus Serenitas conceſſerat certo ſibi perſuadens R'mum D. Cardinalem *Hadrianum* cuicunq; juri vel intereſſe, quod in eo officio prætenderet, honeſta illi recompenſatione propoſita, ceſſurum. Verum ipſe Cardinalis id facere continue recuſavit, neq; item ad poſtulationem ac etiam preces multas Sereniſſimi Regis, diverſis ad eum Scriptis literis, ad id unquam adduci potuit, quinymo ipſas regias literas parvi faciendo, palam dictitabat ab ejus M'tis mente nunquam fuiſſe profectas, idq; non modo cunctis R'mis D. Cardinalibus affirmatiſſime prædicabat, verum etiam, quod longe plus eſt, ſeipſum a nonnullis magnis Dominis iſtius Sapientiſſimi Regii Conſilii, certiorem factum, mentem Nº. 2. p. 100.

eſſe Regiæ Majeſtatis, ut is Cardinalis officio prædicto nullo pacto cederet, idq; Polydorum ſæpius ſcripſiſſe, dubium non eſt. Eadem itaq; verba ab ipſo Cardinale creberrime jurejurando confirmata, tenuere aliquocies ipſum Pontificem in ancipiti conſilio & deliberatione; effectumq; eſt, ut res hæc diu pendens in ejus expeditione plurimum habuerit difficultatis. Sed tandem ejus Sanctitas in hanc devenit ſententiam, ut ipſe dominus Andreas ſuccederet in locum prædicti Polydori ſub non nullis appoſitis modis & conditionibus, quas veſtra R'ma Dominatio ab eodem Domino Andrea planius intelliget, ipſi R'mo Cardinali *Hadriano* per S'mum D. N. portione fructuum dictæ collectoriæ ad ſe ſpectante, quæ mille & quadringentorum Ducatorum ſummam annuatim excedit, libere pro hujuſmodi recompenſatione, condonata & conceſſa; ex quo nullam ipſe Cardinalis jacturam patietur. Quamobrem ipſe Sanctiſſimus D. N. ut præfato Cardinali ſatisfaceret, nonnulla ei conceſſit brevia ejus continentiæ quam veſtra R'ma D. videbit; quæ non mirabitur, ſi brevia prædicta Regiæ M. forſan aliquantulum excedentia videbuntur, quando ea duntaxat de cauſa ab ejus Sanctitate factum extitit, ut rabiei ipſius Cardinalis & pro eo intercedentium ſatis, hac etiam vice, fieret. Mens tamen Pontificis eſt, ut dominus Andreas ab Regia Majeſtate Subcollector declaretur, eiq; tradatur conceſſio ab eodem Cardinale facta, quæ, ut per S'mum D. N. per Tabellarium dedita opera ad Sereniſſimum Regem mitteretur, ſine ſcitu meo, inſtantiſſime rogavit, tamen ejus Sanctitas me omnia ſecrete ſcire voluit, ut copioſius ab ipſo D. Andrea cognoſciet veſtra R'ma D. cui eundem D. Andream, in hac & cæteris ſuis in rebus, quam maxime poſſum ex corde commendo, atq; meipſum, quos ambos ſibi ſervitores deditiſſimos & fidiſſimos jam dudum veſtram R'am D. noviſſe non dubito; atq; paratiſſimos pro eadem, quoties opus eſſet, vitam ipſam effundere. Et feliciſſime valeat D. V. R'ma cui quam humillime ſeipſum commendat, *Rome* 27. *Martii.* 1515.

C. V. R. D.

Humillimus Servus Sil. Epiſcopus Wigornienſis.

Reverendiſſimo in Chriſto Patri & domino
domino Thomæ *Archiepiſcopo* Eboracenſi
digniſſimo Domino & benefactori meo
obſervandiſſimo.

LEO. P. P. X. Bib. Cot. Vit. L. 2. Fol. 165.

An Original.

N°. 11. p 78. Chariſſime in Chriſto fili noſter, Salutem & Apoſtolicam benedictionem. Commendavimus aliis noſtris literis Majeſtati tuæ dilectum filium Polidorum Virgilium hujus ſanctæ Apoſtolicæ ſedis in Regno iſto Subcollectorem; qui quidem in Carcerem tuo juſſu conjectus eſt, pluresq; jam in eo menſes detinetur; hortatiq; ſumus te pro tua in eandem ſedem atq; nos reverentia, proq; noſtra in te paterna dilectione & charitate, velles eum liberum facere. Cujus quidem rei cum nihil dum actum abs te intelligamus, has ad tuam Majeſtatem literas dandas duximus, quibus etiam atq; etiam id ipſum abſ te attente atq; enixe requirimus; tum etiam ut Collectoriæ

Domum, quæq; ablata ex ea ſunt, mandes reſtitui, neq; patiaris ut ad te fruſtra totiens de eadem re ſcripſiſſe videamur. In eo præterea Majeſtas tua nobis gratiſſimum faciet, ſi dilectum filium noſtrum Hadrianum Cardinalem *Batonienſem* tuæ Majeſtatis deditiſſimum, reſq; ejus omnes fovebis; tibiq; ipſi noſtro nomine commendatas facies. Datum Romæ, apud S. Petrum, ſub annulo Piſcatoris, die 30 *Auguſti* 1515. Pontificatus noſtri anno tertio.

P. Bembus.

Chariſſimo in Chriſto Filio noſtro
Henrico *Angliæ Regi illuſtri.*

LEO. P. P. X.

An Original.

CHariſſime in Chriſto fili noſter, ſalutem & Apoſtolicam benedictionem. Intelleximus ex literis Majeſtatis tuæ eam egre moleſteq; tuliſſe nos venerabilem fratrem A. Archiepiſcopum S. *Andreæ* in regno Scotiæ, noſtrum & hujus S. *Apoſtolicæ* ſedis Nuncium cum poteſtate Legati de latere conſtituiſſe. Qua in re, etſi cognoſcere potueris nos rationem imprimis habuiſſe dignitatis & voluntatis tuæ M'ti ſatisfaciendum, ante omnia obligavimus; iſq; id nobis aperte ſe facturum recepit: tamen ea etiam conſideratio te in eam ſententiam adducere potuit; ut conſiderares, nos nihil quod te offenderet facere & ſtatuere voluiſſe: quod ex omnibus Chriſtianis Regibus & Principibus tu unus profecto es, quem in Domino unice atq; ſummopere diligimus, & in quo, preter cæteros, pro animi noſtri affectu & propenſione confidimus, cujuſq; petitionibus & poſtulatis aut etiam tacitæ voluntati & deſiderio quantum cum Deo potuimus, omnibus ſemper in rebus ſatisfacere concupivimus. Cujus noſtræ ergo te mentis ipſe optimus & locupletiſſimus es teſtis. Sed de his hactenus. Quod autem ad Archienpiſcopum attinet, ea ſtatuimus quæ tibi grata eſſent futura, quæq; te velle cognoſcebamus. Quemadmodum a venerabili fratre Epiſcopo *Wigornienſi* Oratore apud nos tuo latius intelliges. Datum Romæ apud S. *Petrum*, ſub annulo Piſcatoris, die 22. *Aprilis* 1515. Pontificatus noſtri anno tertio.

P. Bembus.

Chariſſimo in Chriſto filio noſtro
Henrico *Angliæ Regi illuſtri.*

Litera Leonis papæ ad Regem. *LEO.* P. P. X. Bib. Cott. Vit. L. 2. F. 106. B. II.

Autographum.

CAriſſime in Chriſto fili noſter, Salutem & Apoſtolicam benedictionem, Superioribus diebus Majeſtatis tuæ inſtantiſſimis precibus compulſi, quas per trinas nobis porrexiſti literas, officium collectoris pecuniarum in iſto tuo inclyto Regno ad Cameram noſtram Apoſtolicam ſpectantium a dilecto filio noſtro Hadriano titulo S. *Chryſogoni* S. *R. E.* Preſbitero Cardinali, nobis ob ſummas virtutes & merita cariſſimo, quiq; hujus ſanctæ ſedis honorificum N°.3. p.110.

membrum eſt, abſtulimus; idq; ad dilectum filium Andream Ammonium tuæ Majeſtatis a Latinis Secretarium, te ita rogante & poſcente tranſtulimus. Quod enim M. tua ardentiſſimum ejus rei deſiderium præ ſe ferre videbatur, ſolum reſpectu ad tuam voluntatem habito, præfati Cardinalis omni virtute & dignitate ornatiſſimi, quam paterne amamus, non habuimus rationem, fecimuſq; ei injuriam, (ſic enim appellanda eſt) quod perpetuum & nullo tempore interruptum 4or. noſtrorum felicis recordationis, *Innocentii*, *Alexandri*, *Pii*, *Julii*, Prædeceſſorum erga eum, & a nobis quoq; initio noſtri Pontificatus confirmatum & innovatum beneficium ad nihilum redegimus: quod eo fidentius fecimus, quod ſic exiſtimavimus ipſum quoq; Cardinalem, pro ſua ſingulari erga te & ſtatum tuum benevolentia, cognito tuo tanto ejus rei deſiderio, facile tibi in omnibus obſequuturum eſſe. Nunc vero, cum ſignificatum nobis ſit, illas literas, quæ flagitare cupiditate & deſiderio hujus rei videbantur, potius per diligentiam & ſuggeſtionem aliquorum extortas, quam per motum tuæ M. proprium & ſpontaneam voluntatem ad nos ſcriptas fuiſſe: quando ita ſit, non juſtum neq; dignum judicamus, niſi maxima in eo ſatisfactio animi tui ſit, talem Cardinalem affeciſſe injuria, cujus fortunas augere potius propter ipſius in nos & ſanctam ſedem Apoſtolicam merita debemus, quam imminuere. Quare has ad M. tuam literas ſcribendas duximus, Te ex animo rogantes, ut computata ratione juſticiæ & æquitatis, nobis plane ſignifices & exprimas judicium & deſiderium tuum. Nam ſi id quod actum eſt abs te fuit vehementer & ſpontaneo motu expetitum, idq; magnopere ad te pertinere putas, & nos a tua voluntate non diſcedemus, & præfatus Cardinalis tuam potius voluntatem quam ſuum commodum ſequetur. Sin autem aliorum precibus coactus tuam interceſſionem negare non potuiſti, æquum erit, ut tua M. permittente, indemnitati & dignitati dicti Cardinalis conſulatur. Nos pro ſumma benevolentia erga te noſtra & paterno affectu, quæ ad te pertinere arbitramur, omni & ſtudio & amore faciemus. Dat. Romæ apud S. *Petrum*, ſub annulo Piſcatoris, die ultimo *Octobris* 1514. Pontificatus noſtri anno ſecundo.

Ja. Sadoletus.

Chariſſimo in Chriſto filio noſtro
Henrico *Angliæ Regi illuſtri.*

King Henrie *the* VIIIth *his Letter to his Ambaſſadour the Buſhopp of* Bathe *att* Rome. *From the* Longueville Libr. V. 50.

The King ſheweth himſelfe to bee offended with the Biſhop of Bathe *his Ambaſſadour for haveing ſuffered a Bull to have bene procured againſt him out of the Court of* Rome *in the favour of the Biſhopp of* Turney *which by all meanes he willeth him to ſee ſpeedilye revoked and annulled.*

N°. 4. p. 10. B. II. Right Reverend Father in God we greete you well, And albeit that we of ſpecial truſt and confidence have deputed you to bee reſidente in that Court as our Orator not onelie to ſollicit and execute all ſuch matters and cauſes as wee have and ſhall comitt from tyme to tyme but alſo vigilantlie to intend and foreſee that nothing ſhould bee impetrate or obteyned there prejudiciall or hurtfull to us or this our Realme or derogatorie to our dignity Royall yet nevertheles by the inſpection of ſuch writeings as you ſhall receive here incloſed conteyneing the tenor and effect of a Bull

latelie paſſed and ſpread into that Court att the inſtance of one bearing and pretending himſelfe Biſhopp of *Tourney* what exorbitant grants have bene obteyned there by untrue ſuggeſtions contrary to all lawe and Juſtice and redounding greatlye to our diſhonor the defeating and derogacion of our right and prerogative royall within our Cittie of *Tourney*, and finallie the invocation *Brachij ſecularis* ſoe that if hee were not admitted to his poſſeſſion by our Captaines Soldiers and Subjects within the ſaid Cittie hee might call in the aſſiſtance of other princes and ſoe by might and power attayne the ſame which was and is a colour and driftie ſubtillie contrived and made not onelie to ſtirr and ſett ſedition betweene the ſaid *French* king and king of *Caſtile* and us whoſe aide and aſſiſtance the ſaid Buſhop muſt needs call and require in this caſe, and none other, but alſoe by that meanes doth (as much as in him is under ſhadow of the popes Authoritye) to recover the ſaid Cittie out of our poſſeſſion and domynion And how it ſtandeth with Juſtice and the Popes honor thus to admitt our diſobedient and untrue vaſſall and ſubject to the poſſeſſion of that Sea and to command him to remayne in the ſame our Cittie in contempt of us and the unſuretie thereof, Wee thinke the Pope (of his great wiſedome) can and will circumſpectly conſider, For hee may well thinke and conſtantlye believe that in that caſe ſounding to our unſuretie and tendinge to the loſſe of our ſaid Cittie neither wee nor our Captaines Soldiers or Subjects ought or may in any wiſe to obey to his proceſſes and ſentences as thinges done contrary to Juſtice, in the abſence of us, and others haveinge Intereſt therein wee never being called nor admoniſhed for the Juſtifieing of our right or title in that behalfe, Over this it is to bee conſidered that by theis the Popes proceſſes cenſures and ſentents and all and ſingular the perſons Spirituall and Temporall of our ſaid Regallatye bee expreſslie comanded to ſuffer the ſaid pretended Biſhopp peaceablie and without contradiction to enter the poſſeſſion of the ſaid Biſhoppricke under the payne of Excomunicacion interdiction and privacion of offices and benefices with Inhabilitys to receive any other promotions hereafter which implieth as much as to diſcharge our Subjects there from their fidelities and allegiance towards us, but alſo to receive him *cum Brachio ſeculari* and with as great a power as hee would bring with him which thinges bee ſoe exorbitant and contrary to the lawes of god and man Juſtice and reaſon, that it is the greateſt diſhonour that ever came to the Pope ſo indiſcreetly to paſſe ſuch thinges againſt Princes which were extreame wrong and injury if they were attempted againſt the pooreſt man liveing.

And albeit our Brother the King of *Caſtile* will in noe wiſe bee agreeable to give anie ſuch ayde to the pretended Biſhopp though hee were required by virtue of the popes Bull ſoe to doe conſidering that it ſhould bee contrarie to the league and amitye betweene us and him, yet the Pope (as much as in him is) hath by the ſaid clauſe licenſed and authoriſhed him and other Princes to aſſiſt him the ſaid Biſhopp with there greate powers againſt us ſoe by that meanes they might (if our Cittie were unprovided of defence) ſurprize and take the ſame from our obeyſance, And in caſe the Pope will thus reward us for all the benefitts wee have done unto him and the Church of *Rome* as well by extincting the Chiſme by actuall battaile, as alſo by entertayneing the *Swizers* to our great coſts and charges takeing and concludeing of ſundry amityes of divers princes, more for his ſurety then for our owne We have good cauſe to thinke our benevolence coſt and charges full ill imployed and beſtowed in that behalfe.

For firſt by the ſame the Pope hath done as much as in him is to call our Rebell and diſobedient Subject to bee admitted to the Biſhoppricke of *Tourney* without makeinge of homage or fidelitie to us contrary to Juſtice, by meane whereof if hee ſhould bee ſuffered to enter and make his aboade within our Cittye in contempt of us, hee might and would not onelye raiſe and ſtirr ſeditions among our ſubjects but alſtſo the perdition thereof, like as the preſident of *Paris* his Father and hee laſt ſomer enterpriſed to doe which thinge was detected and openlye known for a trueth ſoone after the impetration of the ſaid Bull.

Secondlye our ſubjects ſpirituall and temporall within our ſaid Cittye ſhold bee bound by vertue of that Bull under the terrible cenſures to aide and favour the ſaid Biſhopp ſo by that meanes they ſhould in a manner bee diſcharged of their Oath and fidelity to us made and conſequently maynteyne our Rebell againſt us to our diſhonor and unſuretye.

Thirdlie by the clauſe of Invocacion *Brachij ſecularis* the Pope hath done as much (as in him is) to raiſe warre and hoſtillitye betweene us and ſuch princes of whome the ſaid Invocacion ſhold bee demanded And under colour thereof hath authoriſed them to gather an Army to bring in the Biſhopp to the danger of our ſaid Cittie and to our expreſſe wrong.

Fourthly by this ſtrange and inordinate Bull (whereof the like was never ſeene) he attempteth to take from us the ſuperiority Regall preheminence Juriſdiction and Authority that we have in the Region and Dominion of *Tourney* in that hee in our abſence and without our knowledge hath in this great matter (ſoe much touching our honour, fulminated his cenſures and by his delegates called and adjourned us and our ſubjects out of the Regallity and territory, into places unſure under the obedience of other princes in derogation of our honor and contempt of Juſtice; Whereas all cauſes bee determinable within the ſame, and no appeale or reſort either to the Court of *Paris* or elſe where can have place there.

Fiftly hee hath revoked the Authority and Adminiſtration of that Sea by him graunted att our inſtance to the Right Reverend Father in God the Cardinall Arch Biſhopp of *Torke* without care of his knowledge or conſent, whereas if any one of us both had bene called thereunto wee would and might have ſhewed ſufficient grounds and cauſes, according to the premiſſes why wee might not ſoe doe, for wee remember well, that one of the cauſes principallie moveing the Pope to grant the Authority of Adminiſtration of the ſaid Biſhoppricke to the ſaid Cardinall, was, foraſmuch as the ſaid Biſhopp hadd neither made his homage nor fidelitye for his Temporalities nor yet done his dutie or releive for the ſame which cauſe yet remeyneth, the ſaid Biſhopp not onely neglecting and refuſeing to doe the ſame, But alſo conſpireing againſt us as a diſobedient and traiterous ſubject, and if the Popes ſaid holines ſhall by theis ſiniſter meanes more favour ſuch Rebells then us, that have done ſo much for the Church or yet the ſaid Cardinall being an honourable member of the ſaid Church and congremall of the Colledge, *Tollendo ius queſitum partibus non vacantis*, it will give ſmall courage to princes either to obey his proceſſes, or yet to aſſiſt him in his neceſſity.

Sixtly though the importable greif before rehearſed bee ſo extreame, that in warrs nothing could bee done more injurious or imagined by the Father of the Church to any Chriſtian prince, yet the committing of this cauſe (whereupon our regallitye and intereſt dependeth) to ſubject vile and ſimple perſons of lowe degree being ſuch as could recover our ſaid Cittye by inventions and ſemblable drifts and perchance comanded and aſſigned by their ſuperior to execute the ſaid proceſſes for makeing ſedition procureing of diſcords and raiſeing of Brutes, is the thinge wee moſt ponder and eſteeme; wherein the Pope hath largely exceeded his ordinary power and governed by the key of comon diſcretion, and well aſſured may hee bee that if hee in his perſon would thus rigorouſlye without ground of Juſtice proceed againſt us, wee could not ſuffer it, and much more wee diſdaine ſuch deligates of lowe degree, ſuſpect unmeet and corrupted perſons to bee the Judges in the ſoveraigntie of our Regallitie, And if his holines take regard to his houſe and ſuretie hee will not onely forthwith revoke the ſaid Bull, and extinct the diſorder made by the Authority thereof but alſo bee well warye how he granteth ſemblable Bulls againſt the ſoveraigntye of princes hereafter, remembring the danger that may enſue unto him by the ſame.

By the premiſſes you may evidentlie perceive what diſhonor prejudice danger and diſpleaſure ſhould and might have enſued unto us, if wee had not bene ſufficiently furniſhed with power to reſiſt the malicious drifts of our enemyes, Whereas by your negligence and inadvertiſement the ſaid Bull hath beene attayned without any your lett or contradiction contrary to the ſinguler affiance truſt and confidence that wee have alwayes had and putt in you, And in caſe you as our Orator take no better regard to your charge for our honor and ſuretie in ſoe greate matters concerning us in that Court Wee muſt and will provide ſuch a one to furniſh that roome as will more aſſuredly tender the ſame and bee more vigillant therein Wherefore we will and command you that the ſubſtantial revocation of the ſaid Bull with ſufficient clauſes to extinct all proceſſes and ſentents made and to bee made by authority and vertue thereof againſt us, the ſaid Cardinall or any of our ſubjects with redentigration and renovelling of the Authoritie and Adminiſtration of the ſaid Biſhoppricke to the Cardinall aforeſaid and to ſend the ſame to us with all dilligence poſſible, or els wee ſhall bee forced to ſubrogate ſome other diligent and able perſon in your place that will better regard our honor and ſuretie then you have in this caſe done.

Faile you not to accompliſh this our commandement as you will avoide our diſpleaſure, att your perill.

How you ſhall further order your ſelf in diſcloſeing and ſolliciteing of the premiſſes you ſhall bee advertiſed by ſuch lettres as the Cardinall of *Yorke* now directeth unto you the contents whereof wee will that yee as effectually followe as though it proceeded of our ſelfe.

N°.5. p.104. *Autographum cum Bulla plumbea appendente. Leonis pap. ad Card.* Wolſ. Bib. Cott. Vit. H. II. Fol. 194.

LEO Epiſcopus ſervus ſervorum Dei, dilecto filio *Thomæ* titulo ſanctæ Ceciliæ presbitero Cardinali *Eboracenſi* nuncupato ſalutem & Apoſtolicam benedictionem. Dum exquiſitam tuæ circumſpectionis induſtriam diligenter attendimus & paterna conſideratione penſamus, quod tu, quem nuper, ut nobiſcum Romanæ Eccleſiæ onera partireris, de fratrum noſtrorum conſilio in ipſius Romanæ Eccleſiæ Cardinalem duximus aſſumendum, eandem R. Eccleſiam, cujus honorabile membrum jam factus exiſtis, tuorum honoras magnitudine meritorum, dignum reputamus & debitum, ut titulum quo te inſcribi & ab aliis denominari valeas concedamus & aſſignemus. Sane te nuper, tuis exigentibus meritis ad occurrendum imminentibus periculis & Chriſtianæ Rei-publicæ conſulendum ac aliis rationabilibus cauſis in ſanctæ R. Eccleſiæ Cardinalem de fratrum noſtrorum conſilio & unanimi conſenſu creavimus, & ad Cardinalatus honorem & dignitates aſſumpſimus, & aliorum Cardinalium numero & Conſortio aggregavimus, tuamq; aſſumptionem & creationem hujuſmodi publicavimus, teq; licet a Romana Curia abſentem in Cardinalem recepimus, ac tibi Capellum rubrum in ſignum dignitatis prædictæ ad quam aſſumptus es, per certum nuncium noſtrum miſimus. Cum autem titulum tui Cardinalatus nondum aſſignaverimus, nos, ut in effectu percipias, quod ſuggerit noſtræ mentis affectio, tibi pro titulo tui Cardinalatus Eccleſiam ſanctæ Ceciliæ trans Tiberim de Vite, proprio ad præſens carentem Cardinali, cum omnibus juribus & pertinentiis ſuis auctoritate Apoſtolica tenore præſentium concedimus & aſſignamus. Ita tamen quod Eccleſiæ Eboracenſi, cui præeſſe dinoſceris, præeſſe non deſinas, ſed titulo ſanctæ Cæciliæ presbiter Cardinalis & Archiepiſcopus Eboracenſis exiſtas, ac de cætero ſanctæ Ceciliæ presbiterum Cardinalem nominare & inſcribere, & ab aliis nominari & inſcribi, ac omnia & ſingula gerere & exercere valeas per te vel alium ſeu alios, quæ alii ejuſdem S. *Romanæ* Eccleſiæ Cardinales, qui eidem Eccleſiæ ſanctæ Ceciliæ pro tempore præfuerunt, geſſerunt, & exercuerunt. Non obſtantibus Apoſtolicis ac bonæ memoriæ Ottonis & Ottoboni olim in Regno Angliæ Apoſtolicæ ſedis Legatorum ac in Provincialibus & Sinodalibus Conciliis editis, generalibus vel ſpecialibus, Conſtitutionibus & ordinationibus nec non ſtatutis & conſuetudinibus Eboracenſis & ſanctæ Ceciliæ Eccleſiarum hujuſmodi juramento confirmatione Apoſtolica vel quavis firmitate alia roboratis cæteriſq; contrariis quibuſcunq; Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam noſtræ conceſſionis & aſſignationis infringere vel ei auſu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attemptare præſumpſerit indignationem omnipotentis Dei ac beatorum *Petri* & *Pauli* Apoſtolorum ejus ſe noverit incurſurum. Dat. Bononiæ Anno incarnationis Dominicæ 1515. Idus *Decembris*, Pontificatus noſtri anno tertio.

P. de Comitibus.

Occaſional Remarks on the ancient Method of Educating young Noblemen in the Families of Biſhops. B. II.

N°. 6. c. 9.

I Have obſerved, " That the Nobility in the Cardinal's Family, " rather reſided there as in a Place of Education, than under " the Notion or Character of Servants.

It may be here not improper to ſay ſomething in Order to corroborate this Obſervation,

John de Athon, upon the Conſtitutions of *Othobon*, *Tit.* 23. in reſpect to the Goods of ſuch, who dyed inteſtate, and upon the word *Barones*, has the following Paſſage concerning *Groteſt* Biſhop of *Lincoln*.

Sanctæ memoriæ Robertum *Cognominatum* Groteſt *dudum* Lincolnienſem *Epiſcopum*, *Regi* Henrico *quaſi admirando, cum interrogavit, ubi Noraturam didicit, quâ Filios Nobilium Procerum Regni, quos ſecum habuit Domiſellos, inſtruxerat, cum non de nobili proſapia, ſed de ſimplicibus traxiſſet Originem, fertur intrepide reſpondiſſe, In Domo ſeu Hoſpitio Majorum Regum, quam ſit* Rex *Angliæ*; *Quia Regum*, David, Salomonis, *& aliorum vivendi morem didicerat ex Intelligentia ſcripturarum.*

Reyner, in his *Apoſtol. Bened.* from *Saunders* acquaints us, that the Sons of the Nobility were placed with *Whiting* Abbot of *Glaſtenbury* for their Education, who was contemporary with the Cardinal, and which Method of Education was continued for ſome Time afterward.

There is in the Cuſtody of the preſent Earl of *Stafford*, a Nobleman of the greateſt Humanity and Goodneſs, an Original of Inſtructions, by the Earl of *Arundell*, written in the Year 1620. for the Benefit of his younger Son, the Earl of *Stafford*'s Grandfather under this Title,

Inſtructions for you my Son William, *how to behave your ſelf at* Norwich.

In theſe Inſtructions is the following Paragraph, " You ſhall in " all Things reverence honour and obey my Lord Biſhop of " *Norwich*, as you would do any of your Parents, eſteeminge what- " ſoever He ſhall tell or Command you, as if your Grandmother " of *Arundell*, your Mother, or my ſelf, ſhould ſay it; and in all " things eſteem your ſelf as my Lord's Page; a breeding, which " youths of my houſe far ſuperior to you were accuſtomed unto, " as my Grandfather of *Norfolk*, and his brother my good Uncle " of *Northampton* were both bred as Pages with Biſhopps, *&c.*

Theſe Inſtructions are written upon Parchment in that Earl's own hand, and ſigned by himſelf, and though they ſeem to be the product of his firſt thoughts, yet ſuch an excellent vein of piety and good ſenſe does ſpread through them, as may be ſufficient to remove thoſe prejudices, which ſome perſons have poſſibly entertained to the diſadvantage of that great Peer, on Occaſion of the Character given him by the Earl of *Clarendon*; wherein this noble Hiſtorian does not appear to have ſpoken with that Impartiality, or to have taken all the requiſite Care to inform himſelf, which he has diſcover'd in other parts of His Hiſtory. There are ſeveral Remains of the Earl of *Arundell* in writing, which ſhew, he was ſo far, in reſpect to his intellectual Talents, from being a weak man, that he had a very good Underſtanding, improved by an uncommon Meaſure of Knowledge.

Pro

Pro Cardinali Eborum Bulla Decimarum. B. II.

Regiſtratu apud me Bembum.

N°. 7. c. 9. 1517. 9 H. 8. Ex Origine Rymer T. 13. 598.

LEO Epiſcopus, ſervus ſervorum Dei, dilecto Filio *Thomæ* Tituli Sanctæ Ceciliæ presbutero Cardinali *Eboracenſi*, ſalutem & Apoſtolicam Benedictionem.

Ad præclara virtutum munera, Quibus Illorum Largitor Altiſſimus perſonam tuam multipliciter decoravit, noſtræ dirigentes Conſiderationis Intuitum, & attente proſpicientes quod tu Romanam Eccleſiam, Cujus honorabile membrum exiſtis, tuorum honores plenius magnitudine meritorum, ſpem nobis pollicentur indubiam quod ea Quæ Circumſpectioni tuæ duxerimus committenda, ex Doctrina, ac etiam longa Rerum gerendarum Experientia, Quibus etiam te illuſtratum Novimus, ad noſtrum & ſanctæ ſedis Apoſtolicæ ſtatum atq; Honorem pertinentia, omni ſtudio & ſolicitudine prudenter exequeris.

Hac itaque Fiducia moti, conſiderantes ſi ſedes apoſtolica promotis ad Cathedralium Eccleſiarum Regimina pro neceſſariis Expenſis in ſua hujuſmodi promotione faciendis Facultatem concedere conſuevit, ut ab omnibus perſonis Eccleſiaſticis ſecularibus & regularibus Beneficia Eccleſiaſtica in Earum Civitatibus & Diœceſibus Obtinentibus, caritativum ſubſidium, pro muneribus promotionis Hujuſmodi facilius ſupportandis, petere & exigere poſſint, Quanto magis nobis videtur Honeſtum pro noſtrorum ac Eccleſiæ *ſponſæ noſtræ* Jurium Defenſione & Tuitione, ſubſidia & Auxilia ab Archiepiſcopis & Epiſcopis, Qui dum munus Conſecrationis eis impenderetur, Fidelitatis debitæ ſolito per eos preſtito Juramento, inter alia promiſerunt defendere Romanum Papatum, quantum Eorum Ordini conveniret, ab eis & aliis prelatis beneficiatis in tam magna imminente Neceſſitate implorare, prout in Cariſſimo Filio noſtro *Henrico* Angliæ Regi illuſtri nec non eidem Circumſpectioni tuæ, ac venerabilibus Fratribus noſtris Cantuarienſi noſtro & apoſtolicæ ſedis Legato nato, & aliis Archiepiſcopis & Epiſcopis dicti Regni per alias noſtras latius ſignificavimus.

Speramuſque & omnino expectamus, cum intellexerint tam grandem nobis & eidem Eccleſiæ *ſponſæ noſtræ* Injuriam illatam, Eos tanquam veros Fratres noſtros & hujus ſanctæ ſedis Honoris cupidos, non minori moleſtia quam nos ex ea affici debere, illam non minus eis quam nobis inferri affirmaturos; Ipſamque Injuriam non ſolum ejuſmodi ſubſidio ſed etiam proprio ſanguine vindicare poſſe, ultro deſideraturos; nobis proculdubio promittimus nec dubitamus eos Auxilia prompta & larga ſponte præſtituros, præſertim ejuſdem *Henrici* Regis, Qui & claræ memoriæ, ejus genitores ac predeceſſores hujus ſanctæ ſedis & ſedentis in ea bonis ſemper Cultores & Fautores fuerunt, & tuis efficaciſſimis Exhortationibus, quam primum id effecturos, cum Res ipſa Celeritate indigeat.

Ea propter Circumſpectionem tuam unius integræ Decimæ collectorem & exactorem Apoſtolica Auctoritate Tenore præſentium facimus creamus conſtituimus & deputamus, tibi hujuſmodi integram decimam Eiſdem Archiepiſcopis, electis Adminiſtratoribus Abbatibus commendatariis, & perſonis aliis in dicto Regno & aliis Locis Eidem Regi ſubjectis conſiſtentibus, etiam ſi in Hoc, quod non credimus, redderent ſe difficiles, imponendi, ſeu Legato Archiepiſcopis & Epiſcopis præfatis ut illam ſuis Cleris & aliis perſonis eis ſubjectis,

jectis, prout magis Circumſpectioni tuæ viſum fuerit expedire, imponere valeant Licentiam concedendi, Licentiam concedimus, & impoſitum petendi colligendi & exigendi ac eis tam in genere quam Nominatim ac in ſpecie, ut illam ſolvant ſub Excommunicationis lata ſententia & privationis Beneficiorum Eccleſiaſticorum per eos tunc obtentorum, & aliis de Quibus tibi videbitur, pœnis etiam *pecuniariis*, mandandi, ac Terminum ad id prefigendi, & prefixum ſemel & pluries, totiens quotiens tibi videbitur, prerogandi, ac pro Ejuſmodi decimæ leviori & faciliori Exactione unum vel plures tot quot Tibi videbitur ſubcollectores, qui pari qua circumſpectione tua per preſentes uteris Facultate fungantur, deputandi, tam generaliter, quam nominatim, & deputatos amovendi, & alios Eorum Loco totiens quotiens tibi videbitur ſurrogandi, nec non integram decimam ipſam ſolvere recuſantes vel differentes & generaliter Contradictores quoslibet, & ne ſolvatur perſuadentes, directe vel indirecte, per Cenſuram Eccleſiaſticam, & juris Remedia opportuna, Appellatione poſt poſita, compeſcendi, invocato etiam ſi opus fuerit ad hoc Auxilio Brachii ſecularis ſolventis vero de ſolutis quittandi liberandi & ab Excommunicationis ſententia aliiſq; Cenſuris & pœnis, quas dictâ Occaſione quomodolibet incurriſſent, abſolvendi,

Et Generaliter omnia & ſingula in præmiſſis & circa ea neceſſaria ſeu quomodolibet Opportuna faciendi, mandandi, & exequendi, plenam & liberam Tenore præſentium concedimus Facultatem:

Non Obſtantibus ſi Eiſdem Archiepiſcopis, Epiſcopis, Electis, Commendatariis, Adminiſtratoribus, Abbatibus, Prioribus, Militibus & aliis perſonis Eccleſiaſticis vel quibuſvis aliis conjunctim vel diviſim ab Apoſtolica ſit ſede indultum, quod ad ſolutionem alicujus Decimæ minime teneantur & ad id compelli, aut quod interdici ſuſpendi vel Excommunicari aut extra vel ultra certa Loca ad judicium evocari non poſſint per Litteras Apoſtolicas non facientes de Indulto hujuſmodi ejuſq; toto Tenore, ac propriis ipſorum Locorum Ordinum & perſonarum Nominibus & Cognominibus, & quibuſcunque privilegiis Exemptionibus etiam in Corpore, Juris clauſis Litteris apoſtolicis quibuſvis Dignitatibus ſeu Ordinibus ſtabilimentis Uſibus & Naturis, & præcipue ſancti Benedicti & ſancti Auguſtini, ſancti Johannis Jeruſolomitani Cluniacenſis Ciſtercienſis, Cartuſienſis, Camaldulenſis, Valliſumbroſæ, Cruciferorum, & Humiliatorum, ac ipſorum, Univerſitatibus generaliter vel ſpecialiter, ſub quacunque Forma & Expreſſione verborum, ab eadem ſede conceſſis, mentionemque Etiam ſi de Eis Eorumque totis Tenoribus de verbo ad verbum quoad opportunam Eorum & Clauſularum in eis contentarum derogatoriarum derogationem præſentibus habenda eſſet mentio ſpecialis, eiſque ad præmiſſa illis alias in ſuo Robore permanſuris, volumus quomodolibet ſuffragari.

Volumus autem ut juxta Ordinationem in Concilio Viennenſi ſuper hoc editum Calices, Libri, & alia Ornamenta Eccleſiarum, Monaſteriorum, Beneficiorum & piorum Locorum hujuſmodi divino cultui dedicata, ex cauſa pignorum vel alias Occaſione ſolutionis dictæ integræ Decimæ nullatenus Capiantur, diſtrahantur, vel occupentur.

Quodque præſentium Litterarum Tranſumpto, tui aut alterius Prælati Eccleſiaſticis ſigillo & publici Notarii ſubſtipulatione munito, Eadem prorſus Fides adhibeatur, in Judicio & Extra, quæ adhiberetur ipſis Originalibus Litteris, ſi eſſent exhibitæ vel Oſtenſæ.

Nulli ergo omnino Hominum liceat hanc paginam Noſtrorum facti Creationis, Conſtitutionis, Deputationis, Conceſſionis, & voluntatis infringere, *&c.*

Datum Romæ apud ſanctum Petrum Anno Incarnationis dominicæ Mileſſimo, quingenteſſimo, decimo ſeptimo Nono Kal. *Septembris*, pontificatus noſtri Anno quinto.

Bembus.

Viſa

Jo. Madrigal.

Super plicam

Tho. de Buns.

Sub plumbeo Sigillo pendente à
filis Sericis flavi rubeique
Coloris.

Super Privatione Adriani Cardinalis, Bulla *pro Cardinali* Eborum.

Regiſtrata penes Me Secretarium Evangeliſta.

N°. 8. c. 10. B. 2. A. D. 1519. An. 10. H. 8. ex Orig.

LEO Epiſcopus, ſervus ſervorum Dei, Dilecto Filio Thomæ Tituli Sanctæ Ceciliæ Presbytero Cardinali, Salutem & Apoſtolicam Benedictionem.

Eccleſiarum Utilitati tunc rectè conſulere non ambigimus, cum illarum Regimini Miniſtros Providos & Utiles Deputamus, per quorum ſolertiam & Providentiam circumſpectam Eccleſiæ ipſæ præſerventur a Noxiis, & continuis, auctore Domino, in Spiritualibus & Temporalibus proficere valeant Incrementis: Dudum ſiquidem Proviſiones Eccleſiarum omnium apud ſedem Apoſtolicam tunc Vacantium & inantea Vacaturarum Ordinationi & Diſpoſitioni noſtræ reſervavimus; Decernentes extunc irritum & inane, ſi ſecus ſuper hiis per quoſcunque quavis auctoritate ſcienter vel ignoranter contingeret attemptari.

Et deinde Bathonienſi & Wellenſi Eccleſiis, invicem unitis, ex eo quod Nos Adrianum de Corneto, tunc Tituli Sancti Chriſogoni Presbyterum Cardinalem, qui dictis Eccleſiis præerat, propter hoc ad noſtram Præſentiam legitime evocatum, ſuis Culpis & Demeritis exigentibus, Cardinalatus Honore ac Titulo, & prædictis, ac quibuſvis aliis Eccleſiis & Beneficiis Eccleſiaſticis per noſtram Diffinitivam ſententiam privavimus, per Privationem hujuſmodi apud ſedem eandem Paſtoris ſolatio deſtitutis;

Nos, cupientes tam eiſdem unitis Eccleſiis, de quarum Proviſione nullus præter Nos hac vice ſe intromittere potuit, ſive poteſt, Reſervatione & Decreto obſiſtentibus ſupradictis, de Gubernatore utili & idoneo, per quem circumſpectè regi, & ſalubriter dirigi valeant, quam Tibi, ut ſtatum tuum, juxta Cardinalatûs exigentiam Dignitatis, decentiùs tenere valeas, de alicujus ſubventionis Auxilio providere, ac ſperantes quòd Tu per datam Tibi a Domino providentiam, ac alia multiplicium Virtutum Dona, quibus circumfultus exiſtis, Eccleſias ipſas unitas ſcies & poteris, Auctore Domino, ſalubriter regere, & feliciter gubernare, Eccleſias ipſas unitas Tibi per Te, quoad vixeris, etiam unà cum Sanctæ Ceciliæ de Urbe, quæ Titulus tui Cardinalatûs exiſtit, ac Eboracenſi Cui præeſſe dinoſceris, aliiſque Eccleſiis, Monaſteriis, & Beneficiis Eccleſiaſticis, quæ in Titulum, vel Commendam, aut aliàs obtines, & impoſterum obtinebis, ac

Penſionibus Annuis, quas percipis, & percipies in futurum, Tenendas, Regendas, & Gubernandas, de Fratrum noſtrorum Conſilio Auctoritate Apoſtolicâ, Tenore Præſentium Commendamus; Curam & Adminiſtrationem dictarum unitarum Eccleſiarum Tibi in Spiritualibus & Temporalibus plenariè committendo, firma ſpe fiduciâque conceptis quòd, dirigente Domino Actus tuos, Eccleſiæ ipſæ unitæ per tuæ Circumſpectionis Induſtriam & Studium fructuoſum regentur utiliter & proſpere dirigentur, ac grata in eiſdem Spiritualibus & Temporalibus ſuſcipiant Incrementa.

Volumus autem quòd debitis & conſuetis Menſarum Epiſcopalium Bathonien' & Wellen' ſupportatis Oneribus de reſiduis illarum Fructibus, Redditibus, & Proventibus diſponere, & ordinare liberé & licité valeas, ſicuti Epiſcopi Bathon' & Wallen' qui pro tempore fuerunt, de illis diſponere, & ordinare potuerunt, ſeu etiam debuerunt; Alienatione tamen quorumcúmque Bonorum immobilium, & pretioſorum mobilium ipſarum Menſarum Tibi penitús interdictâ:

Quocirca Circumſpectioni tuæ per Apoſtolica Scripta Mandamus, quatenus Curam & Adminiſtrationem prædictas ſic ſolicité geras & fideliter proſequaris, quód ipſæ Bathonienſis & Wellenſis unitæ Eccleſiæ Gubernatori provido & fructuoſo Adminiſtratori gaudeant ſe commiſſas; Tuque, præter æternæ Retributionis Præmium, noſtram & dictæ ſedis Benedictionem & Gratiam exindé uberiús conſequi merearis.

Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ Milleſimo, Quingenteſimo, Decimo Octavo, Tertio *Kal.* Auguſti, Pontificatûs noſtri Anno Sexto.

Evangeliſta.

Viſa

Aloiſius pro R.

Super plicam

Aloiſius.

Sub Plumbeo Sigillo pendente a Filo canabeo.

Cardinalis de Medicis Litera ſuper Privatione Hadriani.

No. 9. c. 10. B. 2. A. D. 1518. An. 10. H. 8. Bib. Cott. Vit. c. 3. fol. 228.

REverendiſſime in Chriſto Pater & Domine mi Colendiſſime humilimas Commendationes.

Quanti ſemper, præ cæteris, fecerit Sereniſſimam Anglorum Regis Majeſtatem Sanctiſſimus Dominus noſter, quamque cupiat ut mutua inter Se Benevolentia & is Amor, quo prædictus Rex univerſam Familiam noſtram ſemper eſt proſequutus, non conſervetur modó, verúm etiam indies augeatur, multis & illis non obſcuris Argumentis hactenus cognoſcere licuit, quorum Reverendiſſima Dominatio veſtra bona in parte conſcia egregiam Majeſtati ſuæ Fidem facere poterit.

Quoniam veró in amovendo ex Collegio noſtro Domino Hadriano olim Cardinali aliquanto ſeriús quàm fortaſſe ſua Majeſtas voluiſſet Res peracta fuit, ſi Quis forte minús recté ſentiens interpretetur noluiſſe Sanctiſſimum Dominum noſtrum ſereniſſimo Regi Morem gerere, Is totâ prorsús veri aberrat viâ, neq; verò unquam Sanctiſſimus Dominus noſter alterius Mentis fuit, ſed magni momenti negotium non erat niſi maturè & ut Juris forma poſtulat conducendum eſt.

Igitur hodierno Conſiſtorio Dominus Hadrianus nuper Cardinalis a Sacratiſſimorum Patrum Gremio ſevulſus, & ob ſua tam mala Merita jure Exauctoratus, in quem quia non niſi legitimé Proceſſum fuit, idcirco nullus quamlibet Malignus Æſtimator poterit objicere Hadrianum aut Sanctiſſimi Domini noſtri, ſuapte Naturâ Clementiſſimi, Odio aut Sereniſſimi Regis veſtri Extimulatione, ſed propriis ſuis Meritis Pœnas dediſſe.

Ipſius veró Eccleſiæ Proviſio differetur, donec Majeſtas ſua, id quod Reverendiſſima Dominatio veſtra optimé novit, Sanctiſſimo Domino noſtro ſignificaverit.

Hæc fuit, Reverendiſſime Domine, hujus tàm neceſſariæ quàm prudentis Cunctationis Cauſa; quam, etſi puto Reverendum Patrem Dominum Epiſcopum Wigornienſem, qui majoréve cum prudentia an gratia & dexteritate pro Sereniſſimo Rege in Urbe Oratorem agit, pleniús ſignificaturum, Oratam tamen velim Reverendiſſimam Dominationem veſtram, dignetur etiam ipſa Sanctiſſimi Domini noſtri & meo Nomine Sereniſſimo Regi, apud quem plurimum & Gratiâ & Auctoritate pollet, declarare; Et inſuper nihil eſſe in quo Sanctiſſimus Dominus ipſi ſatisfacere non ſit paratus; Domum verò noſtram eſſe ita Majeſtati ſuæ addictam, ut non minus de Nobis quám de ſuis ſubditis diſponere poſſit.

Benevaleat Dominatio veſtra Reverendiſſima, cui Me humilimé commendo & offero.

Romæ in Palatio Apoſtolico quinto Julij Milleſimo Quingenteſimo Decimo octavo.

Reverendiſſimæ Dominationis veſtræ

Humilimus Servitor

Ju. Vicecancel.

Pro Domino Cardinale Eborum.

Rex Omnibus ad quos, &c. *Salutem.*

N°. 11. c. 10. B. 2. Pat. 11. H. 8. p. 1. m. 23.

SCiatis quod nos de Gratia noſtra ſpeciali ac ex certa ſcientia & mero motu noſtris dedimus & conceſſimus, ac per preſentes damus & concedimus Reverendiſſimo in Chriſto patri, ac Domino Domino Thomæ, permiſſione divina tituli Sanctæ Ceciliæ Sacroſanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ presbytero Cardinali Eborum Archiepiſcopo, Angliæ primati apoſtolicæ ſedis ac etiam a Latere Legato Cancellario noſtro Officium Ballivi Honoris ſive Dominii noſtri de *Cheſthunte* in Comitatu noſtro Hertfordiæ nec non Officii Parcarii ſive Cuſtodis parci noſtri vocati *Brantingiſley* infra Dominium noſtrum predictum, ac per preſentes eundem Dominum Cardinalem Ballivum Honoris ſive Dominij noſtri predicti ac Parcarium parci noſtri predicti ordinamus & aſſignamus.

Habenda, occupanda, & Excercenda Officia predicta prefato Reverendiſſimo patri, a Tempore Mortis *Willielmi* Bedyll per ſeipſum, vel per ſufficientem Deputatum ſuum, ſive deputatos ſuos ſufficientes, durante vitâ ſuâ.

Habendo & annuatim Recipendo pro Officiis predictis Excercendis & Occupandis, Quatuor denarios per Diem, de Exitibus proficuis & Reventiombus Dominii ſive Manerii noſtri prædicti provenientes & creſcentes per Manus Receptorum, Ballivorum, præpoſitorum, Bedellorum, Firmariorum, Tenentium, ſive aliorum Occupatorum noſtrorum aut Hæredum noſtrorum pro tempore Exiſtentium, ad Feſtum Sancti Michaelis & Paſchæ per equales Partiones, una cum omnibus aliis præficuis, Libertatibus, Commoditatibus, Avantagiis & Emolumentis dictis officiis & eorum cuilibet quoquo modo pertinentibus ſive ſpectantibus, in tam amplis modo & Forma prout predictus Willielmus Bedyll, aut aliquis alius, ſive aliqui alij ante hæc Tempora habuerunt & perceperunt in & pro Eodem,

Et ulterius per preſentes damus & concedimus præfato Reverendiſſimo patri Herbagium & Pannagium parci noſtri de Brantyngiſhey predicti & *de les Mores* cum proficuis Gardini infra ſitum Manerii ibidem, durante vitâ ſuâ predictâ, abſque aliquo compoto ſive aliquo Alio nobis vel Hæredibus noſtris inde reddendo, ſolvendo, vel faciendo, Eo quod Expreſſa Mentio, *&c.* aut aliquo Statuto.

In Cujus, &c.

Teſte Rege apud Weſtmonaſterium
xxiv *Die Octobris.*

per ipſum Regem.

De Præbenda data Thomæ Wulcey.

Rex Omnibus ad Quos, &c. *Salutem.*

SCiatis quod nos de Gratia noſtra ſpeciali ac Intuitu caritatis dedimus & conceſſimus ac per præſentes damus & concedimus dilecto conſiliario noſtro Thomæ Wulcey Elæmoſynario noſtro Canonicatum & præbendam infra Eccleſiam noſtram collegiatam beatæ Mariæ Virginis & Sancti Georgii Martyris infra Caſtrum noſtrum de Wyndeſore modo per Mortem Roberti Fiſher Clerici in manibus & Diſpoſitione noſtris Exiſtentem.

N°. 12. c. 11.
Pat. 2. H. 8.
p. 3. m. 4.
1511.

Habendas & gaudendas Canonicatum & prebendam præfato Thomæ Wulcey durante vita ſua cum omnibus ſuis Juribus & pertinentiis univerſis.

In Cujus, &c.

Teſte Rege apud Weſtmonaſterium
Decimo Septimo Die Februarij.

* *per Breve de privato Sigillo.*

Letter to the Cardinal from Worham *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury.

An Original.

PLeaſe it your grace, I am enformed by ſuche credible perſons as I haue ſecretely cauſed to make privye eſpialls emongs the clergy of my Dioceſſe and peculiar Jureſdiction that ther is moche untowardnes in the Clergy which as they ſaith doith greately grudge to make contribution of the thirde parte of the goodds or promotions ſaying that now they muſte pay the Subſidye graunted at the laſt Convocation which as yet they have not payed neither be able to paye as they ſaith, neither knowith wher or of whom

Coll. N°. 12
c. 11. Cott.
Lib. Tit.
B. 1. F. 273.

to borowe it. And in caas they ſhuld nowe paye the third parte of their ſaid goods or promotions they ſhuld leve (as they ſaith) in contynuall pouerty, and their chauncells perſonagies vicaragies barnes and other howſes decay and utterly be deſtroyed, ſaying alſo that if the Kings grace ſhuld now and alſo in tyme to come thus by his graces letters miſſives, privy ſeales, or other weyes herafter require aide of the ſp'ualtie as oftentymes as it ſhall pleace his grace ſo to doo, beſids the graunts of Convocations, to which they knowlege theymſelves bound, the Churche and clergie ſhall at length be put to ſuch importible charges, as they ſhall not be able to beare to the utter undoing and deſtruction of the ſame, as they ſaith it is almoſt already, and ſo hoſpitalitie ſhuld ceaſſe.

It is reaported to me alſo, that diuerſe of the clergy ſaith ſome of theyme doith find ther fathers ſome ther mothers, and ſome bothe which as they ſaith be bound to doo by lawes of godd And in caas now they ſhuld be compelled to put theyme owt of their howſes, they ſaith they ſhuld be compelled to do agenſt charitie, the lawe of nature and lawes of the churche, and ſo thair fathers and mothers ſhuld be conſtrayned to go a beggyng to their vtter ſhame, and they theymeſelues to leve in miſerie.

Item it is reaported that if the clergy hadd money or knew how to come by it they wold right gladly contribute according to the Kings graces demaund. Saying that for the tyme they hadd money they wer as glad to departe to their prince as euer was Clergye, but they have ſo long paid that they be vtterly vndone and can pay no more; Adding if the Kings hieghnes knewe their pouertie his grace wold not demaund the third parte of the gudds of the Churche or yet any parte more then they haue already paide and graunted to pay.

It is reaported alſo that the Kings grace haue hadd already of theym in diſmeis in preſts in ſubſidies and other payments to the ſome of euery yere of his graces reigne of a diſme which is 16 Diſmeis, And reaported that the Churche was neuer ſo continually charged by no Kings dayes. And if ther ſhuld nowe be any newe Contribution demaunded the Churche ſhuld be vtterly deſtroyd.

Alſo I am enſormed that the Clergye doith common amongs theymeſelues that conſidering that laymen which ſtandith only forthe keping of their own goodds and ſynding of ther wifes and childre woll nothing graunte they wer moche to be blamed if they wold not ſtand for the defenſe of the goods of the Churche whiche they allegith to be *Bona pauperum & non regum neq; nobilium.*

Your grace may perceve by this reaporte is made to me if they be trewe that ther is a great vntowardnes in the Clergy for the whiche I am right ſorey In caas theis reaports be trewe as peraduenture a great parte bee I beſech your grace that I may knowe your beſt adviſe and counſell how I may beſt ordre me ſelfe in this behalfe. And that knowen I will helpe to the beſt of my power (as I wold God ſhuld helpe my Soule) to enduce the Clergye to avaunce according to the Kings graces Inſtructions.

Uppon *thirſday* next enſueing diuerſe of the Clergye within my Juriſdiction be aſſigned to appere beſore Me her at *Otford* and then I ſhall perceve whether I ſhall find trewe or no ſuche reaports beforſaid as haue been made vnto me. And as I ſhall then fynd ſo will I certify your grace.

As toching the demeaners of the Kings graces ſubiects ſent vnto me by his graces Commiſſioners of this Countie which partely knoweth the demeanor of theym I have writen my lettres to Sir *Thomas Bolayne* and Sir *Henry Guldeford* Knights. which lettres I doubte not but your grace haue either ſeen or els ſhall ſhortely ſee. If at any tyme any of the ſaid laymen ſhuld be ſent unto the Kings grace or yours, in caas they ſhuld be ther well and fauorable entreated they that doith abide at home will thinke that they ſhuld be as fauorable entreated And ſo they wold litle regard this demaund And in caas they that ſhall come to the Kings grace and yours ſhuld be hardly entreated they that be at home will thinke they ſhalbe as yll entreated and peraduenture might cauſe theym to make more buſyneſs at length to thair own paynes then the Kings grace wold be contented withall. And what ſhalbe beſt done in this matier I commytt it to your graces wiſedom. At *Otford* the 15th daye of *Aprile*.

At your graces commaundement

Willm. Cantuar.

To the moſt reverend Father in god
and my verey ſingular good lord
my lord Cardinall of Yorke *legate*
de latere his good grace.

Letters to the Cardinal from the Mayor and Aldermen of York.

An Original.

No.13. c. 11. Cott. Lib. Tit. B. 1. F. 273.

Moſte reuerende fader in god and our moſt ſinguler goode and gracyous lorde in our moſte humble maner with due reuerence we comende vs vnto your grace and lyke ſo thanke your grace of your moſte gracyous kyndenes and goodnes of late ſhewid vnto vs as towchyng the mynyſſhyng of our Fee Farme enenſt the lorde of *Ruteland* wherin we thynke that your grace was a verey goode and gracyous lorde vnto vs and in all other cauſes and buſyneſſes concernyng the Comon weall of the kyngs grace and your grace pore Cetye of *Yorke* beſechyng your ſeid grace of contynuaunce. And for the tender zeall and favour that your ſeide grace hath euer borne to thencreaſſe of the pore Citizens of the ſeide Citye that pleaſed your grace to opteyn the kyngs moſt gracyous lettres patents vnder hys grace brode ſeall wherby we and they of late Shypped both woll and fell, lykewyſe as the inhabitants of the towne of *Newcaſtell* now doth, And by reaſon therof the ſeide Cityzens dyd dayly encreſſe in gettyng of goods as long as they continued ſuche Shyppyng the whych graunte ſo opteyned by your grace was the hygheſt and moſt eſpecyall commodytye and Jewell that euer came to the foreſeid Cetye for the prefarrement and enrychyng of the Cytizens therof, and alſo great refreſſhyng to all the Cuntrey abowte the ſame, Albeyt that that was otherwyſe reported by certayn perſons that dyd murmor and gruge with your gracyous goode acte and welfare of theyr pore neybors And at ſuch tyme as we dyd vſe and exercyſe the Shyppyng of the ſeid woole and fells by vertue of the ſeid graunte then we were ſo gladde therof thet we dyd lyttel regarde our olde commodytye in bying of leade, And at that tyme the ryche marchaunts of *london* gatt the trade of lead as we hadde before, And ſo ſethyn that tyme they haue hadde the trade and moſt parte therof in theyr hands and hath Inhaunced that to ſo hygh a pryce That we canne gett but lyttyll of that wherfore moſt gracyous lorde the premiſſes conſidered we beſech your grace in our moſt humble manner that we may haue and contynew the Shyppyng of the ſeid woole and fell, accordyng to the kyngs graunte and alſo free paſſage beyende the ſee with the lyttell ſubſtaunce of leade that we haue now redy to be ſhypped, Notwithſtandyng the reſtreynte therof made to the Cuntrey, or ells we ar lyke to be vtterly vndon beyng pore men as knowith the blyſſed trenyte, who euer more contynewe your grace in honor At the Citye of *Yorke* vnder the ſeall of offyce of the Mayraltye of the ſame the 24 day of *June*.

By your grace moſte bounde and dayly bedemen the Mayor of the Cetye of Yorke *and hys bredery Aldermen of the ſame.*

To the moſte Reuerende Father in god and theyr moſte ſinguler goode and gracyous lorde The lorde legate his grace Chaunceller of Englonde.

Solenne Decretum Univer. Oxon. 1°. Jun. 1518.

Coll. N°. 15. E. Mſ. Arch. A. 166. f. 31. 32, &c.

QUanquam hujus celeberrimi gimnaſii primi fundatores, quos tum prudentiſſimos tum rerum experientia exercitatiſſimos viros fuiſſe conſtat, adeo ſalubribus hoc celebre ſtudium ſtabilierunt inſtitutis ut commodiora aut magis ad rem ſcolaſticam conducentia ne excogitari quidem a quovis illo ævo potuerint, ſive ipſorum ſcolaſticorum commodum ſive ipſarum bonarum artium incrementum reſpexerimus: Tamen in tanto temporis curſu edax omnium rerum vetuſtas nonnulla ex eiſdem pulcerrimis inſtitutis in abuſum pleraq; etiam in diſſuetudinem paulatim adduxit, multaq; priſco illo ſeculo viſa oportuna hac noſtra etate abſurda videntur. Nihil preterea in ſua origine adeo abſolutum aut perfectum eſſe ſolet, quod curſu temporis hominum prudentia non reddat abſolutius illuſtriuſq; quæ ſane omnia quum altius animis agitaremus, eaſdemq; illas a priſcis pulcerrime inſtitutas vetuſtate tamen abolitas ordinationes redintegrari, illas vero que olim placuere & nunc merito diſplicent antiquari, novarumq; editione conſtitutionum nonnullos defectus ſuppleri cuperemus affectaremuſq; hanc noſtram ſcolaſticam remp. in omnibus reddi abſolutiſſimam non convenire tantum verum etiam neceſſe eſſe arbitrati ſumus inſignem aliquem autoritate & potentia virum adire qui laborantibus rebus noſtris ſuccurreret. quanquam enim nulla unquam in tanta veneratione habita eſt antiquitas quin ab ea ſuadente ratione moribuſq; hominum ita exigentibus jure diſcedi poſſet, pleriq; tamen tam perverſo pertinaciq; ſunt ingenio ut cum veteribus errare malint quam cum recentioribus bene agere Itaq; poſt diutinam eandemq; maturam ſuper premiſſis deliberationem illico memoriæ occurrit inter rariſſima ſeculi noſtri ornamenta magna virtutum rerumq; ſplendidiſſima geſtarum gloria florere in hoc regno ampliſſimum in Chriſto patrem Thomam Archiepiſcopum Eboracenſem primatum, regni cancellarium ſacroſanctæ romana eccleſiæ presbiterum cardinalem quem ſo-

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[*] Solenne Decretum de ſtatutorum Univerſitatis *Oxon.* reformatione, *Thomæ Wolſeo*, &c. Commiſſa & delegata qui tamen de Lectionum ſuarum Auditoribus Univerſitatem conſuluit. V. Eplam 78 & 93. ib. 63. Et quomodo iterum res ſuas integras Academicis detulit Cardinalis iſte, V. Eplam. 105. & 104. ſed & conſule Eplam 130. ad finem ejus. Et Eplam 131.

lum atq; unicum arbitrati ſumus cujus autoritate potentia & benignitate res tanta pro ſua magnitudine moleq; confici poſſet interceſſurum autem illum ſeq; totis viribus noſtris votis accommodaturum pluribus apparebat argumentis ſed ex eo precipue quod homo eſt ea doctrina ea eruditione tam perilluſtri omnium virtutum fama ut quum ad omnia pulcra nominiſq; eternitatem paritura ſponte ſua veluti impetu quodam rapiatur imprimis tamen his rebus omnem ſuum animum omne ſtudium applicat quæ ad bonarum artium ſtudia ingeniorumq; culturam quovis pacto conducant preterea hujus noſtræ celeberrimæ academiæ honorabile membrum olim extitit atq; e noſtro gremio e noſtro ſinu ad altiſſima rerum faſtigia non ſine noſtra magna gloria emerſit quæ vel ſola ratio illum impellit ut omni officio ac pietate huic noſtræ reip. animum intendat quod ſe facturum facundiſſima eloquentiſſimaq; ſua quadam oratione publice teſtatus eſt cum ſupplicationibus ex decreto celebratis illi hoc oppidum proxime ingreſſuro ſacro veterum ritu univerſo ſcolaſticorum agmine obviam prodiiſſemus acceditq; preter divitias quas & honeſtiſſimis rationibus paravit & in pientiſſimos uſus munificentiſſime indies diſpenſat eâ eſt apud principem gratia & autoritate quod inter fortunæ pulcerrimas dotes numerari ſolet ut nihil tam arduum difficileq; videatur quod ille ſi incubuerit non facile effectum dabit deniq; quum ingenium hujus pientiſſimi patris quod in aliis raro accidit cum fortuna concurrat hoc eſt quum rebus noſtris ſuccurrere quæ ſua eſt pietas velit & que ſua eſt tum rerum omnium copia tum apud principem autoritas poſſit jure nobis hunc pre-elegimus ad quem in tantis difficultatibus recurremus cui nos & hanc noſtram remp. ſcolaſticam ſubmitteremus cujus peritiſſimo judicio hujus Florentiſſimi toto terrarum orbe olim famageratiſſimi Studii rationes omnes ſubjiceremus In hujus itaq; ampliſſimi patris virtute induſtria fide clementia & benignitate pleniſſime confiſi omni meliore modo formaq; qua validius efficaciuſq; poſſumus de communi conſilio & conſenſu omnium regentium & non regentium nec non & omnium ſingularum facultatum plenam univerſitatem magiſtrorum & ſcolarium *Oxon.* exiſtentium † nos & quemlibet noſtrum gymnaſiumq; hoc univerſum ſtatuta ordinationes & conſuetudines ejuſdem quaſcunq; (privilegiis & ſtatutis particularium collegiorum ſemper ſalvis) eidem ampliſſimo patri humiliter ſubmittimus ſibiq; plenam & liberam quantum in nobis eſt concedimus poteſtatem eadem ſtatuta & ordinationes quaſcunq; etiam ſedis apoſtolice aut cujuſvis alterius autoritate confirmatas etiam juratas innovandi inſtaurandi non abolitas vero reformandi interpretandi ſupplendi mutandi, retinendi, abolendi extirpandi novaſq; prout ſibi viſum fuerit oportunum condendi pœnaſq; pro Arbitrio ſuo moderandas eiſdem ſtatutis & eorum cuilibet proponendi ac nos & noſtrum quemlibet & quoſcunq; pro tempore futuros ſcolaſticos ſucceſſoreſq; noſtros ad ipſorum perpetuam obſervationem per eaſdem ab ipſo impoſitas pœnas aut per cenſuras eccleſiaſticas aliaq; juris remedia compellendi deniq; omnia alia & ſingula faciendi & ordinandi etiam ſi majora expreſſis extiterint quæ ad ſtudii hujus reformationem ſcolaſticorumq; bonam frugem & quietem quovis pacto pertinebunt ſubjicientes nos & noſtrum quemlibet ampliſſimæ paternitatis tuæ poteſtati & juriſdictioni quam expreſſe quoad premiſſa prorogamus Conſiderantes rei tante molem majus in ſe negocium

vid. Ep'tam. 99. 101.

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† Defuit tamen adhuc Authoritas Cancellarij Ejuſq; hac in re conſenſus quod poſtea Academicis objicitur. Ep'la. 101. vid. & f. 30 b.

Oxonienſes privilegijs & ſtatutis ſuis renunciant.

continere quam uno aut altero anno commode expediri poſſit perpetuo ab homine in tot & tantis regni graviſſimis cauſis occupatiſſimo ratiq; illum eo libentius noſtris ſe votis accommodaturum quo minus anguſtia temporis in tam laborioſſiſſimo negocio premeretur in fide promittimus ſolemniterq; quantum fieri poteſt per preſentes nos & hoc ſtudium obligamus nos hanc poteſtatem eidem ampliſſimo patri conceſſam ad vitæ ipſius ſpatium quod illi precamur quam longiſſimum nullo quovis pacto revocaturos renunciantes expreſſe omnibus & ſingulis privilegiis gratiis indultis tam a jure quam ab homine nobis conceſſis quibus nos contra premiſſa vel eorum aliquod dicere facere aut nos tueri quovis pacto poſſemus Paternitatem autem ſuam pientiſſimam per ſacratiſſima ſummi Dei viſcera ſuppliciſſime obſecramus ne hanc provinciam quantumvis gravem in tanto occupationum ſuarum agmine recuſet ne hac noſtra de ipſo ſpe & expectatione fruſtremur & Quin imo ad memoriam revocet nil magis ad memoriam glorioſſiſſimi nominis ſui famam pertinere quam quod literæ intermortuæ ipſo auctore reviviſcant ſe Mæcenate eruditorum numerus creſcat ingenia vegetentur hoc deniq; olim celeberrimum gymnaſium quod multis jam annis ſqualidum atq; inglorium jacuit ſe inſtauratore recuperatoreq; ac veluti vindice non ſolum nitore genuino priſtinoq; decore refulgeat verum etiam cuncta Chriſtiani orbis gymnaſia quanto ſol lunam & dies noctem longiſſimo intervallo exuperet Datum in magna convocatione primo *Junii* anno domini 1518. litera dominicali C & aureo numero 18vo.

Univerſo regentium cetui in academia Oxon.

Centuar. Archiepiſc.

Coll. N°. 15. c. 11. E Mſ. Arch. A. 166. f. 30.

VIri preſtantiſſimi S. P. ex literis veſtris jampridem ad me datis magnam cepi voluptatem utputa ex quibus intellexi quam officioſſiſſime a primoribus iſtius univerſitatis rex noſter illuſtriſſimus *Habyngdonæ* ſalutatus eſt quamq; gratiſſimum illud acceptavit obſequium Dignus profecto princeps cui non magis pro excellenti dignitate quam pro ſua innata bonitate benignitateq; omnis humanus honos merito perſolvi debeat itaq; quod in ea re feciſtis laudo factum hortorq; ut omni ſtudio opera & diligentia tam boni principis gratiam & benevolentiam conſecutam & auctam promereri curetis pretereaq; clariſſimam Reginam Anglie in qua relucet quicquid virtutis in muliebri natura optari poteſt *Oxon.* ingreſſuram frequenti occurſu ingentiq; favore & applauſu acceptam venerati eſtis plurimum approbo neq; dubito quin ea animi veſtri grata ſignificatio in eandem redundabit in non modicum univerſitatis iſtius commodum ſic etiam opinor fructui futurum univerſitatiq; item alios magnates & proceres hujus reverentiſſime excepiſtis Quod vero pluribus verbis quam oportuit extollitur in prefatis veſtris litteris meum propoſitum cogendi in unam conſonantiam confuſa & invicem obviantia ſtatuta univerſitatis quum mundanæ gloriæ fallacis & improbæ non ſum aucupator ſed repulſor & bene facere quam bene audire malim multo minus capio voluptatis quod meum tale propoſitum ita laudatur quam doloris quod nondum id perfectum eſt ab iis quibus negotium datum eſt quorum labores opere perfecto ex aliqua parte me repenſurum ſuperioribus meis litteris pollicitus ſum nuncq; promitto non ſolum in ea re ſed in omnibus aliis mea ſtudia meaſq; expenſas commoditatibus univerſitatis nunquam defuturas Poſtremo quantum ad id quod ex veſtris litteris etiam reſcivi Reverendum Cardinalem Eboracenſem decreviſſe quaſdam lecturas in univerſitate inſtituere eoque nomine atq; merito poſtulaſſe ab univerſitate ut omnis veſtra autoritas in illum transferatur omnia ſtatuta univerſitatis bonarum literarum uſum ſpectantia reformandi revocandi ac noviter edendi ſi meam in hac re ſententiam exſpectatis & Cancellarii univerſitatis conſenſus in tali negocio ſane maximo (ut meum eſt judicium) requirendus eſt non inficias eo quin ſi Reverendiſſimus Cardinalis tales lecturas deſtinatas perpetuo duraturas effecerit pium & egregium magniq; opus meriti tantæ autoritatis viro dignum & preſentibus & futuris oſtendet per quod & vivus ſua gloria perſequetur & nominis eternitatem conſequetur unde quantum ad ſtatuta edenda ſuper noviter inſtituendis ſuis lecturis bene erit ut ille Reverendiſſimus D. diſcernat que ſibi maxime videbuntur neceſſaria & oportuna quoad confirmationem earum lecturarum & ad pleniſſimi ſtudii ſcolaſtici profectum verum ut in illum Reverendiſſimum D. Cardinalem transferatur omnis autoritas reformandi revocandi delendi & condendi omnia ſtatuta concernentia uſum bonarum litterarum ſic enim ſcribitis non aſſentior id futurum conducibile aut expediens univerſitati tametſi predictus Reverendiſſimus D. Cardinalis omne ſuum ſtudium atq; conatum ad commodum univerſitatis in ea re referre velit Nam cum fere omnia ſtatuta univerſitatis aut in ſeipſis aut reſpective concernant uſum bonarum litterarum ſtudiiq; ſcolaſtici ſi omnis auctoritas quoad talia ſtatuta transferatur in alium ab univerſitate hominem a cancellario congregationeq; regentium & non regentium non video quid auctoritatis reſtabit apud eoſdem eritq; univerſitatis auctoritas inane nomen niſi ea quæ ut prefertur transferenda poſtulatur Si vero Reverendiſſimus D. Cardinalis velit animum ſuum ſuper hujuſmodi ſtatutis reformandis revocandis & condendis declarare poſtulareq; ut ſecundum animi ſui ſententiam ab univerſitate confirmetur ſi tam ſalutaria ſtatuta erunt quam futura credibile eſt facile omnes in ſuam ſententiam convertet non dubito Ex ædibus meis *Otfordiæ* xxij° die *Maij*.

Lecturæ Cardinalitiæ.

vid. 65. Ep'lam. 1518.

Gwillelmus Cantuarienſ.

Ad Card. Ebor. Acad. Oxon.

Coll. N°. 16. E Mſ. Arch. A. 166. p. 27. 28

MAximo dominationi tue cedet honori & excellentiſſimi nominis tui famam adauget Sanctiſſime Cardinalis tua prudentiſſima rerum omnium adminiſtratio Tanta enim benignitate vel magis pietate inopum indigentiumq; cauſas aſſumis tanta benevolentia diligentiſſime perſequeris tanta deniq; maturitate diſcernis quanta audimus antea neminem optimorum etiam negocia que aliis longe ſunt graviora & multo preferenda ea ut fertur prudentia diſcutis ea examinas gravitate ſummaq; prudentia diffinis ut ad tuam paternitatem tanquam ad juſticiæ fontem libentiſſime confugiunt omnes ultro convolant & toto animi conatu ſeſe applicant tuæ autoritati obſequentiſſimi obtemperantiſſimiq; Nec eſt quod poſſumus dubitare ſi monumenta majorum repetantur ſi veterum geſta conſiderentur ex multis jam actis ſæculis nemo fuit tantæ paternitati tuæ tum pacis obſervatione tum patriæ defenſione comparandus nemo vel moderatione vel juſticia in omnes vel magnitudine & animi & conſilii in regenda atq; adminiſtranda republica conferendus hec vox omnium

Inſultus in procuratorem Univerſitatis.

omnium una & publica Que tuos *Oxonienſes* non mediocri afficit gaudio Nam quis unquam tantum huic matri noſtræ *Oxon.* academiæ contulit ornamenti? Quis unquam tantum potuit conferre preſidii? Quis tantæ autoritatis nobis infimis ſe benevolentiorem prebuit antea? Ad tuam igitur ampliſſimam dignitatem convolamus benigniſſime pater tuo in ſinu tanquam in paternis brachiis tueri ſperantes opem expoſtulamus tuum auxiliumq; petimus non ſecus a te impetituros confidentes quam ſolent chariſſimi filii ab indulgentiſſimis obtinere parentibus Cum niſi ſeditioſos turbulentos & ſceleratiſſimos viros illuſtriſſimi regis noſtri pacem temerarie violantes privilegiorum & matris noſtræ Libertatum autoritate juſtiſſime punivimus ſed quorſum hoc evaſerit negotium paucis accipito ſexto decimo *Aprilis* omnium *Oxon.* civis nequiſſimus *Johannis Haynes* ſui generi fretus conſilio quatuor divi Benedicti ordinis religioſos ſatis ſedicioſos & tres ſeculares degeneres abjectiſſimoſq; procuravit conduxit & noctis ſilentio ſuis armavit armatoſq; ad alterum univerſitatis procuratorum interficiendum obſcuriſſima nocte in forum miſit iſtic quoſdam graviſſime vulneraverunt homines nocturno ſtrepitu partim timore attoniti partim ira & furore concitati hi luminibus hi armis in forum concurrunt: flagicioſi fugiunt ad dicti civis domum reverſi & per poſticam ingreſſi depoſitis armis reſiduum noctis ſomno complevere Rem quam citiſſime ac diligentiſſime ſumus percuntati compertos ſeculares vinculis tenemus geſtæ rei ſeriem nobis apertiſſime confitentes Fugit civis cum genero Quos & publice & legittime citatos minime comparentes excommunicavimus & a noſtra communitate dejecimus & totius univerſitatis autoritate bannitos denunciavimus hic niſi ſolitos depoſuerit mores ſub veritatis ſpecie vel tuæ dominationi vel regie mageſtati falſo conqueri non erubeſcet hic eſt qui non minus virtutis quam profectus ſcolaſtici incremento maximo fuit impedimento. Anno enim jamjam peracto ne unus quidem preterit menſis quo plures non celebravimus vel congregat vel convocat ſuæ cauſæ tractandi gratia quo fit quod plurimi noſtræ communitatis Juniores tantis laboribus fatigati relicto ſtudio ad alia ſe contulerunt Loca Nos igitur tui humillimi *Oxon.* non minus ſtudentium quam omnium concordiam atq; pacem diligentiſſime procurantes tuam obſecramus obteſtamurq; paternitatem ut noſtrum juſtum & legitimum proceſſum benigniſſime confirmes & acerrime tuearis & ut diligentiſſime valeat tua dignitas noſtras quotidianas pollicebimur preces.

1517. poſt. 10. Apr.

Ad Cardin. Ebor. Acad. Oxon. *Epiſt.* 66.

Coll. N°. 18. c. 11. E Mſ. Arch. A. 166. f. 32. Ad Card. Ebor.

PAucos ante dies quam *Oxon.* tua peteret amplitudo P. R'me id fere omnium erat in ore perituram matrem Academiam noſtram niſi ab omnipotentiſſimo deo is demum nobis patronus qualem te fore noſter preſagiebat animus ex celo daretur qui labanti ac nutabundo *Oxon.* ſtatui opitulari vellet At quam id recte dixerimus jam viderint homines Nam poſtquam tibi placebat ut nobis perpetuo eſſes patrocinio tum primum intelleximus te illum re vera eſſe quem Deus unum ex omnibus potiſſimum delegerat qui tua ſingulari prudentia pulcherrima bene vivendi precepta nobis dares qui noſtra errata ſolertiſſime emendares Qui deniq; remp. noſtram jam pene deperditam florentiſſimam efficeres verum que tua ſemper fuit munificentia hanc noſtram de te opinionem longe ſuperaſti cum preter ſex lectiones publicas quas tuis ſumptibus nobis paraſti

Sex publicæ Lectiones a Cardinale inſtitutæ.

paraſti preterq; ſaluberrima illa que nobis apud Guinſham tradebas diſcendi inſtituta pleriſq; ex noſtro ut ita dicamus grege ſacerdotia conferebas optatiſſima poſtremo ne vultu ſubtriſtiore quiſpiam a te diſcederet & ne qui manſerant nihil beneficii ex te accepiſſe conqueri poſſent congiarium ſane liberaliſſimum omnibus dediſti Ornat hec ipſa tui animi magnitudo que nihil ad oſtentationem ſed omnia ad conſcientiam refert Recte igitur non ex vulgi ſermone ut pleriq; ſed ex ipſo conſecutus es facto quod tue jam glorie peperit eternitatem que ut quam latiſſime propagetur perpetuoq; maneat deum precamur omnipotentem, tibiq; quod noſtris commodis tantopere ſtudeas, gratias habemus habebimuſq; perpetuo immortales. 1518.

Eboracenſi Cardinali Acad. Oxon.

No. 13. c. 11. Ep. 68.

QUum ea nos proſequaris benevolentia reverendiſſime pater qua cum aderas in noſtram academiam tua benigniſſima uſa eſt clementia nos admodum jucundos facit quam rem nonnullis argumentis plane accepimus *Oxon.* etenim academiam bonarum lectionum penuria ferme ſterilem Nilotico flumine inundatam tua liberalitas fecundiorem fecit cujus alumnos ad altioris dignitatis apicem erigere tua bonitas non deſinit pluresq; tibi qui vere & facies & ſpectaculum es honoris in obſequium benignius advocas id quod & prudentiores & ſapientiores expectatum habent tuam benevolentiam aucupantur omnes quam qui nacti ſunt ſeſe tutiſſimo portui applicuiſſe eſtimant nec adverſos fortune impetus facile metuendos cenſent Te igitur patrem defenſorem dominum deniq; noſtrum precipuum elegimus teq; unum nobis primatem fecimus tueq; autoritati & ſapientie omnis noſtra delegata eſt poteſtas Talem igitur adipiſci patronum qualem te tua probant opera qualemq; tua in noſtram rempublicam demonſtrat amicicia qualem deniq; noſter commiſſarius quem ob egregias & corporis virtutes & excelſas animi dotes tue dominationi in capellanum accerſiſti publice te predicavit non parvum gaudium nobis attulit Is poſt tuas literas perlectas ex quibus luculenter experimur quantum doctrine & eruditionis incrementum tua ſitiebat dilectio apertius nobis ſignificavit quid tuum vivaciſſimum judicium de noſtre reipublice ordine & inſtitutione cenſuerat cujus voluntati morem gerere aſſentiebant ſinguli poſtremo in epiſtole calce Edwardum Standyſh tum ob decoram corporis liniationem tum ob nonnullas quas in homine eximia tua bonitas reperiit virtutes ad preconis ſive bedelli officii uſum commendas quem ubi intueremur & in quam plurimis moratum invenerimus hominem certo eo officio apprime dignum judicavimus ipſumq; uno omni animo & voce accepimus teq; *Oxon.* academie fautorem profitebamur amantiſſimum qui non alienigenam non etate confectum ſed a noſtre matris gremio egreſſum etiam etate florentem obſequium nobis commiſeris Et quemadmodum his tuis in preſentia paruimus edictis in ſingulis quicquid tua imperaverit autoritas humiliter nobis ſemper obtemperandum pollicemur omnes Et quum tua celſitudo noſtre navicule clavum tenet nobis quam maxime expedit quo fortune impetu jactamur tue celſitudini ſignificare Infeſta quidem nimis inguinarie peſtis vis tribus his menſibus noſtros anxius contorſit & in varia loca diſperſit noſq; *Oxonienſium* reliquias in hunc uſq; diem urget longe tamen mitius cruciat In hac pacatiore aeris ſeveritate nonnulli ſunt reverſi eoq; gregatius ad nos

vid. f. 33.

Peſtis Inguinaria.

J. Clemenſ. Prelector. redeunt quod cum Clementem ſuas lecturas publicaſſe paſſim fuerit divulgatum, hic non noſtre juventuti ſolum ſed & maturioribus magnam ſtudendi prebet occaſionem & certe intente ad humanitatis ſtudia *Oxonienſ'* ſunt dediti Quamobrem te primum extollendum duximus teq; noſtre felicitatis auctorem precipuum buccinabimus quod longum uſq; in ſeculum vivas & valeas aſſidue precabimur omnes *Oxon.* 5 idus *Novembris.* 1518.

Ebor. Cardin. Acad. Oxon.

Coll. N° 15. Ep. 72.

ETſi vix quiſquam a nobis pretermittendus eſt Reverendiſſime pater quem ad tuam celſitudinem profectum eſſe putamus cui literas ad tuam amplitudinem rectiſſime committere non debemus iſto tamen uno noſtrarum litterarum portitorem magis acceptum non facile reperiemus ullum tum propter hominis gravitatem & eximie ſcientie que in eo eſt plenitudinem tum propter illam piiſſimam (qua in eum tua ſemper uſa eſt clementia) benevolentiam & dilectionem Et quia eodem aculeo quo & nos ſine ulla intermiſſione urgemur is etiam ſtimulatur rem illam que nos precipites in hanc terribilem peſtem agit tue dominationi ore ſuo apertius inſinuet quam facile poſſit litteris explicari Inquit enim ſanctus hieronimus in epiſtola ad paulium habet neſcio quid latentis energie vive vocis actus Non poſſumus tamen colendiſſime pater licet cum lacrimis impendens ac imminens nobis quotidie periculum miſeramq; noſtre reipub condicionem tue dominationi non ſignificare Et ut paucis rem ipſam expediamus Huc uſq; apud nos non deſinit ſevire acrioris peſtis immanitas non ceſſat non miteſcit ſed ſi aliquando aut frigeat aut ad tempus pacatior fiat quam citiſſime coaleſcet & denuo effervebit cujus intoxicationi (ſi ab ulla terreſtri proficiſcitur) materiam nullam aliam imputamus quam quod ex indigeſtis ſtagnorum humoribus obſcenoq; paludum fetore (que precipua omni letifero morbo fomenta prebent) naſcatur quam quidem ſentinam non eſt penes nos exhaurire quia a forenſi & a noſtra juriſdictione alieno Alveo ipſius mali origo oriatur; Novit tua prudentia declivos Tamiſie curſus nonnullis in locis eſſe plurimum impeditos tot enim in ea machinata ſunt obſtacula que tumentes aquarum fluctus in longum uſq; tranſverſos reverberant alveoloſq; nobis vicinos ſtagnare faciunt & ſpacioſa paſta velut maria operiunt ad hec molendina noſtra adeo ſuffocant que an a fronte an a tergo aque magis inundaverint non facile diſcernimus Habes colendiſſime pater que ſit ſumme noſtre ſolicitudinis cauſa habes a quo fonte ut creditur anceps hoc malum noſtrum evenerit a cujus rabie *Oxon.* rempub. que tua eſt non tardius eripies ut ſpes eſt quam tua te ſinet autoritas que certe eccleſie columnis ſuffulta & ſeculari anglorum clava meritiſſime conſtipata tanta eſt quod ſi juſſeris ad nutum omnia parebunt Nihil autem jubebis quod jus ipſum rectiſſime non efflagitabit valeat itaq; ſanctiſſima tua primitas *Oxon.* decim. Kal. *Aprilis.*

Paludum fetori peſtem imputant.

(*i. e.* 21 *Martii* 1518.

Ampliſſimo Domino & patri in Chriſto omni honore amplectendo domino Thome *divina providentia Eborac' Archiepiſcopo totius Anglie cancellario & apoſtolico a latere legato de nobis optime merito.*

Nº 21. c. 11. Ep. 74.

BEneficii accepti inquit Seneca memorem eſſe oportet atq; ideo ſummopere eniti ut nemo in te ſuam conferat munificenciam cui ſi non re animo tamen & voto reſpondeas Nec fuit unquam quiſpiam tam barbarus aut efferus qui non malit dici gratus quam ingratus quiq; ejus a quo egregie donatus abierit non ſit libenter obſervantiſſimus Non poſſumus igitur pater in Chriſto colendiſſime tot abs te affecti & clariſſimis & illuſtriſſimis donis non immortales tibi agere gratias Nam quam liberalis quam magnificus quam benignus in nos non dicam univerſos ſed ſingulos ſemper fuiſti ſupervacaneum ſcribere putamus quin ſi nos taceremus res loqueretur ipſa Enimvero ut tuos pretereamus dulciloquos ſermones atq; ad virtutes & ad bonas litteras divina illa hortamenta quanta O deus bone fuit in nos tua liberalitas tua generoſitas tua deniq; in noſtra conſervanda republica propenſa benignitas? nec facile eſt explicatu quantum ſit in tuis lectionibus utilitas tum in omnibus cum in ipſa precipue theologica cujus interpretandi provinciam nuper ſubiit tui & verus cultor & obſervator *Thomas Brynknellus* cum omni expectatione & alacritate Quid igitur tibi divine Archipontifex & pater in Chriſto ſanctiſſime pro juſte tantis meritis poſſumus rependere nihil penitus niſi obſequium preces animos aut potius noſmet ipſos id ut faciamus omnes plane devinxiſti de iis que tue ſanctitati proxime per litteras ſignificavimus de paludibus de ſtagnantibus aquis de earum obicibus & id genus aliis quouſq; tue viſum fuerit honorificentie quid fieri jubebis expectavimus vale.

Brynknellus.

Reverendiſſimo Thōme *Eboracenſ.*

Nº 22. Ep. 76.

NIſi te amicum ſingularem & patronum in nos integerrimum cognoviſſemus R'me pater cardinal' vereremur literis noſtris incultiſſimis inter tot que te occupant negocia tuam celſitudinem toties laceſſere Eximie tamen ille virtutum dotes quas divinitus inflatas luculentiſſime perſpeximus nos animantiores reddunt ſtimulant & invitant Quoniam accumulatiores quam in te ne uno quidem homine facile reperiuntur ab incunabilis tibi innate creduntur nihil enim a te agitur quod non cum prudentia quam conſultiſſime mox perficitur ipſa te erigit noctes dieſq; te amplectitur & ſane accuratiſſime monet & non tranſverſo uno digito te digredi ſinet Cui juſticiam comitem accerſiſti qua aurigante cuncta regni negocia equiſſime moderantur; Cuiq; quod ſuum attribuis nec quenquam aliena invadere permittis privatas utilitates negligis publicas amiciſſime foves & tutaris Ita in te inclitiſſime pater prudentia & juſticia effulgent quod fortitudo & temperantia minus ſordeſcant Multifariis enim in erumnis te fortem immo & robuſtiſſimum athletam ſplendide demonſtraſti Quoniam nullis viris ſuper quos jus ipſum flagitaverat infimis mediis ne dicam illuſtriſſimis pepérceris Nulla largitio nulla cupiditas nullus deniq; timor tranſverſum te unquam detrudit adeo deniq; temperantia te vicit ut in ipſa deliciarum ſentina quotidie verſatus quas locuples rerum affluentia parere ſolet nuſquam moveris his pulcherrimis morum patronis virtutes ille que multo minoris ducuntur non poſſunt non ancillari que inferiores etſi ab illis primis ſequeſtrari potuiſſent multum certe te ornarent & decus decori accumularent adeo namq; benignum amabilem affabilem tam humili quam potenti tam indigenti quam locupleti te prebes quod non minus infimo quam digniori ſuas cauſas aut petitiones licet exprimere Etſi fortaſſe aurem alteram reo accomodaveris alteram tamen actori vacuam conſervabis quam inſuper munificus & liberalis fueris nos *Oxonienſ.* omnes experti ſumus quorum alios ad honoris apicem attuleris alios tuis hunc uſq; in diem ſuſtines ſumptibus Omnes deniq; omnium ſtudentium animos mellifluis tuis lectionibus in dies quam optime reficis auges & illuſtras nec ab incepto tua clementia deſiſtit ſed nova potius nobis parare ſtudet Retulit enim nobis tuus ſacellanus & *Oxon.* commiſſarius quam optime meritus novum rhetorice artis lectorem & virum diſertiſſimum ab hyſpania te nobis comparaſſe O fortunata univerſitas O feliciſſima *Oxon.* que te totam patri tante auctoritatis & dilectionis commiſiſti a quo nihil eſt quod juſte implorabis quod non facile impetrare poteris In quo genere nichil in preſentia R'me pater expetimus niſi ubi tue prudentie viſum fuerit magis expedire noſtra ſtatuta privilegia & aquarum obices in memoria habeas In ſalutis auctore valeat tua bonitas *Oxon.* 5 idus *Julii* anno Dom. 1519.

Ludovicus vives.

Nº 23. l. .2

NOS Univerſitas Magiſtrorum Regentium & Non Regentium, nec non omnium facultatum ſtudii Cantabrigienſis, ad effectum infrà ſcriptum legitimè congregatarum, Omnibus Chriſti fidelibus ad quos Præſentes pervenerint, Salutem. Utcunq; noſtra Cantabrigienſium Reſpublica Inſtitutis olim ſuis, & illis quidem omni ex parte ſaluberrimis, multis retrò annis & ad hæc uſq; tempora (ut ſperamus) non omninò infeliciter conſtitit, & duratura etiamnum aliquouſq; videretur: non poſſumus tamen non meminiſſe (toties præſertim atq; adeo ob oculos repetitis exemplis) humanorum olim firmiſſima quæq; tandem (ſuo nimirum orbe emenſo) interitura prorſus, & quaſi diſſolutis formæ compagibus ad priſtinam aliquando revolvi naturam; quantoq; longius à principijs progreſſa, tanto ad interitum propius accedere, etiamſi gradu incerto & inexplicabili. Quæ rerum humanarum reciproca mutatio, cum non in alijs perinde rebus atq; in legibus Conſtitutionibuſq; humanis manifeſta ſit, Qualiſcunq, quidem noſtræ Reipub. ſit præſens conditio, verendum tamen etiam atq; etiam arbitramur, ne leges noſtræ poſt tam longum temporis decurſum, malè ætatem ferre incipiant, neve interpretationum pondere oppreſſæ nutent aliquando, aut vi aliquâ majori labefactatæ, ruinam quandam occultè minentur, & cui forſan ni citius occurratur, naturâ quâdam ſuâ in interitum videlicet proclivi (ut reliqua humana omnia) corruant ſubitò & diſſolvantur. Quo fit, ut cum illi noſtræ Reip. primi Parentes, legum (ex quibus omnis Reip. ſumma pendet) omnem curam noſtræ fidei ac authoritati commiſerant, multò maximè è Rep. noſtrâ facturi videbimur, ſi effectum curemus, ut noſtræ leges (quibus ut nihil aliud interim acciderit antiquæ certè & multis etiam interpretationibus agitatæ) ad probum alicujus judicium, veluti ad normam quandam exigantur; novâ deinde Artificis manu retractatæ, omnibus ſuis partibus abſolutiſſimæ reddantur, ſitu, (ſiquem vetuſtas contraxerat) deterſo, genuinum ſuum nitorem recuperent, in ſedem deniq; priſtinam novâ authoritate repoſitæ, ibiq; ſancitæ denuò & confirmatæ firmius conſiſtant atq; diutius. Quod cum nobis omninò providendum ſit, nunc verò temporis omni conatu aggrediendum etiam, tam felici præſertim & nunquam forſan reditura tam bene gerendæ rei occaſione oblatâ; cum habeamus, *viz.* veluti nobis è cælo delapſum Ampliſſimum in Chriſto Patrem ac Dominum D. Thomam miſeratione Divinâ Sacroſ'tæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ tituli S. Ceciliæ trans Tiberim Presb. Cardinalem Ap'licæ ſedis à latere legatum, Eboracen. Archie'pum; Angliæ Primatem & Cancellarium ſummum, virum, cum ad inſtaurandas Reſp. divinâ quâdam Providentiâ natum, tum verò noſtrum etiam peculiariter Patronum, *viz.* qui tantum noſtræ Reip. etiam ultrò ſtuduit, quantum quivis, non omnino improbus, ſuis etiam precibus contendiſſet; tantum præterea nobis indies & pollicetur & præſtat, ut omnem noſtram expectationem ſuperet, & ad alia quoq; majora ab eo expectanda invitet. Quæ omnia tum legum noſtrarum naturali quâdam viciſſitudine imminentem ruinam, tum etiam in fulciendis, reponendis, redintegrandiſq; legibus tam miri artificis benignam præſentiam, hæc invicem collata cum meditamur (prout jam ſumus meditati diutius) non poſſumus committere, ut tam malè de hâc noſtrâ Rep. meriti videamur, ut Hunc Rerumpub. tam felicem, multis etiam editis exemplis, Inſtauratorem de noſtrâ Repub. etiam non conſulamus: Ut hujus tam præſentis in Legum reſtitutione Numinis opem omnibus precibus non imploremus, ad hanc Juſtitiæ aram, ad hoc juris aſylum, non confugiamus; cum adierimus deniq; non obſecremus obteſtemurq; ut noſtrâ Rep. in fidem ſuſceptâ, ipſam diligentius perluſtrare, leges atq; inſtituta ejuſdem, hoc eſt ipſam Reip. animam, ad prudentiſſimum illud judicium ſuum exigere, exactam perpendere, perpenſam inſtaurare & priſtinæ integritati reſtituere; poſtremò, puram & omni etiam authoritate conſecratam, in hanc jam ſuam effectam Remp. reponere velit atq; dignetur. Etenim cum in Legiſlatore duo exigantur, nempe ſumma prudentia & prudentiæ non omnino impar authoritas, horum amborum egregiam atq; raram, nec minus mirandam, in hoc Ampl'mo Patre conjunctionem cernere eſt, ut ſummam in hoc prudentiam, ampliſſimam authoritatem, qua Sacra, qua profana, non pro beneficio, ſed pro virtutum ſuarum teſtimonio conſecuta; tale utiq; tum authoritatis tum prudentiæ temperamentum adhibet, ut nihil unquam authoritas ſine prudentià effecerit, nec clarius authoritatem perſpicere ſit quam eſt in ſingulis prudentiam animadvertere: Adeo autem, ut ſi hanc noſtram Remp. in ſuam ſemel fidem ſuſceperit, & ad prudentiæ ſuæ modulos adtemperatam, ſuâ nobis autoritate reddiderit confirmatam, nihil addubitandum ſit, quin ingens, tum nobis, tum etiam poſteris gratulandi materia hinc oriatur, in talem aliquando incidiſſe Patronum ſive bonarum literarum (quibus oppido quidem favet) ſinceræve eruditionis (quam mirè amplectitur) incrementum ſpectemus, ſive firmum recteq; conſtitutum Reip. ordinem, quod ſolus præſtiterit, & in quo præſtando tam diu exercitatus falli non poſſit. His itaq; poſt maturam deliberationem rationibus adducti, deq; hujus Ampl'mi Patris virtutibus confiſi pleniſſimè, quo modo, quâ formâ efficacius humiliuſq; poterimus, unanimi eodemq; libero omnium conſenſu, hoc eſt, tam Regentium & non Regentium quam etiam Scholaſticorum, præterea omnium integram Univerſitatem Cantabrig. Gymnaſij repræſentantium conſilio & aſſenſu adhibitis pureq; præſtitis.

Nos & Unuſquiſq; noſtrum atq; adeo Gymnaſium hoc univerſum, leges ſive ſcriptas, ſive non ſcriptas, ſtatuta, ordinationes & conſuetudines quaſcunq; (privilegijs & ſtatutis particularium Collegiorum ſemper ſalvis) eidem Ampliſſimo Patri ſubmittimus dedimuſq; humillimè, talem in nos legeſq; noſtras, ſtatuta, ordinationes ſeu conſuetudines, breviter ordinationes omnes & ſingulas quocunq; etiam nomine vocitentur, & eas quantumcunq; firmas, etiamſi ſedis Apoſtolicæ inferioriſve authoritate qualitercunq; conſecratas, etiamſi Sacramenti religione confirmatas; poſtremò qualeſcunq; fuerint, talem in nos & in hæc omnia præfato Reverendiſſimo concedimus poteſtatem, ut pro libero animi ſui arbitrio (quod non poteſt non eſſe graviſſimum) jam conſtituta abroget, deroget, obroget, mutet, reformet, interpretetur, ſuppleat, adjuvet, corroboret, & omnem in partem verſet & tractet; Leges, ſi videatur, antiquatas reponat, diſſuetudine obſcuratas illuminet, minus abſolutas redintegret, atq; adeo ſi id animo aliquando ſederit, expunctis, deletis & etiam mutatis ijs omnibus, novas excogitet & ponat, idq; ſemel, aut etiam ſæpius quoties ei videatur expedire. Porro autem omnes & ſingulas Conſtitutiones ab illo aut promulgatas aut compoſitas pœnis quibuſcunq; ſanciat ac muniat, & tam nos quam Succeſſores noſtros futuros Scholaſticos ad hujuſmodi conſtitutionum perpetuò obſervationem, pœnis ejuſmodi aut etiam cenſuris, ſi malit, Eccleſiaſticis, imò alijs quibuſcunq; juris remedijs, compellat & cogat. In ſummâ, non ad ea quæ expreſſa ſunt, conceſſam benigniſſimo Patri poteſtatem arctamus, ut verbis videatur moderata poteſtas, ſed etiam majora expreſſis, imò & quæ verbis quibuſcunq; poſſemus exprimere, hujus Amplitudini conceſſa volumus; ut nihil nobis reſervare videamur, quæ hujus arbitrium in conſtituendis legibus impedierint, uſq; adeo, ut cum ampliſſimam ejus & authoritatem & juriſdictionem non ignoremus & prorogationem credamus minus neceſſariam, tum ut de noſtrâ ſubmiſſione, quam etiam libera ſit manifeſtius conſtet, illius ampliſſimi Patris juriſdictioni nos ipſos ſubmittentes, eam etiam, quoad præmiſſa, nullo errore impliciti, nullo metu coacti, prorogamus expreſsè per præſentes. Jam verò, quoniam indignum atq; adeo iniquum eſſe videtur ut à quo beneficium expectandum putes, tempus eidem præſtituas perſolvendi; porrò etiam hic benigniſſimus Pater, nec vacare interdum per majora quædam negotia poſſit, nec etiam, cum vacaverit, brevi abſolvere, non convenire putavimus ut poteſtatem ei conceſſam ullis certis temporum finibus concludamus. Imò nunc quaſi verbis in eam rem conceptis & pacti vim habentibus, per præſentia paciſcimur & in fide promittimus, ad quam etiam conditionem & nos & hoc noſtrum Gymnaſium harum literarum teſtimonio obligamus, ut in nos inq; leges noſtras, in hoc deniq; Gymnaſium Ampl'mo Patri conceſſa poteſtas, ad vitæ ejus ſpatium (quod illi feliciſſimum precamur & quam longiſſimum) nec à nobis nec à ſucceſſoribus noſtris quovis modo revocetur, cujus rei firmandæ causâ, privilegijs omnibus & ſingulis gratijs tam à jure quam ab homine indultis, omnibus brevitèr defenſionibus aut allegationibus quibus nos contra præmiſſa tueri poterimus, renunciamus expreſsè in his Scriptis. Illud ſolum obſecrantes pientiſſimam benignitatem ſuam ut tam humiles Clientes tam juſtum præſertim implorantes auxilium ne aſpernetur neuve deſerat, agnoſcatque obſequentiſſimos ſervulos, qui ut hic nullas fermè operas quæ ullum hoſtimentum aliquâ ex parte referant queamus rependere, non dubitamus tamen quin Deus Opt. M. in cujus haud dubiè gratiam factum tam egregium ceſſurum ſit, puris præſertim precibus ſollicitatus (quod alijs nominibus multis fecimus jam diu & indeſinenter deinde ſumus facturi) ſolidiſſimum illud & ijs benefactis promiſſum præmium hujus pietati ſuo tempore referat, ut centuplum accipiat & vitam æternam. In cujus rei teſtimonium ſigillum commune hujus noſtræ Univerſitatis prædictæ præſentibus apponi fecimus. Dat. Cant-

abrigiæ in plenâ Congregatione Regent. & non Regent. decimo
vo die Menſis Aprilis Anno D. M.D. viceſimo quarto.

Doctiſſimi Viri Henrici Bulloci Theologiæ Doctoris Oratio, habita Cantabrigiæ, in frequentiſſimo Cætu, præſentibus Cæſaris Oratoribus, & nonnullis aliis Epiſcopis, ad reverendiſſimum D. Thomam Cardinalem Titulo Sanctæ Ceciliæ, Legatum à Latere, Archiepiſcopum Eboracenſem, & Angliæ ſupremum Cancellarium.

Coll. Nº 23. c. 11.

NON expectabis, multo omnium feliciſſime Cardinalis, quod hac brevi Oratiuncula, immenſam illam Laudum tuarum Aream velimus ingredi, vel Tantulo verborum numero virtutum tuarum omnium ſummam perſtringere, quando eas vix ingenti volumine, tantum abeſt, ut ſermone non dico diurno, ſed ne ſemeſtri quidem, aut annuo vel enumerare quiſpiam poſſit. Nos verba facturi ſumus de hiſce duntaxat Rebus perpaucis illis quidem ſed Quæ ob earundem Magnitudinem niſi eſſent Omnibus, nedum adſtantibus, cognita (quod hos meos ſpiritus non mediocriter recreat) viderentur fortaſſis incredibilia, nec citra Aſſentationis notam referri poſſe, cæterum tantum aberit hic noſter ſermo ab Aſſentatione, quantum abeſt a Neceſſitate. Quippe hujuſcemodi ſunt, Proceres humaniſſimi, hujus ampliſſimi Præſulis Dotes quæ ab omnibus, vel Inimicis (Quorum Laus ut eſt perquam rara, ita minimè fucata) commemorari debeant; adeo, ut nulla fuerit Adulationis ſuſpicio, ſi earum Amore ducti, paulò liberius (ut noſtra Mediocritas tulerit) loquamur, pro noſtro erga ejus Celſitudinem Studio, & nobis delegato a Contubernalibus Officio. Nam non eſt noſtri Ingenij, hujus Inſaniæ, harum Virium, ſed ne Oratoris quidem, quantumvis magni, quantumvis eloquentis, tot egregia hujus laudatiſſimi Cardinalis, digne pro Meritis concelebrare. Nulla ſane eſt tam torrens dicendi Copia, nullum tam efficax aut ſplendidum Orationis Genus, nulla vis, ubertas nulla, quæ huic eſt Oneri reſponſura. Quid enim huic defuit, quod ſummis quibuſq; Viris unquam adfuit? Præclarane Indoles? at hæc ſpem non ancipitem maximi hujus (quo nunc illum ornatum cernimus) honoris, univerſis præbuit; an eximia Corporis Temperaturâ? At hanc, ut videmus, obtinuit optimam; an Diligentia? Qui Pueritiæ Tempus extremum, initium habuit, Omnium bonarum Artium apud inclytam Oxoniam hujus tantæ Magnitudinis Altricem, in qua tam vigilanter bonis Literis incubuit, ut alios ejus Ætatis diligentiſſimos, longo præceſſerit Intervallo; an Ingenium? At hoc jam inde ab Adoleſcentia vel maxime divinum, omnium Calculis conſecutus eſt; an Rerum uſus, Probitas, Innocentia, Pudor, Integritas, Religio, an Virtus ulla? Quibus non modo clariſſimo Marcioni, ampliſſimo Antipræſuli, perplacuit, ſed Regi Regum omnium prudentiſſimo, Henrico, ejus nominis ſeptimo, viro acerrimi (ut mea ſert Opinio) judicij, qui harum Rerum Gratia, hunc incorruptiſſimum Antiſtitem percharum habuit: Nam probe intelligebat Princeps, in perpendendis hominum Ingeniis, & hujuſmodi Dotibus longe ſolertiſſimus, iſtum aliquando huic ſuo Regno magno Uſui, atque honori futurum; in cujus Teſtimonium, eundem auxit Beneficiis, credidit illi Conſilia, commiſit Legationes, idq; in graviſſimis Regni Negotiis, in quibus quam dextrè, ac prudenter ſe geſſerit, non eſt hujus Loci neque Temporis referre, hujus Filius Rex illuſtriſſimus univerſis optimi atq; excellentiſſimi Principis Artibus conſummatus, ut paternæ Hereditatis, ita & Judicij, atq; Animi mi Succeſſor innumeris hujus reverendiſſimi Præſulis captus Virtutibus, nullo non Honore digniſſimum judicavit; ſummus Pontifex ob Ingentia in Eccleſiam catholicam Merita hiſce inſignibus donavit, & quia videbat illum omnibus hujus Dignitatis Cardinalitij numeris abſolutiſſimum, adjecit & alteram Dignitatem ſecundum ſummum pontificium ſupremam, creavit Legatum, & id quidem a Latere. Quid ergo nos Homunculi poſt tantos, ac tam exquiſitos ſummorum Principum honores, ad quos tamen maxima harum virtutum, quibus eoſdem promeruit, pervenit Utilitas, conferre poſſumus? Quid nobis relictum eſt, quid ex officio nobis incumbit? Niſi, ut Deum immortalem communibus Votis ſollicitemus, quatenus eundem nobis quam diutiſſimè, ſuperſtitem, incolumem, florentem conſervet, hiſce ſucceſſibus congratulemur, has ejus virtutes prædicemus, quas ſilentio præterire non poſſumus, niſi velimus eſſe omnium multo ingratiſſimi, non agnoſcentes multiplicia in hanc Rempublicam per Te, ornatiſſime Præſul, collata Beneficia, quis enim tam altam huic Inſulæ Tranquillitatem peperit, niſi hæc tua gratioſiſſima ſublimitas? quis pauperem a Potente, inopem a locuplete, ſimplicem & innocentem a juris publici vafricie, incunctanter explicuit? explicuit iſta diligentiſſima ſublimitas, quis ejuſdem facultatis profeſſores verſipelles in aliorum Exemplum acerrimè corripuit? Corripuit hæc ipſa juſtiſſima ſublimitas, quis collapſas improborum inexplebili avaritia villas recdificari, Agros omni frugum Genere fertiliſſimos, in Paſcua deductos, Agricolis juſſit reſtitui? Juſſit iſta ipſa prudentiſſima ſublimitas; quis plurimarum nationum Chriſto militantium, Regum, Imperatoris, ſummi deniq; Pontificis, Favorem, huic Regno conciliavit? Conciliavit iſta tua præſtantiſſima ſublimitas. Omnia ergo hujus Reipublicæ Commoda, poſt nobiliſſimum, atq; invictiſſimum Regem noſtrum Henricum, ejus nominis octavum, cui tuam Celſitudinem debemus, ſi rectè rationabimur, uni huic accepta referamus oportet fortunatiſſimæ ſublimitati, Ecquem ex omni Antiquitatis Memoriâ preferre poſſumus, per quam religioſi Antiſtites, & Vos viri generoſiſſimi, qui tanta contulit vel uni Civitati, genti, aut populo, quanta hic non tantum huic Regno, ſed Orbi Chriſtiano? Si executiamus omnes rerum eccleſiaſticarum Annales, omnes a Fidei Chriſtianæ primordio res geſtas, ſummorum Pontificum Vitas, in quibus recenſeri frequentiſſime ſolent Cardinalium virtutes, non inveniemus in aliqua una Ætate ab omnibus Cardinalibus, ſed ne in omnibus quidem ætatibus, ab aliquo uno Cardinali, adeo neceſſaria Reip. Chriſtianæ, tam brevi Tempuſculo fuiſſe perfecta; quod & ipſa confitetur Italia, in ſuis licet Alumnis efferendis parum modica, ac in quavis re potius quam Gloria cuivis ceſſura; confitetur Germania, quæ communibus ſuffragiis ſummo dignum ducit Pontificio; confitetur Gallia, cujus Rex Chriſtianiſſimus Franciſcus nuperrime aiebat ſe malle, te ſibi conſultorem adhibitum, quam regni ſui Dimidium; deniq; quæ Regio, quis Locus, quæ ſolitudo, quis adeo remotus ab hoc noſtro habitabili Orbis Angulus, qui Populi, Proceres, Reges, qui non id ipſum confitentur; & ad Quos non permanavit pulcherrima Rerum a Te rectè geſtarum Fama, tam longè lateque diffuſa eſt, reverendiſſime Cardinalis, hujus tui nominis Celebritas, quam ampliter pateat Orbis Chriſtianus, ne dicam univerſus, non latius doctus aliquis hujus Inſulæ Laudes Literis, quam Tu virtutibus iſtis heroicis, propagavit, eiſdem ſane Finibus, quibus Ortus & Occaſus, tui nominis Claritudo terminatur; Hyſpanus colit, Gallus veneratur, Germanus ſuſpicit, Italus admiratur; ut omittam Boemos, Hungaros, Polonos, Inſulares omnes, qui non minus huic tuæ felicitati congratulatur, & univerſam illam ſoli orienti, atq; meridiano ſubjectam Barbarorum infidelium Colluviem, quam hæc tua incomparabilis Prudentia per Negotiatores cognita, expeditum atq; promptum Conſilium, rara quædam in Rebus ſingulis Experientia, in negotiis obeundis Maturitas, & iſta (per ſingularem, illuſtriſſimi Regis noſtri Prudentiam, & tuam Induſtriam) inter Principes Chriſtianos cepta, ac prope dixerim, ſtabilita Concordia intra ſuos Limites cohibet, Alioqui infeſtis Telis inimico Exercitu Chriſtianos Fines ingreſſuram. Proinde non eſt Regum aliquis, non Imperator ipſe, non ſummus Pontifex, qui non ambiat hujuſmodi Heroa ſibi contubernalem; ſi ergo Cardinalis aliquis, ob pacem conciliatam inter Genuenſes, & Florentinos nomen obtinuit non incelebre; alius ob Fœdera renovata, inter Venetos & Ferrarienſes, alius ob ſopitam inter Quelfos & Gibellinos, Diſcordiam; alius ob ſublatam ſimultatem, aut Contentionem inter paucos factioſos compoſitam; tu unus, cum his omnibus longe majora præſtiteris, non dignus videbere omni ſæculorum Memoria? Videberis, inquam, & non hoc tantum, ſed superûm conſeſſu, nunquam finienda cum cælitibus Gloria, quam ſummus ille rerum omnium opifex, haud dubie bene merenti collaturus eſt. Felix Tellus, quæ Te in Lucem edidit; feliciores principes, quibus acceſſiſti, feliciſſima res publica, quæ talem Moderatorem ſortita eſt; & nos Cantabrigiarii non poſtremam, ſed vel primam felicitatis Partem videmur adepti, non ſolum quod huic noſtræ Academiæ tam impenſe faves, adeo, ut nonnullos ejus Alumnos, huic tuæ nobiliſſimæ adſcripſeris familiæ, Beneficiiſq; non mediocribus cumulaveris; ſed quod nos tua Preſentia longe ſuaviſſima ornare dignatus es, quod hunc tuum Vultum multo gratioſiſſimum liceat intueri; hanc tuam Celſitudinem amplecti; haud facile fuerit explicare quanto Tripudio, quam hilari Vultu, quam ingenti Lætitia, ſalientibus præcordiis, tui Adventus Nuncios excepimus. Facilius fuerit cuipiam æſtrimare, quam nobis Verbis exprimere. Ipſe vidiſti, quam exporrectis Frontibus, quam blando, ac ſereno Vultu, quam incredibili omnium Applauſu, certiſſimis non ficti Pectoris Teſtimoniis, exceptus es; Hi Parietes, hæ Columnæ, hæc ſubſellia, hoc Sacrum, hi omnes deniq; Scholaſtici videntur mihi non modò geſtire, ſed & seriò gloriari ſeſe nobilitatos tali hoſpite. Utinam hæc noſtra Præcordia, has Animi Latebras, hos Affectus, iſtis tuis vivaciſſimis oculis introſpicere poſſes; tum clarè deprehenderes, quam ſinceriter, nullo aſcititio Colore, nullis Phaleris, nullo Fuco hæc dicerentur. Ut enim Opibus, Ædium Magnificentiâ, ſupellectilis Gloriâ, ab aliis ſuperemur, nemini conceſſerimus, hoc precati, ut te propitium huic Academiæ, ut omnibus ſolitus es, exhibeas Patronum; Deus optimus maximus te in uſus publicos quam diutiſſimè conſervet incolumem.

Henricus Bullock (vel Bovillus) admiſſus Socius Coll. Regin. Cant. (præſidente Joanne Fiſher Epo. Roffen.) circa an. 1507.

Idem Socius admiſſus Procan. Acad. an. 1524. Erat ille Eraſmi Amicus, quocum familiariter vixit in Collegio Regin. v. Eraſmi Epiſtol. Hen. Bovillo. *Clar. Baker.*

Of the Excommunication of Dr. Clyffe *L L. Dr.* Chauncellor *to* Nicholas Weſt *Bp. of* Elye.

Coll. Nº 24. c. 11. B. II.

MD. that in the yeere of our Lorde 1528,9. Dr. *Edmonds* Mr. of *Peter* Colledge being then Vicechancellor of *Cambrydge*, the ſaid Dr. *Clyffe* attempted to call before hym one Sr. *Henry* of *Barnard Oſtell*, commonlye called Sr. *Henrye* the Conjurer, who for a certayne fact of Incontynence charged upon hym, as done without the libertye of the Univerſitie, the ſaid *Clyffe* proceded agaynſt hym, and did excommunicate hym; which thyng was complayned of to the Vicechancellor and the ſaid Dr. *Clyffe* charged with perjurye for infryngyng the liberties of the Univerſitie, and therupon for his contempte was excommunicated by the ſaid Vicechancellor, and a daye apoynted, when the Vicechancellor with his aſſiſtance ſhould call the ſaid Dr. *Clyffe* before theim to make awnſwer. Wherupon the Vicechancellor dyd choſe for the place of Examinacion the Logycke Scholes, ſyttyng in the ſeate commonlye apoynted for the Awnſwerer, and his Aſſiſtance being rownde about hym, amongeſt which Aſſiſtance *Thomas Thoorlbye* Doctor of the *Cyvyll* Lawe was. Then the ſaid Dr. *Clyffe* was called, and he with his Companye made apearaunce and being much charged for breakyng the priviledges, which weare then alleged by the Proctors, and openlye reade; the ſaid *Clyffe* in a great ſtomacke, and in a ſtoute glorye awnſwered that he had done nothyng otherwyſe then by the Lawe dyd beare hym, and to the Lawe would he ſtand, with ſolemne proteſtacions in the Biſhops name his Mr. and in Concluſyon brought furth his Boke of the *Syxte*, *Titulo de privilegiis capite volentes*, *Titulo* 7º. and reade the forth parte of the Lawe verye ſeriouſlye, triumphing before the victorye, and ſayed theſe words to the Vicechancellor. Sr. you ſee the playne grownde that I ſtand upon, the Lawe is manyfeſt and open to juſtyfie my doinge, and for that it is not your Profeſſion to expende the Lawe, I here offer my Boke, and where you have amongeſt your Aſſiſtance a lerned man in the Lawe (meanyng Doctor *Thurlbye*) who I am ſuer wyll ſoe judge of the Lawe, as I do alledg it. Therupon I offer hym my Boke to ſee the Lawe, and your worſhipe ſhall perceave, how I am unjuſtlye moleſted, and therfore deſyer to be diſmiſſed with my coſts, that the Intereſt of my Mr. the Reverend Father the Biſhop of *Elye* may be acknowledged, and the Adverſarye put to perpetual ſilence. Than the Vicechancellor required the ſaid Dr. *Thurlby* to conſyder of the Lawe alledgyd, which he dyd, and after a longe expectation to underſtand what he ſhould judge of this Lawe, he ſayed in Concluſion thus: Mr. Dr. *Clyffe* as Chancellor unto the Biſhop of *Elye*, yow have ſtoutely mayntayned his Juriſdiction, to the derogacion of the priviledg of the Univerſitie, *&c.* And for ſome countenaunce yow have alledged this Lawe, which maye ſeme at the firſt ſight to make muche for yow; but if it would have pleaſyd yow, to have well wayed the whole Lawe, and have brought in the latter parte of the Lawe, begynyng thus; *In eos autem quibus ne interdici, ſuſpendi, vel excommunicari a quoquam valeant a ſede Apoſtolica eſt indultum*, &c. Yow ſhould have ſeen the particular caſe which we have nowe in hand, to be there ſufficiently ruled, that ſtandyng ſuche privilege, as the Univerſitie have alledged playnlye to them graunted, yow could not have excommunicated this partye beyng owt of yowr Terrytorye, and ſo infrancheſyd: and therupon yow miſtake the lawe, for it wyll not ſerve your purpoſe, *&c.* with this th' Univerſitie as many were preſent rejoyſed to ſee his hold ſo well wyped awaye, he and his complices amazed, but yet would not ſo gyve over, but wrangled as they could; and after many words, the matter was ſuſpended, and referred to the Judgement of the Cardinall *Woolcey* and of his lernyd Counſayll, and ſo it was brought upp before the Cardynall, and longe reſoned of before hym, Dr. *Stephen Gardyner* his Secretarye takyng the parte of th' Univerſitie agaynſt Dr. *Clyffe*, who with his Counſayll awnſwered for hymſelfe. But in concluſion the ſaid Dr. *Clyffe* was commaunded to repayre home to thUniverſitie to ſubmitte hymſelfe to the Vicechancellor prayinge hym to have his abſolution, promyſyng that he would for hereafter attempte no more ſuche matter agaynſt the priviledg of thUniverſitie, whereto he was ſworne, ſaying that he was ſorye, that there ſhould be any variance betwyxte thUniverſitie and the Biſhop. And ſo upon this ſubmiſſion on his knees before the Vicechancellor mekely takyng his abſolucion, he was diſmiſſed from any further penaunce, and therwith at the requeſt of his Frends, before the Cardynall he was reſtored agayne to his place and Degree agayne within thUniverſitie, as before. And ſo the priviledges of the Univerſitie in their exempcions from the Juriſdiction of the Biſhope of *Elye* corroborated and renued after a licke proceſſe that ſome tyme was had betwyxt the Biſhop and thUniverſitie in *annis.* 1429. and 1430. ſo delegated by *Martyn* then Bp. of *Rome* to the Prior of *Barnewell*, and to Dr. *Jo. Depyng* which proceſſes is recorded in the Blacke Book of th' Univerſitie, *&c.*

Copia exco'icacionis contra Doctorem Clyffe *cancellar. Ep'i. Elienſis ſequitur.*

Coll. Nº 27. c. 11. B. II.

JOhannes Edmonds ſacre Theologie Profeſſor alme univerſitatis Cantabrigie Procancellarius, Dilecto nobis in Chriſto M'ro. Rob'to Hobbs Artium Magiſtro, ejuſdem univerſitatis Bedello, ac aliis ex ipſius univerſitatis Bedellis Miniſtris ac ſubditis noſtris quibuſcunq; per dictam univerſitatem & precinctum ejuſdem ubilibet conſtitutis, ſalutem. Cum nos aliàs contra Rob'tum Clyffe LL. Doctorem, hujus alme univerſitatis Regentem unum, ac Rev'di' in Chriſto Patris, ac D'ni D'ni Nicholai permiſſione Divina Elienſ' Epi' Cancellarium & Commiſſarium generalem, in cauſa Violac'ois Statutorum, Libertatum, & privilegiorum hujus univerſitatis, ex officio noſtro mero legitime procedentes; quia tam per ſuam Confeſſionem, coram nobis publice in Judicio factam, quam per rei notoreitatem & Evidentiam nobis conſtitit luculenter, ipſum M'tum Rob'tum Clyffe ſtatutorum, libertatum, privilegiorum, atq; Immunitatum huic univerſitati a Sacroſanctis Roman' Pontificibus gratioſe conceſſorum, & multipliciter authoritate competenti corroboratorum & confirmatorum, atq; hectenus in hac univerſitate & precinctu ejuſdem illibate & inconcuſſe receptorum & uſitatorum, Violatorem, perturbatorem, & pro poſſe demolitorem fuiſſe, & in futurum fore, prout conſtanter coram nobis in Judicio aſſeveraverit. Idcirco authoritate, qua in hac parte fungimur, ipſum M'rum Rob'tum Clyffe, ob violaco'em, perturbaco'em, demolico'em, atq; Jactitaco'em ſuas in premiſſis, de conſilio & conſenſu Aſſeſſorum noſtrorum, per nos tunc temporis aſſumptorum, & aliorum plurimorum hujus univerſitatis Regentium & Non-Regen' tunc inter-

eſſen' exco'icamus & exco'icatum declaramus in ſcriptis eſſe, Juſtitia exigente. Vobis igitur conjunctim & diviſim committimus & mandamus, firmiter injungentes, quatenus per affixionem preſentium Literarum noſtrarum in Valvis publicarum Scholarum, ac in cruce forali dicte univerſitatis, ac in aliis quoq; locis publicis, ad conſimiles denunciac'oes fiend' deſtinatis & conſuetis, antedictum M'rum Rob'tum Clyffe, authoritate noſtra excoi'catum fuiſſe & eſſe, diebus, horis, & temporibus magis ad id opportunis & neceſſariis: &, preſertim cum major ſolebat intereſſe populi multitudo, publice denuncietis. Et de omni eo quod feceritis, ſeu unuſquiſq; veſtrum fecerit, nos pro loco & tempore congruis & oportunis, viva voce certificetis. Dat. Cantebr. 29. Octobr. 1528.

Domino Cardinali.

Coll. Nº 25. c. 11. MAxima ſumus lӕticia affecti, Reverendiſſime D'ne & Preſul maxime Ampliſſime, poſtea quam ex Vicecancellario noſtro cognovimus, ſic tuæ Celſitudini acceptum fuiſſe Inimicum noſtrum (nam quidni vocemus Inimicum, qui plus quam inimica in nos molitur?) ut facile intelligamus, Celſitudinem tuam, & optime velle rebus noſtris, & id agere, ut quam optime, & quam firmiſſime habeant. Quid enim? Quid illa, Colendiſſime D'ne, cum homine tua verba? Tun' neſcis Academiam & totam & volentem in noſtra eſſe poteſtate? Aut ſi ſcias, Tun' audes nobis creditam invadere & oppugnare? Redibis Cantabrigiam, illic Anathematis nexu ſolvendus. Hæc tua verba, Ampliſſime D'ne, quid aliud quam firmas eſſe juſſerunt Leges noſtras? rata privilegia? Inviolabilem Academiam? Quæ dum nobis in ſenatu noſtro exponeret Vice Cancellarius noſter, quibus tunc animis, aut qua nos mente fuiſſe credat Celſitudo tua? dum ſilentium rumpentes incredibili gaudio, alii te Patrem Patriæ diceremus, alii Preſulem Ampliſſimum, alii Dominum Clementiſſimum? Multi te noſtræ libertatis & vindicem & Aſſertorem; Omnes præter fauſtas Imprecationes, quibus ſæpe eſt tuæ Celſitudini adclamatum, primum Deo immortales gratias ageremus, qui tuam ſublimitatem exoriri mundo voluit, ſeu ſidus aliquod proſperum hominibus & ſalutare, cujus aſpectu & Radiis hæc tua Academia & florere & diu ſervari poſſet: Deinde tue Celſitudini; quæ vultu ſereno dignata fuit, propius aſpicere & intueri.

Verum enim vero, Clariſſime Domine, multo maximam hujus lӕticiæ partem nobis adimit, partim fruſtrata expectatio noſtra, partim tua contempta ſpretaq; authoritas. Nam poſt exactos quadraginta dies, Cancellarius ille nondum revertitur, Anathematis (ut videtur) fulmen contemnens: quod annon peſſimo exemplo faciat, non ſolum Juventutis noſtræ, ſed Plebis etiam omnis Cantabrigienſis (nam in plebem quoq; hujus inauditæ audaciæ rumor emanavit) tua, optamus, judicet Celſitudo. Quis enim poſthac Legum, Canonumq; cenſuras reformidabit? poſtquam Clyffus Legum Doctor & Juris conſultus eadem violaſſe prudens convincatur? Quis in jus vocari, Templo & ſacris omnibus arceri, grave aliquid putabit? poſtquam Clyffus Legis Doctor, & iis armis uti ſolitus in ſibi contumaces; jam hæc omnia ſic æſtimat, ſic veretur, ſic curat, ut in ſe vibratum Anathematis telum, hactenus vel nolit, vel diſſimulet ſe ſentire. Hæc Legum Doctor & Legis peritus? Hanc Legum eſſe vim? Hoc Juris eſſe robur alios docet? Qui tuæ Celſitudinis juſſum quando tam ſpernit confidenter, quali precamur exemplo alios docet,

cet, parendum eſſe eidem? Sed ſatis eſſe arbitramur, ſublimitati tuæ ſignificaſſe, nondum rediiſſe hominem. Nunc gratias (quod inſtituimus facere) agamus Celſitudini tuæ, quæ in preſenti Cauſa noſtra, pluſquam optare auſi fuimus, propitia & facilis obviaq; petitionibus noſtris, etiam jubeat nos, majora de tua bonitate nobis ſperare, ſi modo univerſis reſtiterimus Erroribus, quibus hodie non leviter mundus concutitur. Id quod ut intelligat ſublimitas tua, & nobis ſumme in votis ſemper fuiſſe, & eſſe hodie vel hoc magis, quia tua Celſitudo quam religioſe ſequemur, nos dignatur admonere, præter alia, quæ nos jam inter nos & agitamus & molimur remedia; unum iſtud non leve Momentum habere credimus, ad eiuſmodi in perpetuum profligandos Errores (quod tamen, ſine tuæ Celſitudinis ope, efficere non valemus) nempe ſi Regiâ Indulgentiâ concedatur Academiæ noſtræ, tres habere Bibliopolas, homines probos atq; graves, qui Sacramento & mulctâ grandi adſtringantur, nullum vel importare, vel vendere Librum, quem non prius viri aliquot abſolutæ eruditionis (quos Cenſores huic rei præficiet Academia) talem *pronunciarint*, ut qui tuto *vendatur*. Quos tum Bibliopolas, quoniam e re noſtra magis erit, Alienigenas eſſe, ſic enim conſuletur librorum pretiis, ſumme credimus neceſſarium, illâ uti libertate & Immunitate gaudere, quibus Indigenæ tui fruuntur, ita Provinciali Jure donati, ut Londini aliiſq; Regni hujus Emporiis, ab exteris Negotiatoribus libros emere poſſint. Quod Votum noſtrum, Reverendiſſime D'ne, magno huic Malo, cui obviam ire & tua juſſit ſublimitas, & nos accingimur exterminium, nec minus preſidium rectis Studiis, haudquaquam (ut ſperamus) rejiciet Sereniſſimus Rex, & Princeps noſter, neq; ſuæ qualicunq; negabit Academiæ, quod omnes omnium Gentium inſigniores ſcholæ, Principum ſuorum beneficio obtinent. Verum iſtud ſi prius impetraverimus abs tua Celſitudine, facile exoratum iri confidimus Sereniſſimum Principem, qui pro rarâ Eruditione, ac ſtudio in bonas literas diutius repugnare minime queat, & pro ſummâ erga tuam Sublimitatem Reverentiâ, facile annuet petitionibus noſtris, ſi ſciat eas tuæ Celſitudini placere, quam in rebus noſtris preſentiſſimam fuiſſe fatemur; Et nunc precamur, ut eadem facilitate accipiat hæc Vota noſtra, qua nuper & Vicecancellarium noſtrum acceperit & Cauſam noſtram. Nos noſtris (quod unum poſſumus) operam dabimus, Celſitudinem tuam Mundo, literis vocibuſq; commendare, & precibus Deo. Nam aliud quod tantis beneficiis rependamus, habemus nihil, preter amorem, gratitudinem, & obſervantiam, quæ utinam poterimus tam feliciter præſtare, quam debemus libenter. Chriſtus Clementiſſimus R. D. T. diu ſervet incolumem.

Ex Reg'ro. Acad. Cant. & MSS. Col. C. C.

Dr. Buckmaſter *ſucceeded* Dr. Edmunds, *as Vicechancellor an.* 1529, 1530. *who continued the Proceſs againſt* Dr. Clyffe. *There being ſome account of the Proceedings, in an Oration he ſpoke to the Senate, I ſend a Copy.* Baker.

Coll. Nº 26. c. 11.

CUM multis Conjecturis, multorumq; indiciis intelligam, neminem veſtrum eſſe, Graviſſimi Senatores, qui non flagranti animo impenſe ſcire deſideret, quid apud Rev'dum Cardinalem, atq; Colendiſſimum Roffenſem Cancellarium noſtrum perfideliſſimum, pariterq; diligentiſſimum, Legatum veſtrum Procuratorem Juniorem geſtum ſit; deniq; quo animo, quove affectu Literæ veſtræ ejuſdem Reverendiſſimi Majeſtati acceptæ fuerint, operæ prætium eſſe duxi, atq; rem haudquaquam vobis ingratam me facturum putavi, ſi veſtris expectationibus, omni cum celeritate ſatisfacerem, nec animos veſtros, in tam neceſſario cognitu negotio diutius tenerem ſuſpenſos; proinde hodiernam ſtudiorum veſtrorum Interpellationem, lætis frontibus ſuſcepturos vos confidimus. Et nunc Rev'di D'ni Cardinalis, pariterq; Colendiſſ. Cancellarii noſtri Roffenſis, ad Literas veſtras Reſponſa, lubentibus animis per ſilentium audite. Porro de multis, quæ hic non referuntur, & quæ veſtra fortaſſis ſcire plurimum referet, certiores vos reddet (ſi, cuiquam interrogare libebit) Legatus veſter. Illud autem tacere non poſſum, quod & Reverendiſſimum vobis omnibus compertum eſſe voluit, nimirum Elyenſem Ep'um adverſarium noſtrum, a tempore Nativitatis D'ni exco'icatum ſtetiſſe, nec ab eo tempore Miſſam celebraſſe unquam, citra peculiarem Copiam, ab eodem ſibi conceſſam. Demum qualem exitum Negotium noſtrum habiturum ſit, haud diu eſt quod cognoſcetis. Nobis interim bene ſperare jubet benigniſſima ejus Majeſtas, qui haud dubie pro ſingulari, quem in nos & ſtudia noſtra gerit amore, haudquaquam patietur privilegia noſtra a quoquam enervari, aut peſſum iri, ſed potius quod & infra breve expectabitis, cumulatiora, anctiora, multo quam [ante] firmiora reddet & efficiet. Dixi.

From Dr. Buckmaſter's *own Book* MS. C. C. C.

Honorificentiſſimo D'no Thomæ Lincoln' *Preſuli Regis noſtri Elemoſinario Digniſſimo,* Joanes Fawne *univerſitatis Cant. Preſidens, cum toto Regentium & Non-Regentium contubernio S. in D. Semp.*

Coll. N° 28. c. 11. B. II.

QUantum gaudii, ex his tuis honoribus, Dignitatibuſq; cepere Docti omnes, Pater ornatiſſime, non poſſumus Literis explicare: nec quidem ab re. Quandoquidem & literatiſſimus, & bonarum literarum ſtudioſiſſimus, uno omnium conſenſu prædicaris. Inter quos & nos effuſiſſime gaudemus gratulamurq; doctis omnibus, eum ad ſummum honoris faſtigium evectum, qui Literas ab injuriâ vendicare & poſſit, & ſtudeat, neq; cuiquam dubium erat, ad quem fama tuarum virtutum pervenit, quin aliquando extolleris. Quanti te fecit hujus Principis Pater, Regum nimirum prudentiſſimus, nemo eſt qui neſcit. Verum hujus filius, Principum non modo quos noſtra vidit ætas, ſed quos veterum etiam Annales referunt, Cordatiſſimus, quæq; precipua Regum virtus eſt, in deligendo quos diligit, diligentiſſimus, ita te fovet ornatq; ut nihil ſupra. Cui placuiſſe, abſolutæ tibi laudis, & vel longiſſimi prœconii inſtar fuerit. Quis prudentiam & Doctrinam tuam? Quis Juſtitiam & liberalitatem? Quis reliquas virtutes ignorat? Quibus gratiſſimus, jucundiſſimuſq; es ſummis, privatis, & Infimis. Quibus nos quoq; allecti, te noſtrum Cancellarium, noſtrum Patronum, noſtrum deniq; decus & Ornamentum delegimus: ſub quo bonæ Artes, & ingenua ſtudia floreant niteantq; in quo maxime celebrando omnes Literati ſuos labores, ſuaſq; vigilias ponere debeant. Proinde (Pater Ampliſſime) hos noſtros in te animos boni conſulas, te etiam atq; etiam oramus, ſinaſq; hunc honorem, tuis virtutibus longe inferiorem, a nobis quam libentiſſime tibi delatum, reliquis tuis Titulis ornatiſſimis accedere. Quod ſi feceris, quod te facturum minime ambigimus, Deo Opt. Max. rem gratiſſimam facies, cujus cultus per te magis ac magis creſcat, & Eruditionem amplificabis, quæ laudes tuas ad Poſteros propagare poſſit. Nos id unum, quod poſſumus, & Neſtoreos tibi annos, & perpetuam tandem in ſupremis delitiis requiem precari non deſinemus. Vale, bonorum Præſulum Exemplar, & nos noſtramq; Academiam protege, fove, exorna. Cantabrig. nono Cal. Jun. Anno 1514.

Thomas Lincoln' *Ep'us venerabili cœtui & Congregationi Regentium & Non-regentium univerſitatis Cantabrig.* S. P.

REdditæ mihi fuerunt Literæ veſtræ, a viris præſtantiſſimis, qui ut intelligo, Remp. veſtri Gymnaſii hoc anno curant, adminiſtrantq;. Quibus nihil gratius, nihil jucundius eſſe debuit, utpote præ ſe ferentes, ſummam, erga me benevolentiam atq; amorem. Detuliſtis enim mihi ultro eos Honores, qui apud vos ſunt ſupremi & honorificentiſſimi, cum nondum quicquam tale de veſtra univerſitate meruerim. Studebo igitur non ſolum gratias quas poſſum maximas, veſtris Humanitatibus agere; ſed etiam dabo operam, ut quam ſæpiſſime (ſi quibus in rebus poſſim) non tam vobis pro meo virili gratificari, quam de omnibus & ſingulis veſtræ univerſitatis (ubi locus & tempus erunt) bene mereri. Multa plura ad vos ſcribenda decreveram, ſi non meum animum, multa & magna negotia Regni & Regis occuparent, quo minus id facere in preſentiarum liceat. Quamobrem reliqua in Mandatis veſtris Magiſtratibus harum Latoribus dedi vobis exponenda. Quibus eam fidem habere rogamus, perinde ac ſi coram loqueremur. Valete ex Ædibus noſtris Lond. ſecundo Junii. Coll. Nº 29. B. II.

Sed Reverendiſſimus (ſunt verba Roffenſis in altera Epiſtola) *noluit accipere.* ——

A Letter from Sir Thomas Alen, *Prieſt to* George Talbot *the 1ſt of that Name Earl of* Shrewsbury.

From an Original in the Herald's *Office among the* E. *of* Shrewsbury's *Papers.*

PLeaſeth it your Lordſhip to underſtand, upon *Monday* was ſennight laſt paſt I delivered your Letter with the Examination to my Lord Cardinal at *Guildford*, when he commanded me to waite on him to the Court, and I followe him. The ſame time I ſhowed him they were but poore men, and did the ſame miſchance of Innocence, and of no malice, pretending to have been their rights. I followed him to the Court, and there gave attendance, and could have no anſwer. Upon *Friday* laſt he came from thence to *Hampton Court*, where he lyeth. The morrow after I beſought his Grace I might know his pleaſure, I could have no anſwer. Upon *Monday* laſt as he walked in the Park at *Hampton Court*, I beſought his Grace I might know if he would command me any ſervice, he was not content with me that I ſpoke to him. The *Sunday* before I delivered the Letter unto him which *Ralph Leech* brought. I can have no anſwer to neither of both, ſo that who ſhall be a ſuitor to him may have no other buſineſs but give attendance upon his pleaſure. He that ſhall ſo do has needful to Coll. No 30. C. II.

be a wiſer man than I am. I ſaw no other remedy but came without anſwer, to rid (that is diſpatch) ſuch buſineſs in *London* as your Lordſhip Commanded to be done. Except I would have done as my Lord *Dacres* ſervant doth, who came with Letters for the King's ſervice 5 months ſince, and yet hath no anſwer. And another ſervant of the Deputy of *Calis* is likewiſe who came before the other to *Walſingham*, I heard when he anſwered them, if ye be not content to tarry my leiſure, depart when you will. this is truth. I had rather your Lordſhipp Commanded me to *Rome*, then deliver him Letters, and bring anſwer to the ſame, when he walks in the Parke he will ſuffer no ſervant to come nigh unto him, but commands them away as farr as one may well ſhoot an Arrow. Sir *William Compton* ſhewed me that my Lord Cardinal wrote to Mrs. *Vernon* that ſhe would accept of the King's favour, to beare his good mind to his ſervant *Tirwhyt*. And now hath by the means of *Carew* upon *Thurſday* laſt got the King's Letter after the ſame manner, and another to *Godfrey Foliamb*, to advertize, and ſhew unto her, the danger of the ſame, and alſo the King deſired her to make him anſwer in writing, and yet, as the ſaid Sir *William* ſheweth unto me, the King hath granted the Wardſhipp of young Mr. *Vernon*, and Mr. *Liſter* both to my Lord Cardinal. Sir *Thomas Parr* departed the ſame day I wrote laſt to your Lordſhipp, and Mr. *Weſton* hath his room of the Ward, with Mr. *Lovel*, and Sir *Edward Dyet* is Chamberlane to the Queen.—— Then follows an Account that the King intended to keep his Chriſtmas at *Windſor*. The Duke of *Suffolk* lyeth in *Oxfordſhire*. That Sir *Weſton Brown* comes not to *London*, and ſeveral private affaires, and mention is made of Dr. *Talbot*. And that he had pay'd the Lord *Conyers* 50 *l.* and remindes the Earle of the debt of 80^{m} owing the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, &c. That he hath got 3 Tunns of new *Gaſcoign* Wine, and deſires to know whether he will have the new or the old ſent down. That the Earl hath ordered 3 hogſheads of wine of *Aleman*, or Wine of *Bayon*, and 3 hogſheads of *French* white Wine ſuch as he had laſt yeare, but it was not yet come. And for Rheniſh wine it was all bad this yeare. There came 2 Veſſels of Muſcadine, which was good, the King had the one, and the Cardinal the other. This Letter is dated at *Coldharbor* the 25th day of *November*.

In another Letter from the ſaid Sir Thomas Allen *Prieſt and Bedman dated at* Coldharbor *the 18th day of* July, *is the following Poſt-ſcript.*

SIR *Robert Sheffield* is put into the *Tower* again for the Complaint he made to the King of my Lord Cardinal. *Item* here is 75 Couple of old Ling, Seavenſcore and 6 Couple of new Ling, and 33 Couple of Lobs.

Pro Cardinali memorato, Penſio Regis Francorum.

Coll. No 32.
B. II. c. 12.
A. D. 1518.
An. 10. H. 8.
Ex Autogr.
Rym.

FRanciſcus, Dei gratiâ, Francorum Rex, Dux Mediolani, & Genuæ Dominus univerſis & ſingulis præſentes Literas inſpecturis.

Cúm jam pridem ſanctiſſimus Dominus noſter Leo Papa Decimus, eo tempore quo primúm Tornacenſis Civitas in Manus &

Ditionem Regis Angliæ devenit, Dilecto Amico noſtro Reverendiſſimo in Chriſto Patri Thomæ, Miſeratione Divinâ, Tituli Sanctæ Ceciliæ Presbitero Cardinali dicti Sanctiſſimi Domini noſtri de Latere Legato, tunc autem in minoribus conſtituto, pro eo & ex eo quod Epiſcopus Tornacenſ. Fidelitatem dicto Regi Angliæ pro Temporalibus dicti Epiſcopatûs facere noluit, dicti Epiſcopatûs Tornacenſis univerſalem in Spiritualibus & Temporalibus Adminiſtrationem, per Literas ſuas Apoſtolicas commiſerit, dictúſque Rex Angliæ eidem Reverendiſſimo Patri Temporalia dicti Epiſcopatûs, propter præfati Epiſcopi Inobedientiam, velut Confiſcata, eodem tempore dederit & contulerit,

Ac Nichilominus, dictæ Adminiſtrationis Commiſſione & Temporalium Collatione & Donatione non obſtante, dictus Reverendiſſimus Pater Amicus noſter Fructus Redditus & Proventus dicti Epiſcopatûs in Spiritualibus & Temporalibus obtinere integrè non potuit,

Et quia nunc, cùm inter Nos & dictum Angliæ Regem de Recuperatione & Traditione dictæ Civitatis ad Manus noſtras Tractetur, dictus Reverendiſſimus Pater contentus eſt contemplatione noſtra & ut Nobis gratificaretur omne Jus in dicto Epiſcopatu tám ex dicta Adminiſtrationis Commiſſione quám Regiâ Collatione & Donatione ſibi competens totaliter renunciare deſerere & relinquere, Nos, igitur ut tantam illius in Nos Gratitudinem mutuâ humanitate proſequamur, cùm nichil magis Regem deceat quàm Beneficentia a Nemìne ſuperari, ex mero motu noſtro, & ut dicti Reverendiſſimi Patris benevolum in Nos Animum promereamur, ſummam Duodecim Millium Librarum Turonen. ſingulis Annis, durante Vitâ naturali dicti Reverendiſſimi Patris, in Urbe Londoniarum vel Caliſiæ, Eidem vel ejus Deputato ſeu Deputatis per Nos Hæredes & Succeſſores ſolvendam Concedimus, Promittimus, & Spondemus, ac ad id Nos Hæredes & Succeſſores noſtros bonâ Fide & in Verbo Regio per Præſentes Aſtringimus & Obligamus,

Cujus quidem Summæ,

Primam Medietatem (videlicet) Summam Sex Millium Librarum Turonenſium, Medietatem dictæ totalis Summæ facientem dictâ Urbe Londoniarum vel Caliſiæ Primo Die Menſis Novembris proximò futuri Solvendam,

Et Secundam Medietatem (videlicet) aliorum Sex Millium Librarum Turonenſium in dictâ Urbe Londoniarum vel Caliſiæ Primo Die Menſis Maii proximó futuri ſolvendam,

Et ſic de Anno in Annum & de Termino in Terminum durante ut præfertur Vitâ naturali dicti Reverendiſſimi Patris, dictam Summam ſolvendam per Nos Hæredes & Succeſſores noſtros Spondemus & Promittimus, atque ad eandem Solutionem bene & fideliter Termino, Loco, & formâ prædictis faciendam Nos Hæredes & Succeſſores, noſtros, Regnum Patrias & Dominia ac Bona noſtra quecúmque præſentia & futura, ſubditóſque noſtros ſingulos ac eorum Bona ubicúmque reperta bonâ Fide & in Verbo Regio per præſentes Literas Aſtringimus & Obligamus.

In quorum omnium & ſingulorum Fidem & Teſtimonium hiis præſentibus Literis noſtris Patentibus Manu noſtrâ ſubſcriptis ſigillum noſtrum Magnum fecimus apponi.

Datum Andegaven. Die ultimo Menſis Julij, Anno Domini Milleſimo Quingenteſimo Decimo Octavo, & Regni noſtri Quarto.

Francoys.
Per Regem Ducem Mediol.
Hedoyn.
Sigillum magnum Cerâ Flavâ appenſum.

De Penſione pro Cardinale Eborum per Regem Caſtellæ.

Coll. Nº 33.
B. II. c. 12.
A. D. 1517.
An. 9. H. 8.
Ex. Autogr.

CHarles, par la Grace de Dieu, Roy de Caſtille, de Leon, de Grenade, d'Arragon, de Navarre, des deux Sicilles, de Jeruſalem, de Valence, de Majorque, de Sardayne, de Corſice, *&c.* Archiduc d'Auſtrice. Duc de Burgoingne, de Lothringe, de Brabant, de Stiere, de Carinte, de Carniole, de Lembourgh, de Luxembourgh, & de Gheldres, Conte de Flandres, de Habsbourg, de Tirol, d'Artois, de Bourgoingne Palatyn & de Haynnau, Lantgrave d'Elſace. Prince de Zuuave, Marquis de Burgauw & du Saint Empire, de Hollande, de Zeeland, de Ferrette, de Tribourg, de Namur, & de Zuytphen Conte, Seigneur de Friſe, des Marches de Sclavonie, de Portenau, de Salins & de Malines, a noz Amez & Feaulx les Chiefs & Treſorer General Commis ſur le fait de noz Demaine & Finances Salut & Dilection.

Savoir vous Faiſons que, pour le bone & ſingulere Affection que avons a la perſone de Treſreverend Pere en Dieu noſtre Treſcher & ſpecial Ami l'Archeveſque d'York Cardinal & Primat d'Engleterre, & pour aucunement le Remunerer & Guerdoner des Labours Peins & Traveil, qu'il a euz & prins pour dreſſer & conduire la bonne ferme & favorable Amitie Confederation & Intelligence, darraineremen traictee & conclute entre Treſhault Treſexcellent & Treſpuiſſant Prince noſtre Treſchere Frere & bon Oncle le Roy d'Engleterre ſon Maiſtre & Nous, a icellui Seigneur Cardinal, pour ces Cauſes & autres a ce nous mouvans, a fin meſmement qu'il ſoit tant plus enclin a tenir la main & ſoy employer a l'entreteinent obſervation, augmentation & ferme continuation des diz Amity & Confederation, & en ſur ce advis, Avons Ordonne, Octroye, & Accorde, Ordonnons, Octroyons, & Accordons de Grace eſpecial, par ces Preſentes, prendre & avoir de Nous la Somme de Trois Mille Liures, du pris de quarante Gros de noſtre Monoie de Flandres la liure, de Penſion par An,

Dont Voulons & Ordonnons qu'il ſoit paye & contente par les Mains de noſtre Ame & Feal Conſeiller & Receveur General de toutes noz Finances, Johan Micault, ou d'autre Receveur General de noz diz Finances avenir, & des Deniers de ſa Recepte, de Demy An en Demy An, par egal Portion, a Commancer le Premier Jour de Juillet l'An Quinze Cens & Seize darreiner, paſſe, & d'orreſenavant tant qu'il Nous plaira.

Si Voulons & Vous Mandons que, en faiſant le dit Seigneur Cardinall Joyr de noz dite Grace Octroy & Accord, ſelon que dit eſt, Vous Lui faites par noſtre dit Receveur General des Finances preſent & avenir, & des Deniers de ſa dit Recepte payer bailler & deliurer, ou a ſon Command pour Lui, la dite Summe de Trois Mille Liures, des pris & Monnoie que deſſus, par cheſcun An, aux Termes a commencer & tant qu'il Nous plairra comme dit eſt, Au quel Receveur General de noz diz Finances preſent & avenir Mandons, par ces diz Preſentes, que ainſi le face;

Et Par Rapportant ces meſmes Preſentes Vidimus ou Copie autentique d'icelle pour une & le premier fois, & pour tant de foiz que meſtier ſerra, Quietance ſouffiſant d'icellui Seigneur Cardinal ſur ce ſervant tant ſoulement; Nous voulons tout ce que paye baille & deliure Lui aura eſte a la cauſe dite eſtre paſſe & alloue es Comptes & Rebatu de la Receit de noſtre dit Receveur General des Finances preſent & avenir, qui paye l'aura par noz Amez & Feaulx les Preſident & Gens de noz Comptes a Lille, aus quelz Mandons auſi par ceſtes ainſi le faire ſans aucun contredit ou difficulte; Car ainſi Nous plaiſt-il: Non obſtant quelzconques Ordonnances, Reſtrictions, Mandemens, ou Deffences a ce contraires.

Don. en noſtre Ville de Gand le Huitieſme Jour de Juing, l'An de Grace Mille Cinq Cens & Dix ſept, & de noſtre Regne le Second.

Par Le Roy.

Les Seigneurs de Chiernes Grant & Premier Chambellan.
Vous le Seigneur de Montigny.
Seigneur Meaſans Huchenay Chiefz Maiſtre.
Jehan Ruffault Treſorer General des Finances & Audits Preſens.

N. Haneton.

Sub Sigillo Parvo de rubea Cera Segmento Pergamenæ pendente.

Dor.

Les Chiefz & Treſorier General commis ſur le fait des Demaine & Finances du Roy de Caſtille, de Leon, de Granade, de Arragon, *&c.* Archiduc d'Auſtrice, *&c.* Receveur General des diz Finances Jehan Micault ou autre avenir. Acompliſſez le contenue ou blanq de ces Preſentes tout ainſi ſelon & par la ſorme & manere que le Roy le veult & mande eſtre fait par icelles. Eſprit ſoubz les Seigne Manuelz des diz Chiefs & Treſorier General le ix. Jour de Juing, l'An Mille Cinq Cens & Dix ſept.

Ruffau Treſorier.

Pro Cardinali Eborum penſio Imperatoris.

Coll. No 34. B. II. c. 12. A. D. 1520. An. 11. H. 8. Ex Autogr.

CArolus, divina ſavente clementia, Electus Romanorum Rex, & Imperator ſemper Auguſtus, ac Hiſpaniæ utriuſq; Siciliæ & Hieruſalem, *&c.* Rex, Archidux Auſtriæ, Dux Burgundiæ, Brabantiæ, *&c.* Comes Flandriæ, *&c.*

Tenore præſentium recognoſcimus, quod Nos ob vitæ & ſummæ integritatis ſplendorem alioſq; eminentes Virtutes quas in Reverendiſſimo in Chriſto Patre Domino Thoma Tituli Sanctæ Ceciliæ Sanctæ Romanæ eccleſiæ Presbytero Cardinali Eboracenſi amico noſtro chariſſimo conſpicimus, necnon pro ſummis ſuis non modo in Nos ſed in univerſam rempublicam Chriſtianam meritis & officiis, promiſimus ei in verbo & fide Regia, & Tenore præſentium prommittimus quod Nos, abſq; omni exceptione, eidem Reverendiſſimo Cardinali, intra duos menſes proxime ſequentes, & antequam a conventu ipſius ſereniſſimi Regis Angliæ avunculi noſtri recedamus, dabimus ſive ad ſupplicationem noſtram a Beatiſſimo Pontifice provi-

dere faciemus de epiſcopatu Pacenſi in regnis noſtris Caſtell. & quem de præſenti in Caput cujuſdam familiaris noſtri poſitum habemus, valoris quinque mille Ducatorum; &, ultra hoc, faciemus ei reſervationem & aſſignationem, intra dictos duos menſes, ſuper Epiſcopatu Palentino, penſionem annuam duorum millium ducatorum, dolo & fraude ſemotis.

Harum teſtimonio Literarum ſigilli noſtri impreſſione munitarum. Datum Compoſtellæ alias ſancto Jacobo die viceſima nona menſis Martii, anno Domini milleſimo Quingenteſimo viceſimo, regnorum noſtrorum Romani ac electionis Imperii primo, aliorum vero omnium quinto.

Yo EL Rey.

Bulla pro Componenda Pace ad Cardinal. Ebor.

Coll. N° 35. B. II. c. 12. 1518. 10. H. 8. Ex Origine.

LEO Epiſcopus *ſervus ſervorum Dei* Dilecto Filio *Thomæ Tituli ſanctæ Ceciliæ Presbitero Cardinali Eboracenſi noſtro* & Apoſtolicæ Sedis Legato, Salutem & Apoſtolicam Benedictionem.

Inter reliquas & graves quidem Curas Sedulaſq; Cogitationes quas ex injuncto Nobis paſtorali Officio Nos in Dies atque Noctes ſubire & decet & opportet, Duæ aliis omnibus graviores ſalubriores etiam magis atque magis Gregi Dominico nobis credito, nos vehementius angunt atque admonent; ab alterâ enim Chriſtianorum Quies & Pacis Amœnitas, ab alterâ vero Juſtiſſimum, piiſſimum & perneceſſarium exoritur Bellum; Quod niſi prima juxta Sanctiſſimas a nobis indictas quinquennales Inducias inter omnes Reges Principes & Potentatus ſtabiliatur firmaque maneat, Alterum certe Subſequi recte non poteſt, & proinde nihil prætermittendum putantes, quod ad Alterum de Obſervantia Judiciorum ſcilicet Stabiliendorum, alterum vero de Sanctiſſimâ perneceſſariâ & non diutius protrahendâ Expeditione in barbaros Turcas, Religionis noſtræ Catholicæ non minus Deletionem, quam Chriſtianum Sanguinem inſatiabili ſiti ſitientes, ſumendâ pertineat, de venerabilium Fratrum Noſtrorum Sanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ Cardinalium Conſilio, ad primores omnium Chriſtianorum ipſorum in Imperatorem Electum imprimis, & alios Principes, ac cariſſimum in chriſto Filium Noſtrum Henricum Angliæ Regem illuſtrem, Quem noſtri & hujus Sanctæ ſedis devotiſſimum, & Catholicæ Fidei Propagationis Studioſiſſimum ſemper cognovimus, Sanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ Cardinales Legatos a Latere noſtro, Qui jam, Italiâ dimiſsâ, Alpes Superarunt, & ad ipſum *Henricum Angliæ Regem* dilectum Filium noſtrum *Laurentium* Tituli Sanctæ Thomæ in Parone Presbyterum Cardinalem, virum ſane prudentem, & in Rebus gerendis Expertum miſimus,

Sed quoniam noſtræ Expectationi noſtroq; hujuſmodi pio ac ſancto deſiderio nihil nimium properare poſſe videtur recte ſcientes & merito quidem, quanta ſit Circumſpectionis tuæ apud eundem Regem Gratia & Authoritas, quid etiam tuo magno prudentiq; Conſilio, acrique Ingenio recte & facile perſuadere & diſſuadere ſcias & poſſis, ut Res, quas *Laurentius Cardinalis prædictus* etiam Legatus noſter, omnes, quæ non levis ſint Momenti, juxta Rei Exigentiam, & hujuſmodi pium & Sanctum Deſiderium noſtrum curare pertractare componere, atque ex Sententiâ, Domino noſtro Jheſu Chriſto, cujus pretioſo Sanguine redempti ſumus, cujuſq; Cauſa potiſſima agitur, Auctore, dicti Regis pium Animum piamque Mentem in Chriſti Fidelium Salutem diſponente, Te Rem tam Sanctam juvante facilius concludere commodius celeriuſve poterit, firmâ ſpe Fiduciaque adducti, quod Res hujuſmodi eo melius commodius & celerius ad optatum Finem perducentur, quo Circumſpectionis tuæ medio Ingenio Gratia & Authoritate dirigentur, Quibus, in Conſiſtorio noſtro Secreto, eiſdem Fratribus Noſtris latius declaratis atq; Expoſitis, de eorundem Fratrum Noſtrorum Conſilio, Circumſpectionem ipſam tuam, una cum eodem *Laurentio* Cardinale apud eundem Henricum Regem Noſtrum & apoſtolicæ ſedis Legatum de Latere, Tanquam Pacis Angelum creamus & deputamus, & Ambos pari Authoritate Facultate atque Poteſtate, pro præmiſſis omnibus ac aliis, eidem *Laurentio Cardinali* commiſſis, curandis, tractandis, componendis, & concludendis, noſtros & dictæ ſedis Legatos eſſe decernimus.

Quocirca *Circumſpectionem ipſam tuam*, quam ſuis jamdudum Exigentibus meritis ad Cardinalatûs Honorem Aſſumpſimus hortamur in Domino, & pro noſtra & Apoſtolicæ ſedis, cujus ſolidiſſima eſt Columna, Reverentiâ, Catholicæque Fidei noſtræ Exaltatione, ac Chriſtianæ Reipublicæ pace & Quiete, & ejuſmodi Fidei teterrimorum Hoſtium Detectione, Eum Cardinalem & vere Cardinem tantæ Molis, quemadmodum debet & decet, & nos ſperamus ſe præſtare velit & debeat, qualis nos venerabileſque Fratres noſtri firmiter ſperamus & credimus, idemque *Laurentius Cardinalis & Circumſpectio tua*, in dicto Regno Legati noſtri alter Altero non ſit inferior ſed una voluntas, unus Animus & idem Affectus ad Res bene gerendas ſint conjuncti, & licet duo pro eiſdem Rebus ſitis Cardinales Legati, unus tamen apud Omnes eſſe videatur, nam utriuſque veſtrûm Ingenio, Animis, Conſiliiſque unitis facile ſperamus a Rege piiſſimo & potentiſſimo, Bona quæ Chriſtiani Gregis Quietè atque pace deſideramus, ac Hoſtium prædictorum ad Fidei Noſtræ verum Lumen, veramque viam, atque Sanctam Fidem Converſionem, vel quam adverſus nos ſitiunt, adverſus illos Deletionem & extremam Eorum Ruinam verſuros.

Interdicimus etiam Circumſpectioni tuæ, prout eidem Laurentio & aliis Cardinalibus Legatis miſſis a nobis Specialiter interdiximus, ne aliqua ex Facultatibus tam a Jure, quam a nobis eidem *Circumſpectioni tuæ* conceſſis quoviſmodo utaris, tuaque Legatio Hujuſmodi, donec idem *Laurentius* Cardinalis apud ipſum *Henricum Regem* fuerit Duntaxat perduret, ipſamque tunc expirare decernimus: Tu igitur, dilecte Fili noſter, pro divinæ Majeſtatis ac noſtra & dictæ ſedis Reverentiâ, injunctum tibi Onus hujuſmodi, alacri forti, conſtantique Animo ſuſcipiens, ſic illud utiliter, ſic ſollicite, fideliter, & prudenter, juxta datam tibi a Domino prudentiam exequi Studebis, ut ex tuis Laboribus, boniſque Operibus, Studio, Fide, & Diligentiâ, divina ipſa favente clementiâ, Fructus, quos Speramus, ad chriſtiani Nominis Tuitionem & Fidei Exaltationem & propagationem Subſequantur; Receptura eadem *Circumſpectio* tua a Deo ipſo, poſt Hujus fragilis Vitæ Lapſum, æternæ Fælicitatis Pacem, a mortalibus Omnibus Laudem, & a nobis atque a Sancta ſede prædicta uberem Commendationem & Gratiam.

Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum Anno Incarnationis
Dominicæ mileſimo quingentiſimo decimo Octavo Sexto
decimo Kal. Junij, Pontificatûs noſtri Anno Sexto.

Albargatus.

Sub plumbeo Sigillo pendente a Filis canabeis.

Facultas plenariæ remiſſionis conceſſæ Legatis de Latere.

Regiſtrata apud me

Ja. Sadoletum.

Coll. N° 36.
B. II. c. 12.
A. D. 1518.
An. 10. H. 8.
Ex origine.

LEO Epiſcopus, ſervus ſervorum Dei, dilectis filiis, Thomæ Sanctæ Ceciliæ, & Laurentio Sancti Thomæ in Parione, Titulorum, Presbyteris Cardinalibus, ad Cariſſimum in Chriſto filium noſtrum Henricum Angliæ Regem illuſtrem, & univerſum ejus regnum, omneſq; & ſingulas ipſius regni provincias, civitates, terras, atq; loca illi ſubjecta, & alia illi adjacentia Noſtris & Apoſtolicæ ſedis Legatis, Salutem & Apoſtolicam Benedictionem.

Cupientes ut circumſpectiones veſtræ, durante Legatione veſtra ad Cariſſimum in Chriſto filium noſtrum Henricum Angliæ Regem illuſtrem, in hiis, quæ ejuſdem Regis & Angliæ Reginæ ejus Conjugis Animarum ſalutem & ſpiritualem conſolationem concernunt, eorum deſideriis annuere valeatis; eiſdem circumſpectionibus veſtris, & cuilibet veſtrum, ut totiens quotiens aliquis veſtrum Miſſum coram eiſdem Rege & Regina, aut altero ex eis celebraverit, omnibus & ſingulis utriuſq; ſexus Chriſti fidelibus vere pœnitentibus & confeſſis, ſeu propoſitum confitendi habentibus, & celebrationi Miſſæ hujuſmodi, ſeu ſaltem benedictioni ſuper populum largiendæ intereſſentibus, plenariam omnium peccatorum ſuorum remiſſionem & indulgentiam relaxandi atq; concedendi auctoritate Apoſtolicâ, tenore Præſentium, facultatem concedimus pariter & elargimur.

Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum Anno incarnationis Dominicæ Milleſimo Quingenteſimo Decimo octavo, ſexto Kal. Auguſti, Pontificatûs noſtri Anno ſexto.

Ja. Sadoletus.

Albergatus.

De Poteſtatibus Cardinalis Eborum, Exemplificatio.

Coll. N° 37.
B. II. c. 12.
A. D. 1518.
An. 10. H. 8.
Pat. 10. H. 8.
p. 2. m. 30.

R*Ex omnibus, ad quos,* &c. *Salutem.*

Inſpeximus quoddam Warantum, Manu noſtrâ propriâ ſignatum, & in Filaciis Cancellariæ noſtræ de Anno præſenti reſidens, factum in hæc verba,

Henry, by the Grace of God, Kyng of *Englond* and of *Fraunce* and Lord of *Ireland*, to the moſt Reverend Fader in God our moſt Truſte and moſt entierly Welbeloved Counſeilour *Thomas* Cardinall of *York* Primate of *England* and our Chancellour of the ſame Gretyng.

We, for certeyn Conſideracions us movyng, and for the ſpeciall Truſt and Confidence which we have in your approved Fidelitie and ſinguler Wiſedom, not oonly committe unto you full Power and Auctorite by thies Preſentes, but alſo Licenſe you from henſforth to doo our Letters Patentes of *Denyzin*, to be made out under our Grete Sealle, from tyme to tyme, to ſuch Perſon or Perſons as ſhall at any Seaſon ſue unto you for the ſame, without any other Warrant to be directed to you in that Partie: and thies our Letters ſhal be your ſufficient Warrant and Diſcharge in that behalf at all tymees hereafter:

Yeven under our Signet at our Manour of *Wodſtok* the xxixth. Day of *Aprile* the tenth yere of our Reign.

Inſpeximus etiam quoddam aliud Warantum, Manu noſtrâ propriâ ſimiliter ſignatum & in Filaciis prædictis reſidens, factum in hæc verba,

Henry, by the Grace of God, Kyng of *Englond* and of *Fraunce* and Lord of *Ireland*, to the moſt Reverend Fader in God our moſt Truſty and moſt entierly Welbeloved Conſeilour *Thomas* Cardinall of *York* Primate of *Englond* and our Chancellour of the ſame Gretyng.

We late you witte that, for certeyn Conſideracions us ſpecially moving, and for the ſinguler truſt and confidence which we have moſt ſpecially in your Fidelytie approved Wiſdome and circumſpecte Police, for th'encreaſe and furtherance of our Honor and Profitte, we have Giffen and Commytted, and by theſe Preſentes Giſe and Committe unto you full Power and Auctoritie to doo make out our Letters Patentes, under our Grete Seale, from tyme to tyme, of all *Congi d'Elires*, Royall Aſſentes, and Reſtitutions of Temporalities, aswell of Archbuſhopriches, Biſhopriches, Monaſteries, Abbeys, and Priories of our Foundacion, as of all other Houſes of Religion, beyng for the tyme in our Handes by any other meane, within this our Royalme of *Englond Wales* and the Marches of the ſame, unto ſuch Perſon or Perſons as hereafter ſhall by due ordre Sue for ſuch *Congi d'Elires*, Royal Aſſents, and Reſtitutions of Temporalties, and alſo that ye by vertue hereof from tyme to tyme, doo cauſe to be made out our Commiſſions and Writtes of *Dedimus Poteſtatem* to ſuch as ye ſhall think convenyent, to take th'Omagies and Feaute of all maner Perſons aſwell Archbuſhops, Biſhops, as other, due unto Us for our ſeid Temporalties, and that all ſuch Summes of Money, as frome tyme to tyme ſhal be due unto Us by reaſon of the ſeid Temporalties or otherwiſe, yf any of the ſeid Archebuſhopriches, Buſhopriches, Monaſteries, Abbeys, Priores, and Houſes of Religion be always contented and paid to our Uſe, in our Hanaper of our Chauncerie, unto the Clerk of the ſame, for the tyme beyng, and thies our Letters ſhall be to you ſufficient Warrant and Diſcharge in the Premiſſes at all tymes hereafter.

Yeven at our Manour of *Wodeſtok* the Fourth Day of *Maie* the Tenth yere of our Reign.

Nos autem Literas prædictas omnibus & ſingulis Officiariis & Ligeis noſtris, quorum intereſt, in hac parte, Tenore Præſentium, duximus exemplificandas.

In cujus, &c.

Teſte Rege apud Wodeſtok *ſexto Die* Maii.

De

De Collegio Medicorum fundando infra urbem Londoniæ.

Rex omnibus ad quos, &c. *Salutem.*

Coll. N° 38 B. II. c. 13. 1518. Pat. 10. H. 8. p. 2. m. 15.

CUM Regii Officii noſtri munus arbitremur Ditionis noſtræ Hominum felicitati omne ratione conſulere, id autem vel imprimis fore ſi improborum conatibus tempeſtivè occurramus, apprime neceſſarium duximus Improborum quoq; Hominum, qui Medicinam magis avaritiæ ſuæ cauſâ, quàm ullius bonæ Conſcientiæ fiduciâ profitebuntur, unde rudi & credulæ Plebi plurima Incommoda oriantur, Audaciam compeſcere.

Itaque, partim bene inſtitutarum Civitatum in Italia, & aliis multis Nationibus Exemplum imitati, partim Gravium virorum Doctorum, Johannis Chamber, Thomæ Linacre, Fernandi de Victoria, Medicorum noſtrorum, Nicholai Halſewell, Johannis Franciſci, & Roberti Yaxley Medicorum, ac præcipue Reverendiſſimi, in Chriſto Patris ac Domini Thomæ Tituli Sanctæ Ceciliæ trans Tiberim Sacroſanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ Presbyteri Cardinalis, Eborum Archiepiſcopi, & Regni noſtri Angliæ Cancellarii chariſſimi Precibus inclinati, Collegium perpetuum Doctorum Gravium Virorum qui Medicinam in Urbe noſtra Londino & Suburbiis, intraq; ſeptem millia Paſſuum ab ea Urbe quaquaverſus publice exerceant, inſtitui volumus, atq; imperamus, *&c.*

The Cardinal's Letter to the Ambaſſadors in France.

N° 39. B. II. c. 13.

MY Lords, I commend me unto you in right hearty manner. And by the Contents of your Letters to me addreſſed, bearing date the 28 of *Decem.* I not only underſtand the good Diligence and effectual Devoir that you have done, and put you in for the Subſtantial ſolliciting and fruitful Expedition of the King's Cauſe and Matter to you committed, But alſo the great Conformity and Towardneſs of the *French* King in the Furtherance of the ſame; who, as it appeareth by the Writing, is right appliable to the Accompliſhment as well of the Conventions, whereunto He is bound by the Treatys as allſo to amoving all Impediments, that mought impede, or let the perfecting thereof: Manifeſtly declaring thereof not only by the Anſwer given to the Lord *Ligny*, but allſo by making his Submiſſion, and Oaths benevolently as a virtuous Prince; and accounting and accepting upon him the Reſtitution to be made to the King's Subjects for Deſpoyls done upon the Seas, and taking the Charge upon him for recovering of *Mortaign*, wherein he hath partly declared his Mind, in his loving Letters to the King's Highneſs addreſſed, but not ſo amply as your Letters purport.

Whereupon the King's Highneſs as well for the great Honours, and comfortable Cheer to you ſhewed and made, ſince your Arrival in that Ream, as for the Towardneſs the ſaid King ſheweth himſelf to be of, not only in the Entertainment of firm Love and Amity between the King and Him; but allſo to do unto his Grace ſuch Honour and Pleaſure as he can, His Highneſs hath now at this Time, by his right kind and loving Letters given unto him right ſpecial and cordial Thanks, like as by a Copy of his ſaid Letters here incloſed, you ſhall perceive more at Length. And

well aſſured you may be, the King's Highneſs upon Sight of theſe your ſaid Letters, not only much commended your great Diligence, and provident Dexterity, in the wiſe conducing of theſe his weighty Matters, whereby you have deſerved his ſingular Favour and Thanks, but alſo took great Rejoycing Conſolation and Comfort, in this honourable, princely, and loving Demeanor of the ſaid *French* King: Having good Hope and Confidence, that by this his Conſtant Dealing at the Beginning, the Amity and Alliance to the great Comfort of their Friends, and Diſcomfort of their Enemies, honourably and kindly commenced and begun between them, ſhall not only proceed from good to better, but allſo finally attain the deſired End, and univerſal Weal of all *Chriſtendome*.

And as touching the King's Mind and Pleaſure in the Difficulties touched in your former Letters, concerning the Qualities of the Hoſtages, I doubt not, but ye have perfect Knowledge by the King's Letters, to you lately ſent, containing ample Inſtructions, how to order yourſelves in ſo great a Matter, as that is; not doubting but that after your accuſtomed wiſe and provident manner, you will ſo circumſpectly order yourſelves therein, that the beſt Hoſtages as may poſſibly be gotten, may be had. Or at the leaſt the final Reſolution of the King's ſaid Letters, ſhall be attained; wherein as heartily, as I can, I require, and inſtantly deſire you to apply yourſelves with all Effect. For to this Point all other Princes take ſpecial Regard; whereupon not only dependeth the ſurety of the Conventions, but allſo the ſtopping of diſhonourable Bruits, which by Acceptation of inſufficient Hoſtages might be ſpread over all, which is more to be pondered, than the Importance of *Tournay*, or any other Thing thereupon depending.

And as unto the perſonal meeting of both Princes, the viewing of the Place, and Appointing the Number to come with the ſaid Princes; in mine Opinion, ye have taken a right ſubſtantial and diſcrete Way; praying you effectually to follow the ſame, allways foreſeeing, that the Number be not too great, in avoiding ſundry Incommodes and Inconveniences, that might follow thereof, as I doubt not, you can right well conſider.

Finally, as touching the monthly Wages appointed to the Soldiers of *Tournay* after their Diſcharge to be payed at their Arrival in *Dover*; foraſmuch, as ye my Lord *Chamberlayn* for ſundry Cauſes and Conſiderations, and eſpecially for ſuch payments of Debts as be owing by many of the ſaid Soldiers in *Tournay* ——

Commiſſio Regis Francorum pro Cardinali Eborum. De mutuo Colloquio.

FRanciſcus Dei Gratia Francorum Rex, Mediolani Dux, & Genuæ Dominus, univerſis preſentes Litteras Inſpecturis, Salutem. Notum facimus quod nos, N° 41. B. II. c. 14. 1518. 10. H. 8.

De Legalitate, prudentiâ, ac providâ Circumſpectione Reverendiſſimi in Chriſto patris Domini *Thomæ Sacroſanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ Cardinalis* Archiepiſcopi Eboracenſis, ac in Regno Angliæ primatis & de Latere Legati Cariſſimi ac dilectiſſimi Amici noſtri, plene confidentes; Ipſum noſtrum verum, legitimum, ac indubitatum procuratorem, Actorem, Commiſſarium, & Deputatum facimus, conſtituimus & nominamus per preſentes.

Dantes & concedentes eidem plenam ac omnimodam Poteſtatem, Auctoritatem, Facultatem, ac mandatum ſpeciale, pro nobis & nomine

mine noſtro, cum excellentiſſimo & potentiſſimo principe Henrico eâdem Gratiâ Rege Angliæ cariſſimo ac dilectiſſimo Fratre, Conſanguineo & Confederato noſtro, de & ſuper Forma Tempore & Loco mutui conventus, & Colloquii inter nos fiendi, ac aliis ex hoc dependentibus requiſitis & neceſſariis (de quo mutuo Conventu & Colloquio in Tractatu per Oratores, & Ambaſſiatores utriuſque noſtrûm die Octavâ menſis Octobris, Anno Domini milleſimo, quingenteſimo, decimo octavo, in Civitate Londoniæ inito & concluſo, & per nos confirmato fit mentio) juxta Illius Tractatûs Formam, aut alias, prout eidem videbitur, Salvis Honore & Securitate perſonæ noſtræ, tractandi, concordandi, & concludendi.

Cæteraque omnia & ſingula circa præmiſſa faciendi, dicendi, gerendi & excercendi quæ neceſſaria & opportuna fuerint, & quæ tanti Negotii Qualitas cum ejuſdem Circumſtantiis, dependentiis, & annexis, poſtulat aut requirit, & Quæ nos faceremus & facere poſſemus, ſi perſonaliter intereſſemus, etiamſi talia forent, Quæ mandatum exigerent magis Speciale, quam preſentibus ſit expreſſum;

Promittentes in bona Fide & in verbo regio, nos Ratum, gratum, firmum, & Stabile habere, quicquid per dictum Reverendiſſimum Patrem procuratorem noſtrum, actum, dictum, factum, geſtumve fuerit in premiſſis, & nunquam contra venire, immo inviolabiliter obſervare & implere.

In cujus Rei Teſtimonium his preſentibus manu noſtrâ ſignatis, Sigillum noſtrum duximus apponendum.

Datum in *Caſtro noſtro de Reſignen* Die decima menſis Januarij Anno Domini Milleſimo quingenteſimo decimo nono, & Regni noſtri Sexto.

Francoys.

per Regem

De Neufville.

Sub Sigillo Magno prefati Regis à duplici Caudâ pendente.

Beatiſſimo Patri Leoni 10. *Pontifici maximo*, F. M. L. *Auguſtinianus*, *Salutem æternam.*

Coll. No 43. l. 2. c. 13. AUditum audivi de me peſſimum, beatiſſime Pater; quo intelligo, quoſdam amicos feciſſe nomen meum graviſſime coram te & tuis fætere, ut qui autoritatem & poteſtatem Clavium & ſummi Pontificii minuere molitus ſim. Inde hæreticus, apoſtata, perfidus, & tercentis nominibus, imo ignominijs accuſor. Horrent aures & ſtupent oculi: Sed unicum ſtat fiduciæ præſidium, innocens & quieta conſcientia. Nec nova audio, talibus enim inſignibus & in noſtra Regione me ornaverunt homines iſti honeſtiſſimi & veraces, id eſt, peſſime ſibi conſcii; qui ſua portenta mihi conantur imponere, & meâ ignominiâ, ſuas ignominias glorificare. Sed rem ipſam, beatiſſime Pater, digneris audire ex me infante & inculto.

Cœpit apud nos diebus proximis prædicari Jubileus ille Indulgentiarum Apoſtolicarum, profecitq; adeo, ut præcones illius, ſub tui nominis terrore, omnia ſibi licere putantes, impijſſima hæreticaq; palam auderent docere, in graviſſimum ſcandalum & ludibrium Eccleſiaſticæ poteſtatis, ac ſi Decretales de abuſionibus quæſtorum nihil ad eos pertinerent; Nec contenti, quod liberrimis verbis hæc ſua venena diffunderent, inſuper Libellos ediderunt, & in vulgus ſparſerunt. In quibus, ut taceam inſatiabilem & inauditam avaritiam,

tiam, quam ſinguli pene apices olent craſſiſſime, eadem illa impia & Hæretica ſtatuerunt, & ita ſtatuerunt ut confeſſores juramento adigerent, quo hæc ipſa fideliſſimè inſtantiſſimeq; populo inculcarent. Vera dico, nec eſt, quo abſcondant a calore hoc. Extant libelli, nec poſſunt negare. Agebantur tum illa proſperè, & exagitantur populi falſis ſpebus, & ut Propheta ait, carnem deſuper oſſibus eorum tollebant. Ipſi vero pinguiſſime & ſuaviſſime interim paſcebantur. Unum erat, quo ſcandala ſedabant ſcilicet terror nominis tui, ignis comminatio, & Hæretici nominis opprobrium. Hæc enim incredibile eſt, quàm propenſi ſint intentare, quandoq; etiam ſi in meris opinioſiſq; nugis ſuis contradictionem ſenſerint, ſi tamen hoc eſt ſcandala ſedare, ac non potius merâ tyrannide, ſchiſmata & ſeditiones tandem ſuſcitare.

Verùm nihilominus crebreſcebant fabulæ per tabernas de avaritiâ ſacerdotum, detrectationeſq; Clavium, ſummiq; Pont. ut teſtis eſt vox totius hujus terræ. Ego ſane (ut fateor) pro zelo Chriſti, ſicuti mihi videbar, aut ſi ita placet, pro juvenili calore urebar, nec tamen meum eſſe videbam, in ijs quicquam ſtatuere aut facere. Proinde monui privatim aliquot magnates Eccleſiarum. Hic ab alijs acceptabar, alijs ridiculum, alijs aliud videbar, prævalebat enim nominis tui terror, & cenſurarum intentio. Tandem cum nihil poſſem aliud, viſum eſt, ſaltem leviuſculè illis reluctari, id eſt eorum Dogmata in dubium & Diſputationem vocare. Itaq; Schedulam diſputatoriam edidi invitans tantum Doctiores, ſi qui velint mecum diſceptare ſicut manifeſtum eſt, etiam Adverſariis opportet, ex præfatione ejuſdem Diſceptationis

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Commiſſio Francorum Regis facta Cardinali Eborum. Super modo Colloquii mutui cum Rege.

FRanciſcus Dei Gratia *Francorum* Rex *Mediolani* Dux, & *Genuæ* Dominus univerſis & Singulis preſentes Litteras inſpecturis, Salutem. No 41. B. II. c. 15.

Notum facimus, quod Nos,

De Legalitate, Prudentiâ, ac providâ Circumſpectione Reverendiſſimi in chriſto patris Domini *Thomæ* Sacroſanctæ *Romanæ Eccleſiæ Cardinalis* Archiepiſcopi Eborum, ac in Regno Angliæ Primatis, & de Latere Legati cariſſimi & dilectiſſimi amici noſtri plene confidentes,

Ipſum noſtrum verum legitimum & indubitatum Procuratorem, Actorem, Commiſſarium, ac ſpecialiter Deputatum fecimus, conſtituimus, & nominavimus per præſentes.

Dantes & concedentes eidem Tenore præſentium plenam ac omnimodam poteſtatem, Auctoritatem, Facultatem, pro nobis & nomine noſtro, cum excellentiſſimo & potentiſſimo principe Henrico eâdem Gratiâ, Regi Angliæ Clariſſimo ac dilectiſſimo Fratre conſanguineo & confederato noſtro, de & ſuper Forma Tempore & Loco, & aliis ex hoc dependentibus Requiſitis & neceſſariis mutui conventûs & Colloquii inter nos fiendi.

De quo mutuo conventu & Colloquio, per Ambaſſiatores & Oratores utriuſque noſtrûm *Octavo die menſis Octobris Anno Domini Milleſimo quingenteſimo, decimo octavo, in Civitate Londoniæ*, inito & concluſo, & per nos confirmato, fit mentio.

Inſequendo Formam & Tenorem Articulorum juxta Opinionem dicti *Reverendiſſimi Cardinalis* factorum, Quos, ad dictum Finem, manu noſtrâ Signavimus, & ad eum tranſmiſimus, tractandi, concordandi, & concludendi, Cæteraque omnia & ſingula faciendi, dicendi, gerendi, & exercendi quæ in præmiſſis neceſſaria fuerint & opportuna, & quæ tanti Negotij Qualitas, cum ejuſdem circumſtantiis dependentibus & Annexis, exigit & requirit, & Quæ nos faceremus, ſi perſonaliter intereſſemus, etiam ſi talia forent, Quæ mandatum exigerent magis ſpeciale, quam præſentibus ſit Expreſſum.

Promittentes bonâ Fide & in verbo regio, nos ratum, gratum firmum & ſtabile habere totum & quicquid per dictum *Reverendiſſimum Cardinalem*, procuratorem noſtrum in præmiſſis, & circa ea, actum, dictum, factum, concordatum & concluſum fuerit; & nunquam ullo modo contravenire, immo inviolabiliter obſervare & implere.

In cujus Rei Teſtimonium his preſentibus manu noſtrâ ſignatis, Sigillum noſtrum duximus apponendum.

Dat. *Cogniaci* die viceſimo tertio menſis Februarii, Anno Domini Milleſimo quigenteſimo decimo nono, & *Anno* Regni noſtri Sexto.

Sub plica
Sub magno Sigillo albæ Ceræ *Francoys.*
à Caudâ pergamenæ. *Super plicam*
Neufvills.

A Facie Regis coronati Imago Cathedra Reguli ſedentis, & dextrâ ſceptrum tenentis, à parte adverſâ Tres Fleurs de Lis in ſcuto Coronato depicti, ab utroque Latere Angelis Supportati.

Commiſſaires appointes de veoir & viſiter le Nombre de telz Parſonnaiges qui viendront accompaigner le Roy Francois a l'entreveue.

Coll. Nº 42.
B. II. c. 15.
1520.
11. H. 8.
Rym. F. 13.

Le Conte d'Eſſex.
Le Seigneur de Bergenny.
Meſſire Edovart Ponynges.
Meſſire Robart Wingfred.

Les Noms de telz parſonaiges qui donneront Ordre aux gentilz Hommes tant en Marchant, que Eulx arreſtez a L'Entreveu des Deux Roys.

Meſſire Edovart Belknop.
Meſſire Nicholas Vaux.
Meſſire Johan Peche.
Meſſire Morice Barquely.

Les Noms de ceulx qui donneront Ordre aux Pietons tant en allant, que en Sejournant a la Rencontre & Entreveue.

Meſſire Weſton Brown.
Meſſire Edovart Feryers.
Meſſire Robart Conneſtable.
Meſſire Raff Egerton.

Meſſire Thomas Lacy.
Meſſire Johan Marney.

Les Noms des Nobles qui Chevaucheront avecque Le Roy d'Angleterre a l'Embraſſement des dits deux Roys.

Le *Legat.*
Le *Archeveſque de Canterbery.*
Le *Duc de Buckyngham.*
Le *Duc de Suffolk.*
Le *Marquis Dorſet.*

Les Noms des Eveſques.

L'*Eveſque de Dureſme.*
L'*Archeveſque de Armacan.*
Le *Eveſque de Ely.*
Le *Eveſque de Cheſtre.*
Le *Eveſque de Rocheſtre.*
Le *Eveſque de Exceſtre.*
Le *Eveſque de Harford.*

Contes.

Le *Conte de Staford.*
Le *Conte de Northumberland.*
Le *Conte de Weſtmorland.*
Le *Conte de Shoruſbery.*
Le *Conte de Worceſtre.*
Le *Conte de Devonſhire.*
Le *Conte de Kent.*
Le *Conte de Wilſhire.*
Le *Conte de Derby.*
Le *Conte de Kyldare.*

Barons.

Le *Seigneur de Matrevers.*
Le *Seigneur de Montagu.*
Le *Seigneur de Harberd.*
Le *Seigneur de Saint Jean*
Grant Prior d'Angleterre.
Le *Seigneur de Roos.*
Le *Seigneur de Fitzwater.*
Le *Seigneur de Haſtings.*
Le *Seigneur d'Elavere.*
Le *Seigneur Dacres.*
Le *Seigneur de Feriers.*
Le *Seigneur de Cobham.*
Le *Seigneur de Daubney.*
Le *Seigneur de Lumley.*
Meſſire Henry Marney.
Meſſire Gillaume Sandes.
Meſſire Thomas Boullayn.
Le *Seigneur de Hauvard.*

Item il eſt ordonne & appoincte que en Marchant en avant devant Le *Roy d'Angleterre* les Nobles Hommes yront en avant en la Maniere, qui S'enſuyt; C'eſt aſſavoir.

Les Serviteurs du dit Roy, Nobles, & Gentilz Hommes les quelz yront prouchains devant le Roy.

Et devant les ditz Serviteurs du Roy yront les Nobles & Gentilz Hommes appartenans a Monſieur le Legat.

Et devant Iceulx yront Les Nobles Gentilz Hommes des autres Seigneurs en Ordre ſelon L'Eſtat & Degre de Leurs Seigneurs.

Et la Guard du dit Seigneur Roy yront & Suyveront le Roy en Leur Places accouſtemees.

Et les Serviteurs des autres Nobles les ſuyveront en Ordre comme il appartient.

Appunctuati ad intendendum Reginæ.

An Erle.

The Erle of Derby.

Biſhops.

The Biſhop of Rocheſter.
The Biſhop of Hereford.
The Biſhop of Landaf.

Barons.

The Lord Mountjoy, the Queen's Chamberlayn.
The Lord Cobham.
The Lord Morley.

A Dutcheſs.

The Dutcheſs of Bukingham.

Counteſſes.

The Counteſs of Stafford.
The Counteſs of Oxford, Widow.
The younger Counteſs of Oxford.
The Counteſs of Weſtmorland.
The Counteſs of Shrewsbury.
The Counteſs of Devonſhire.
The Counteſs of Derby.

Baroneſſes.

The Lady *Fitzwater.*
The Lady *Haſting.*
The Lady *Bologn.*
The Lady *Montague.*
The Lady *Willoughby.*
The Lady *Daubney.*
The Lady *Mountjoy.*
The Lady *Cobham.*
The Lady *Grey*, Lord John's Wife.
The Lady *Eliſabeth Grey.*
The Lady *Broke.*
The Lady *Morley.*
The Lady *Guildeforde*, the elder.
The Lady *Scrope.*

Knight's Wives.

The Lady Fitz William.
The Lady Guildeford, younger.
The Lady Fetiplace.
The Lady Vaux.
The Lady Selenger.
The Lady Parre, Widowe.
The Lady Parre Wife.
The Lady Rice.
The Lady Compton.
The Lady Darel.
The Lady Fynche.
The Lady Hopton.
The Lady Wyngfeld, Sir Anthony's Wife.
The Lady Tilney.
The Lady Wyngfeld, Sir Richard's Wife.
The Lady Clere.
The Lady Owen the younger.
The Lady Nevel, Sir John's Wife.
The Lady Boleyn, Sir Edward's Wife.

Gentilwomen.

Maſtres Carewe.
Maſtres Cheyney.
Maſtres Cary.
My Lord Fitzwarens Douzter.
Anthony Poyntz Douzter.
Maſtres Appliard.
Anne Wentworth, John Wentworth's Wife.
Maſtres Hugan.
Maſtres Cornewales.
Maſtres Parys.
Maſtres Jernyngham.
Maſtres Cooke.
Maſtres Katheryn Mountoria.
Maſtres Lawrence.
Maſtres Victoria.
Maſtres Darel, Sir Edward Darell's Douzter.

Chamberers.

Maſtres Kempe.
Maſtres Margaret.
Maſtres Margery.

Knights.

Sir Robert Poyntz.
Sir George Foſter.
Sir Thomas Fetiplace.
Sir John Liſle.
Sir Adrian Forteſcue.
Sir Water Stoner.
Sir Edward Grevile.
Sir Symon Harecourt.
Sir John Hampden of the Hill.
Sir George Selinger.
Sir John Kirkeham.
Sir Mills Buſby.
Sir Marmaduke Conſtable.
Sir Edward Darel.
Sir Rauf Chamberlain.
Sir John Shelton.
Sir Robert Clere.
Sir Philip Calthrop.
John Henyngham.
Sir William Walgrave.
Sir Thomas Tirel.
Sir Roger Wentworth.
Sir Thomas Trenchard.
Sir Thomas Lynde.
Sir John Villers.
Sir John Aſheton.
Sir Mathew Broun.
John Mordant.
Sir Henry Sacheverel.
Sir Henry Willoughby.
Sir Rauſe Verney the younger.
Sir William Rede.
Sir Robert Jones.
Maſter Paris of Cambrigeſhire

Chapleyns.

Maſter Peter.
Maſter Mallet.
Maſter Criſtopher.
Maſter Dent.
Maſter Payne.
Sir John Swane.

The Queen's Chamber.

Richard Dycons Secretary.
Doctor Phyſician.
John Verney Cupberer.
Alexander Frognal Carver.
John Poyntz
Frances Philip } Sewers.

Gentilmen Uſhers.

William Bulſtrode.
Roger Ratclif.
George Fraunces.

Robert Haſilrig.

Sewers for the Chamber.

William Tyrel.
Gourney.
Davers.
Symondd Mountford.

Gentilmen Wayters.

Thomas Cardigan.
Gerves Suttel.
George Sutton.
Olyver Holand.
Owen Holand.
John Lawrens.
Robert Merbury Sergeaunt at Armes.
Griffith Richard Clerke of the Signet.
Maſter John Potycary.

Yomen Uſhers.

John Madyſon.
John Glyn.
Anthony Lowe.
John Hariſon.
William Mylles.

Yeomen of the Chamber.

Robert Hilton.
David Morgan.
Edward David.
Thomas Rice.
John Crede.
Robert Kyrke.
William Thomas.
Thomas Walter.
Clement Fitzgeffrey.
Edward Huddeſwell.
George Monge.
John Tereley.
John Higdon.
Foſter.
Richard Sutton.
William Coke.
John Bright.
John Fiſh.
Henry Wheler.
John King.
Jaſper Maners.

Gromes of the Chamber.

John Eyton.
John Twadat.
Randal Preſtland.
William Welſh.
John Baker.
John Johnſon.
Lionel Bygons.
Byg.
Henry Cheney Grome of the Leth.

Pages of the Chamber.

Thomas Wheler.
Thomas Myners.
Henry Baneſter.
Hughe Carre.

Th' Office of the Robes.

Ellis Hilton.
Richard Juſtice.
Richard Woode.

Th' Office of the Bedd.

George Brighows.
Richard Alen.
Richard Awtan.

Meſſenger of the Chamber.

Richard Dynes.

Pomina Appunctuatorum ex parte Franciæ.

CEulx qui le Roy pourra avoir avecques Luy le jour de la Veue de Luy & *du Roy d'Angleterre* Son bon frere, Couſin, & Allye,

Premierement.

Le Roy de Navarre.
Monſieur le Duc d'Alencon.
Monſieur le Duc de Bourbon.
Monſieur le Duc de Vendoſme.
Monſieur le Duc de Lorraine.
Monſieur de Conte de Sannt Pol.
Monſieur le Prince de la Roch Suyren.
Monſieur le Conte de Dreux & de Rhetel. Seigneur Dornal.
Gouverneur de Champaigne.
Monſieur le Conte de Benon Seigneur de la Tremoille.

Premier Chambellan, Admiral de Guyenne Gouverneur de Bourgogne.
Monſieur de Bonnyvet Admiral de France.
Monſieur le Lautrect.
Monſieur de Paliſſe.
Monſieur de Chaſtillan Mareſchaulx de France.
Monſieur le Conte de Guyſe Frere de Monſieur de Lorraine.
Monſieur le Baſtard de Savoye Conte de Villars, & de Tende, & de Beaufort, Gouverneur de Provence.
Monſieur le Conte de Laval.
Monſieur de Chaſte aubriant.
Monſieur le Conte de Harcourt.
Monſieur le Prince d'Orenge.
Monſieur le Prince de Fullemont.
Loys Monſieur de Nevers.
Monſieur de Sparox Lieutenant en Guyenne Conte de Montfort.
Monſieur de Leſcun.
Monſieur de Montmorency.
Monſieur le Grant Eſcuyer.
Monſieur le Conte de la Chambre.
Monſieur le Conte de Tonnecre.
Monſieur le Conte de Brienne.
Monſieur le Conte de Joigne.
Monſieur le Conte de Bremie.
Monſieur le Conte de Mont Reuel.
Monſieur d'Albret.

Le Reſte de Chevaliers de l'Ordre.

Lay Maiſon du Roy, qui eſt deux cens Gentilz.

Hommes, & Meſſieurs *de Saint Vallier*, & Grant Seneſchal de Normendie Cappitaines.

Plus quater cens Archiers de Garde, & quater Cappitaines.

Plus cens Suyſſes de Guard, & *le Seigneur de Florenges* Cappitaine.

Plus les Officiers ordinaires comme *Maiſtres de Hoſtel*, *Pannetiers Varletz*, Trenchans, Eſchanſons, Eſcuyers de Eſcuyrys, & Gentilz Hommes de la Chambre.

Plus Gens *du Conſeil* & *des Finances*.

Et le Reſt *des Penſionaires* demoureront en leurs Maiſons.

Et eſt intendu, que ſi le dit Roy d'Angleterre fienne bon & convenable le nombre de Gens deſſuſdites auſſi fera le Roy, & s'il le veult en quelque endroit dimyneur ou autrement en adviſer, il le fera ſavoir au Roy pour incontinent Luy en faire Reſponce.

Tous Iceux Princes, & Seigneurs n'auront Avecques eulx pour la premiere Veue des Roys, que deux cens Chevaulx ou environ.

The Pope's Bull by which the Title Defender of the Faith, *was granted to the King.*

Coll. N° 44.
Rym. Conv.
Ex Origine.
T. 13. p. 736.

“ LEO, Biſhop, Servant of the Servants of God to our moſt dearly beloved Son in Chriſt *Henry* King of *England*, *Defender of the Faith*, prayeth Health and Apoſtolical Benediction. We, who by divine Appointment, tho' unequal to ſo great a Charge, do preſide in the Government of the Univerſal Church, have made it the conſtant Subject of our Meditations, how the Catholick Faith, without which Men are excluded the Means of being Saved, may flouriſh, and continually encreaſe under our Adminiſtration. And we do likewiſe exert our Selves with all Zeal and Vigilance, to the End, ſuch Diſpoſitions, as are made, by the faithful, eſpecially thoſe, who are diſtinguiſhed with the Royal Authority towards reſtraining perſons, that endeavour to depretiate the Faith, or by wicked Fictions and Calumnys to corrupt it may be render'd ſtill more and more Subſervient to their proper and intended Effect. And as other Biſhops of *Rome*, our Predeceſſors, according to the Exigency of Affairs, or Circumſtances of Time, have thought it incumbent on them to confer ſpecial Favours on Princes in the Communion of the Catholick Church eſpecially on ſuch of them, who in Times of Difficulty

or Danger, or when Sciſm and Hereſy have raged with the greateſt Violence, did not only in the Points of Doctrine and Worſhip inviolably adhere to the *Romiſh* Church, but as true and legitimate Children of that Church, and as reſolute Champions in her Defence, have ſtrenuouſly oppoſed all the Attempts of her Enemys, by employing both rational Arguments, and Temporal Force againſt them. So we, following their Example, in acknowledgement of thoſe great and immortal Benefits, which your Majeſty hath conferred on us, and on this holy See, wherein by divine Providence we ſit, deſire to extoll and perpetuate the Memory of them, with condign Praiſes; and to give your Majeſty thoſe Teſtimonys of our Regard, by which your Zeal may be ſtill incited, and rendered more vigilant, towards driving away the Wolves from our Lord's Sheep, and that an Inciſion may be made with the material Sword of ſuch putrid and corrupted Members, whereby others may be infected, and the Hearts of thoſe confirmed in Soundneſs of Faith, who have believed, but whoſe Belief hath yet been leſs firm and ſettled. Now, whereas, lately our beloved Son *John Clark*, your Majeſty's Ambaſſador with us, did in our Conſiſtory before the venerable College of Cardinals, our Brethren, of the holy *Roman* Church with many other Prelates of the ſame, preſent a Book, in order to be examined by us, and to receive our Approbation, which Book your Majeſty, inflamed with an active and always well regulated Charity, with Zeal for the Catholick Faith, and with a ſpecial Devotion towards us and the holy See, hath compoſed as a ſoveraign and wholſome Antidote againſt the Errors of divers Hereticks, which have been formerly condemned by Authority of the holy See, and of late revived by *Martyn Luther*. And when the ſaid Embaſſadour had repreſented to us in an elegant Oration, that as your Majeſty had refuted the flagrant Errors of *Luther* by clear and irrefragable Arguments, ſupported both by the Authority of the holy Scriptures, and of the Fathers; So your Majeſty was determined to employ your Royal Authority and the ſecular Arm, to proſecute all ſuch, as ſhould preſume to follow or defend thoſe Errors. And when we had accurately and with great Care peruſed the ſaid Book, and conſidered the admirable Contents of it, every where watered with the Dew of celeſtial Grace, we rendered our moſt thankfull acknowledgements to Allmighty God, from whom every good and perfect Gift doth come, that he had vouchſafed ſo to inſpire your Mind diſpoſed to every Thing that is good, and to infuſe ſo great Grace into it, as to qualify you to write in a manner, whereby you are able to vindicate his holy Faith, againſt this Reviver of old and condemned Errors, and may further excite by your Example other Kings and Chriſtian Princes to a generous Amulation, that they ſhall allſo be inclined to protect and defend with all their Aid, on every Occaſion the Orthodox Faith, and the Evangelical Truth at this time, in ſo great peril and danger. Now, thinking it highly requiſite, that they who have laboured ſo piouſly in Defence of the Truth of Chriſt, ſhould be rewarded with all due Praiſe and Honour; and being deſirous, not only, that thoſe Things, which your Majeſty hath written againſt *Luther*, with equal Force of Argumentation and Eloquence, ſhould be Celebrated after the moſt honorary Manner, and receive our Solemn and moſt authentick Approbation, but allſo that your Majeſty may be graced

“ and diſtinguiſhed by ſuch a Title of Honour, that all the Faith-
“ ful both in our own, and in all ſucceeding Ages may underſtand,
“ how acceptable and engaging this Preſent of your Majeſty is to
“ us, and eſpecially at this Conjuncture: We who are the true
“ Succeſſor of *Peter*, whom Chriſt when he aſcended into Heaven,
“ left his Vicar upon Earth, and to whom he committed the Care
“ of his Flock; We, I ſay, who ſit in this holy Seat, from which
“ all Titles and Dignitys have their Origin, do, upon mature Con-
“ ſultation had with our Brethren upon this Occaſion, and with
“ their unanimous Conſent and Approbation, decree to grant your
“ Majeſty this Title, *Defender of the Faith*; And accordingly by
“ theſe preſents, do actually confer that Title upon your Majeſty,
“ commanding all the Faithful, to aſcribe this Title to your Ma-
“ jeſty, and whenever they write to your Majeſty, after the Word
“ King, to add, *Defender of the Faith*. And, in Truth, the Excel-
“ lency and Dignity of this Title, and your Majeſty's perſonal and
“ extraordinary Merits being conſidered, no Title could have been
“ thought of more proper, or more worthy to be aſcribed to your
“ Majeſty; which ſo often as you ſhall hear or read, you ſhall be
“ reminded of the Virtues and good Qualities, in Regard to which
“ it was given. Neither will your Majeſty hereby become elated
“ with any Motions of Pride, but rather according to your uſual
“ prudence, be more humble, more ſtrengthened, and confirmed in
“ the Faith of Chriſt, and in your Zeal for the holy See, from which
“ this Honour was derived; accounting it Matter of all thankful and
“ pious Joy in God, the Author of every good Gift, that you ſhall
“ leave this perpetual ſtanding Monument of Glory to your Poſte-
“ rity, and ſhew to them, if they deſerve to merit the ſame Ti-
“ tle, they muſt ſeek to attain it, by the ſame method, and in fol-
“ lowing the excellent precedent, which your Majeſty has ſet be-
“ fore them. To whom, as having ſo highly deſerved of us, and of
“ the holy See, together with your Wife and all your Children, or the
“ Children which may deſcend from them, we give, in the moſt full
“ and ample manner, our Benediction, in his Name, from whom, the
“ Power of giving it is derived; praying, and beſeeching the moſt
“ high God, who ſaith, *By me Kings Reign, and Princes Rule*, and
“ in whoſe Hand are all the Hearts of Kings, that he would con-
“ firm your Majeſty in your pious Reſolutions; that he would En-
“ creaſe your Devotion; and render you ſo renowned for your
“ great and worthy Endeavours in the Cauſe of Religion, and
“ your Virtue ſo conſpicuous to the whole World, that the Teſti-
“ mony which we have given of you, in adorning you with ſo
“ excellent a Title, may never be thought to have proceeded from
“ any inſignificant or unjuſt Cauſe. Finally, we pray God, that
“ after the Courſe of this your mortal Life is ended, He may make
“ you a Partaker of his eternal Glory.

Given at *Rome*, at St. *Peter's* 1521. the fifth of the Ides of *Octob.* and in the ninth year of our pontificate.

Commiſſio ad monendum omnes Perſonas, Eccleſiaſticas & Seculares; quod omnia Scripta & Libellos Martini Lutheri *Hæretici, penes ſe exiſten. ad manus Epiſcopi, vel ejus Commiſſarij infra tempus aſſignat. afferant, & tradant ſub Excommunicationis & Hæreticorum pœnis.*

Coll. N° 45.

THOMAS miſeratione divina Tituli Sanctæ *Ceciliæ* Romanæ Eccleſiæ Cardinalis *Eboracenſis* Archiep. *Angliæ* Primas, & Apoſtolicæ Sedis Legatus, ipſiúſq; Regni *Angliæ* Cancellarius, necnon Sanctiſſimi in Chriſto Patris & D'ni LEONIS divina Providentia hujus Nominis Papæ Decimi, & dictæ Sedis etiam de Latere Legatus. Ad Illuſtriſſim' & Potentiſſ' Principem & Dom. noſtrum HENRICUM Dei gra. *Angl.* & *Franc.* Regem, & Dom. *Hibern.* Univerſúmq; ejus *Angliæ* regnum; ac omnes, & ſingulas ipſius Regni Provincias, Civitates, Terras, & loca illi ſubjecta, & alia illi adjacentia.

Venerabili F'ri. noſtro Dno. CAROLO *Herefordenſ.* Epiſcopo, ipſiúſve in Spiritualib. Vicario generali, Salutem in D'no.

Cum jampridem præfatus Sanctiſſimus D'us noſter multos & varios Articulos ſive Errores cujuſdam *Martini Lutheri* peſtiferos & pernicioſos, ac *Græcorum* Hæreſim & *Bohemicam* expreſsè continentes; olim etiam per Concilia Generalia & ſummorum Pontificum Conſtitutiones, damnatos, & per ipſum *Martinum* nuper ſuſcitatos, habita primitus ſuper eiſdem, & eorum ſingulis diligenti diſcuſſione, atque matura Deliberatione, tanquam peſtiferos, pernitioſos & hæreticos, ac ſimplicium mentium ſeductivos, Veritatique Catholicæ obviantes; ejuſdem quoq; *Martini* Libellos, ſcripta ac ſcedulas in Latino, vel quocúnq; alio Idiomate reperta; Damnaverit, reprobaverit, atque omnino rejecerit, próq; damnatis, reprobatis & rejectis ab omnibus Chriſti Fidelibus haberi debere, decreverit, & declaraverit. Inhibueritq; idem Sanctiſſimus D'us noſter, in virtute ſanctæ Obedientiæ, & ſub majoris Excommunicationis ſententia; atque etiam hæreticorum & Fautorum eorundem, aliiſque multiplicibus gravibus & formidabilibus pœnis, eo ipſo, abſq; ulteriori declaratione, incurrend. omnibus & ſingulis, tam Eccleſiaſticis quàm ſecularibus Perſonis, cujuſcúnq; gradus ac conditionis aut præeminentiæ forent; Ne præfatos errores, aut eorum aliquos, aſſerere, affirmare, defendere, aut quomodolibet favere; vel hujuſmodi Libellos, Scedulas, Scripta vel in iis contenta Capitula, Legere, aſſerere, imprimere, publicare, defendere, vel in ſermonibus ſuis, ſive locis aliis, privatè vel occultè, quoquomodo tenere, præſumant. Prout in Literis præfatis ſanctiſſ. Dni. noſtri ſub plumbo cum filis ſericiis rubei & glauci coloris pendentibus, more *Romanæ* Curiæ bullatis. Dat. *Romæ*, apud Sanctum *Petrum*, Anno Incarnat. Dominicæ, Mill$^{imo.}$ quingenteſſ$^{o.}$ Viceſſimo, xiii. Kalend. *Julij*: Pontificat. ſui anno octavo, plenius continetur.

NOS igitur THOMAS Cardinalis *Eboracenſ.* ac Legatus de Latere antedict. pro divina, & ipſius Sanctiſſ. Dni. noſtri Reverentia, éq; Officij noſtri debito, hujuſmodi Peſti, priuſquam in hoc inclyto *Angliæ* Regno radices agat, providere; ac ne tanquam Vepris nocua latiùs ſerpat, viam præcludere cupientes, de Conſenſu, Voluntate & Mandato expreſſis, prefati Potentiſſ. & Illuſtriſſ. Principis, Dni. noſtri Regis, quem dictus Sanctiſſ. D'nus. noſter, tanquam præcipuum Fidei Catholicæ Propugnatorem & Defenſorem, per ſuum Breve, ad hujuſmodi hæreſim ab hoc inclyto ſuo Regno explodendum, extirpand. & abolend. ſummopere, rogavit & hortatus eſt; habitóq; ſuper hac re diligenti Tractatu, & exacta deliberatione cum Reverendiſſ. in

Chriſto Patre & D'no. D. *Willimo Cantuar.* Archiepiſcopo, totius *Angliæ* Primate, & Apoſtolicæ Sedis Legato, ac cum nonnullis aliis venerabilibus Fratribus noſtris, hujus Regni Prælatis; déq; eorum conſilio & expreſſo conſenſu; VOBIS Auctoritate noſtrâ Legatinâ, qua fungimur, in hac parte firmiter injungendo, Mandamus, quatenus omnes & ſingulos, Abbates, Priores, Gardianos & Præſidentes, Monaſteriorum, Prioratuum, & locorum Religioſorum quorumcúnq;, cujuſvis Ordinis, tam exemptorum, quam non exemptorum, necnon Collegiorum Decanos, Præpoſitos, & Cuſtodes, Parochialiúmque quoq; Eccleſiarum Rectores, Vicarios, & Curatos quoſcúnq; tam veſtræ quam cujuſvis peculiaris, ſive exemptæ juriſdictionis intra veſtram Dioc. conſiſtentes, diſtinctè moneatis, & eis injungatis, ſeu ſic moneri & injungi faciatis; quòd proximo die Dominico, ſive ſolenni poſt hujuſmodi veſtram Monitionem ſive Injunctionem eis fact. in Eccleſiis ſuis intra Miſſarum, ſive Divinorum Officiorum ſolemnia, cum major inibi convenerit multitudo, publicè moneant, vel moneri faciant omnes & ſingulos Bibliopolas, Stationarios, ſive Librorum Venditores, ac omnes alias & ſingulas Perſonas, Eccleſiaſticas & Sæculares intra Præcinctum Monaſteriorum, Prioratuum, Collegiorum ſive locorum aut Parochiarum ſuarum reſpectivè exiſtentes, ſeu commorantes, cujuſcúnque generis, ſtatus aut Conditionis exiſtant; Ut omnia ſcripta, vel impreſſa, *vizt.* Scedulas & Libellos dict. *Martini Lutheri*, vel ejus nomine compoſita, edita, ſive divulgata in Latino, vel quovis alio Idiomate, penes ſe exiſten. ad Vos ſeu veſtrum in hac parte Commiſſarium citra quintum decimum diem hujuſmodi monitionem ſeu injunctionem ei fact. proximè & immeditatè ſequent. afferant & ad manus veſtras vel v'ri hujuſmodi Commiſſarij, realiter tradant & liberent, ſeu ſic afferri, & tradi faciant. Recuſantes vero, aut ultra dict. quintum decimum diem hujuſmodi Scripta inferri, ut premiſſum eſt, & realiter tradere, temerè & contumaciter differentes, omnes & ſingulos, cujuſcunque gradus, Status & Conditionis exiſtunt, majoris Excommunicationis Sententiam eo ipſo incurſuros, ac tanquam hæreticæ pravitatis, & hæreticorum celatores & fautores eſſe reputandos, habend. & judicand. hæreticorúmq; pœnis percellendos, & puniendos, denuntient, & declarent.

Prædictos etiam, Abbates, Priores, Gardianos, Præſidentes, Decanos, Præpoſitos, Cuſtodes, Rectores, Vicarios & Curatos ſupradict. ut ſuprà moneatis, & eis injungatis, quod & ipſi omnia Scripta impreſſa, Libellos, ſeu Scedulas à dict. *Martino* compoſita & edita, aut ſub ejus nomine divulgata, penes ſe exiſtentia, pari modo citra prædict. XV diem, ad vos, vel veſtrum hujuſmodi Commiſſarium afferant, & realiter tradant. Quod ſiqui ex ipſis non curaverint, aut prædict. veſtras Monitiones debitè executi non fuerint & Perſonis infra ſua Monaſteria, Prioratus, Collegia, Parochia & loca commorantibus (prout eos reſpectivè concernunt) modo quo præmittitur, minimè publicaverint, eos denuntietis ſimili modo majoris Excommunicationis Sententiâ innodatos, & tanquam hæreticorum fautores habendos, ac eorum pœnis afficiend. Moneatis inſuper omnes & ſingulos Abbates, Priores, Gardianos, *&c.* & eis Auctoritate noſtra injungatis, quod ipſi omnes & ſingulas Perſonas, Eccleſiaſticas & Sæculares, infra limites Monaſteriorum, Prioratuum, Collegiorum, *&c.* reſpectivè exiſtentes ſive degentes, loco tempore & modo præmiſſis, diſcretè moneatis, quod ſiquis hujuſmodi libellos vel ſcedulas, ſcriptáve, ſive impreſſa dict. *Martini Lutheri* opera, penes aliquem cujuſcunque Status aut Conditionis fuerit, occultè ſervari aut ſupprimi; ac Vobis, vel dicto veſtro Commiſſario, citra præmiſſum diem quintum decimum tradi ac liberari cognoverit; quod ſic ſervantem, tenentem, & ſupprimentem, mox ipſo quinto decimo, ſub pœnis ſuperius expreſſis, vobis veſtrove hujuſmodi Commiſſario, denuntiet, detegat, & revelet. Quod ſi fortaſſis non ante prææmemoret quintum decimum, ſed poſtea ad alicujus notitiam pervenerit hujuſmodi ſcripta vel impreſſa dict. *Martini* opera, à quovis celari, teneri & ſervari, tunc infra quindecim dies à tempore notitiæ ſuæ hujuſmodi, ſub pœnis ſuperius expreſſis, id vobis detegere, & denuntiare non omittat.

Et quoniam univerſæ Reip. Chriſtianæ, præſertim hujus Regni, & locorum ſupra memoratorum plurimum intereſt, præfatas Literas Sanctiſ. D'ni noſtri Damnationem dict. *Martini Luther.* & Opinionum ſuarum perverſarum continentes, divulgari & publicari; Idcirco vobis committimus & mandamus, quatenus ipſarum Literarum Apoſtolicarum tranſumpta per Notarium publicum, in forma autentica redacta, & ſigillo noſtro ſigillat. quæ ad vos una cum præſentibus tranſmittimus, in valvis, ſeu locis publicis Eccleſiæ veſtræ Cathedral., aliarúmq; Eccleſiarum Regularium, Collegiatarum, & Paroch. veſtræ Dioc. magis inſignium, firmiter affigatis; ſicq; affixa dimittatis; ſeu ſaltem affigi & dimitti faciatis.

De die vero receptionis præſentium, executioneq; earundem, & quid in præmiſſis feceritis, nos citra primum diem menſis Auguſti proximè futur. debitè, diſtinctè & apertè Certificetis. Ac omnia & ſingula, Scedulas, Libellos, Tractatus & Opera prædict. *Martini*, edita, ſcripta & impreſſa, per vos recepta, vel aliter quovis modo in manibus veſtris, ſive penes vos exiſten. citra prædict. primum diem Auguſti, nobis tradere, ſive ad nos fideliter, & abſque ulla fraude, tranſmittere curetis. Dat. ſub ſigillo noſtro in Ædibus noſtris prope *Weſtme*^{r} XIII die menſis *Maij*, Anno Dom. 1521.

Sequuntur aliqui Errores peſtiferi *Martini Luther*, &c.

Qui quidem Errores reſpectivè, quàm ſint peſtiferi, quàm pernitioſi, quàm ſcandaloſi, quàm piarum & ſimplicium Mentium ſeductivi; quàm deniq; ſint contra omnem Charitatem, ac S. R. E. matris omnium Fidelium, & magiſt$^{e.}$ Fidei Reverentiam, atq; nervum Eccleſiaſticæ Diſciplinæ, Obedientiam ſcil. quæ Fons eſt, & Origo omnium Virtutum; ſine qua facilè unuſquiſq; infidelis eſſe convincitur; nemo ſanæ mentis ignorat. Nos igitur in præmiſſis, *&c.*

Tenor Commiſſionis Hen. 8. *pro mutuo Colloquio.*

Henricus, Dei Gratiâ, *Rex Angliæ & Franciæ & Dominus Hyberniæ*, Univerſis præſentes Literas inſpecturis, Salutem.

Coll. N^{o} 46. l. 2. c. 19. Rym. Ex Autographo T. 13. 708, 709, 710.

Sciatis quod,

Cum illuſtriſſimus ac potentiſſimus princeps Franciſcus, *&c.* de Legalitate, prudentiâ, & providâ Circumſpectione Reverendiſſimi in Chriſto Patris Domini Thomæ, *&c.* Archiepiſcopi Eboracenſis & de Latere Legati plene Confidens, Ipſum verum, Legitimum ac indubitatum Procuratorem, Actorem, Commiſſarium, ac Deputatum ſuum ſpecialem fecit, conſtituit & nominavit per Literas ſuas Patentes Manu ſua, *&c.* Dans & concedens Eidem Reverendiſſimo, *&c.*

plenam & omnimodam poteſtatem pro eo & ejus nomine, nobiſcum de & ſuper Formâ Tempore ac Loco, & aliis ex hoc Dependentiis requiſitis & neceſſariis mutui Conventûs & Colloquii, &c. De quo mutuo Conventu, & Colloquio in Tractatu die Octavo menſis Octobris, Anno Domini milleſimo Quingenteſimo decimo Octavo. In Civitate Noſtrâ Londoniæ inito, & concluſo, fit Mentio.

Inſequendo Formam & Tenorem Articulorum Juxta Opinionem dicti Reverendiſſimi Patris Cardinalis antedicti factorum Editorum & Conceptorum, Quos, ad eoſdem Fines Idem Francorum Rex manu ſuâ ſignavit, & ad eundem tranſmiſit; Tractandi, &c.

Cujus quidem Procuratoris ſive Commiſſionis Onus, præfatus Reverendiſſimus Pater Cardinalis & de Latere Legatus antedictus ſubire aut in ſe aſſumere, niſi de Mandato, conſenſu, & Licentiâ noſtrâ ſpecialibus pro innatâ ſuâ prudentiâ, Amore ſingulari, & Fide, & in Nos Obſervantiâ expreſſe recuſavit.

Nos vero,

Præfatum mutuum Conventum, &c. plurimum affectantes, & quanta ex eo Bona, toti Chriſtianæ Reipublicæ Utilia, provenire poterunt, conſiderantes,

Eidem Reverendiſſimo, &c. non ſolum Onus Hujuſmodi Procuratoris in ſe aſſumendi Mandatum & Conſenſum noſtrum expreſſum & Licentiam dedimus, &c. (prout per præſentes ſic damus & concedimus) verum etiam de prudentiâ ſingulari, providâ Circumſpectione & præcipuâ in nos Fide præfati Reverendiſſimi Cardinalis—— non minus confidentes, ipſum in pari modo noſtrum Legit'um & indubitatum Procuratorem, Actorem, & Commiſſarium, ac ſpecialiter deputatum facimus, conſtituimus, & nominamus per preſentes,

Dantes & concedentes eidem, &c.

In cujus Rei Teſtimonium præſentibus Litteris manu noſtrâ ſignatis ſigillum noſtrum duximus apponendum.

Datum Londini ſecundo die Martij, Anno Regni noſtri undecimo.

The Cardinal to the King, concerning the French *King, and certain maritime Affairs.*

Nº 47.
Str. Eccleſ. Mem.

‘SIR, I perceived by ſuch Writings as lately came to my Hand from your Secretary, that your Grace hath received three or four Letters from me, of ſundrie Datys. And faraſmuch as in ſome of them, nothing was contained but only News, it is not thought requiſite any ſpecial Anſwer to be made thereunto, but only your Gracious Thanks to me to be given. Which I would be right and glad to deſerve, by all the Induſtry, Labour and Policy, that I can uſe,

‘And, Sir, as touching thoſe News, which at that Time were written by your Ambaſſador, Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, touching the Promiſe made by the *French* King, on his Honour, that he would give Battail to the Emperor's Army within brief Time; I think verily, that as your ſaid Ambaſſador, as a faithful Gentleman, reported no leſs than the *French* King ſpake; howbeit, by the Contents, as well of ſuch other Letters as I have received this Day from your ſaid Ambaſſador, as by the News comen from the Emperor to his Heir, encloſed, your Grace ſhall well perceive, that nother the *French* King is in ſuch a Readineſs

neſs within ſo brief Time to give Battel, though he promiſed *on his Honour* ſo to do; ne yet, that the News written on either Party, be ſo true, that firm Credence oweth at all Times to be given unto them. Nevertheleſs, by provident Foreſight, more Credence is to be geven to Writings of ſuch as moſt commonly make true Reports, than of others, which accumſtomably uſe to contrive News upon untrue Grounds, for the Advancement of their own Affairs. Whereunto your Grace having good Experience, as well in Times paſt, as by the Experience now occurrent, can beſt judge: Eſpecially when the Loſs and Damages of the *French* King be by him Cauſeleſs to your Grace arrected. So that I ſuppoſe, neither this cruel Battle is ſo neer Hand, ne yet ſuch Reports, though they be ſpoken *upon his Honour*, be always to believed.

‘Over this, Sir, whereas your Grace, foreſeeing the Daungers, Damages, Loſſes and Prejudice, that might enſue to your Navy, and the Subjects of your Realm, if, in this ſuſpect and caſual Time, they ſhould reſort to *Burdeaux* for this Vintage, like as they have been accuſtomably uſed to do heretofore; deſired and commanded me to declare unto you my poor Advice and Opinion, what was moſt expedient to be done therein; I calling unto me the whole Number of ſuch your Counſillors as be here with me, after long Reaſoning, and debating of the ſaid Matter, finall concluded by one Aſſent, that ſuch Remedies as were expreſſed in my Letter then to your Grace ſent, were moſt covenable Proviſions, to remedy the ſaid Daunger, Loſs and Damage. And ſurely, Sir, if by our Wits and Intendments, better Remedies could have been foreſeen, the ſame ſhould have been notified, and intimated unto you. But inaſmuch as your Grace ſo much pondereth the Daunger and Caſualties that may enſue, by reparing of your Navy and Subjects to *Burdeaux*, that you count none Aſſurance by Treaties, Plakards, Proclamations or Articles, to be confirmed by the Princes on all Parties, to ſuffice for that Indempnity, and preſuppoſe ſuch Writings and Promiſes to be fraudulent and evaſive Allectives, to bring your ſaid Navy and Subjects in Daunger. Thinking alſo, that the ſending of a convenient Number of your ſmall Ships to *Burdeaux*, or *Livorna*, to be given for bringing *Gaſcoin* Wines into your Realms, ſhould raiſe a Murmur among your Subjects, *&c.*

The Cardinal's other Letter to the King, concerning the Ships of the Merchants, and his own, going into *France*, was more full, having conferred with the *French* King's Chancellor, then at *Calais*, about theſe Matters: Prefacing his Letter with great Obſervance towards his Majeſty:

Another Letter of the Cardinal to the King, about the Danger of his Ships.

‘SIR, Whereas your Grace, moſt prudently and providently conſidering the imminent Dangers that may iſſue, as well by taking of your Navy and Subjects, with ſuch Goods and Subſtance as they have, and ſhall bring with them to *Burdeux*, if they ſhould thither repair this Year for Vintage, as they have been heretofore accuſtomably uſed to do; as alſo pondering the Suſpicion that might be impreſt in the *French* King's Mind, by the abſtaining of your ſaid Navy and Subjects from thence: Which Jealouſy might percaſe cauſe him to reſtrain and ſtop your Penſion, payable unto you within brief Time; Yee not only deſire me maturely to debate and conſider what is beſt to be done therein, but alſo to advertiſe your Grace with Diligence, of my poor Advice and Opinion upon the ſame, like as in your Secretary's Letters by your Commandments unto me addreſs'd, it is contained more at Length.

‘Sir, When I groundly conſidered your provident Forecaſt, as well for the Conſervation of your Navy from Damage, as the Princely Zele that yee bear, to preſerve your Subjects, and their Goods, with the ſubſtantial Regard that yee take to your Honour and Surety, in foreſeeing Politickly before Hand, the Daunger and Damages that in this Suſpect Time, may enſue to your Highneſs, your Realm and Subjects; it is unto me one of the ſingular Conſolations and Comforts that ever I had: Whereby I evidently perceive, that no Man can more groundly conſider the Politick Governance of your ſaid Realm, ne more aſſuredly look to the Preſervation thereof, than Yee your ſelf. And therefore, though your Grace of your Goodneſs require my poor Advice, yet well aſſured I am, Ye can better provide Remedy for the ſame, than I can imagine, or deviſe.

‘Nevertheleſs, to accompliſh your Noble Pleaſure and Commandment, I ſhall declare my poor Opinion, though remitting always the ſame to your Reformation and Correction.

‘And firſt, Sir, albeit I ſuppoſe and think, that the *French* King troubled and infeſted with ſo many [Enemies] and Armies on every Side, as well within his own Realm, as in the Dutchy of *Milain*, and upon the [Borders] of *Navarr*, will be well ware, how he attempt any Thing, either by Land or Sea, whereby he ſhould give Occaſion to provoke you to break with him, and join with any of his Enemies: By Means whereof he might fall to many Daungers: Yet upon that Ground will I not take my Foundation: Though this Day the Chancellor of *France*, after he had Dined with me alone, without any of his Collegues, declared expreſly, that not only the King, his Maſter, hath in you his moſt Affiance, before all other Princes, but alſo plainly ſhewed, that though ſuch Advice and Counſel, as I in your Name, and as your Lieutenant, ſhould ſhew unto him, for the firm Entertainment of the good Amity between your Grace and him, he had Commandment to be conformable; and that both his ſaid Maſter, and he, was as good *Engliſh*, as any of your Subjects; like as it ſhould be well known, by his favourable entertaining of your Subjects, repairing to any of the Dominions under the Obeiſance of his ſaid Maſter. Whereby it appeareth, that as yet, for any Bruits they have no maner Suſpicion.

‘Nevertheleſs, for the aſſured remedying of the doubtful Daungers by your Grace foreſeen, and remembred, I thought not moſt Surety, to lean only to Words, unleſs the ſame were corroborate by available Bands and Writings. Wherefore, beſides other Remedies, which I ſhall hereafter particularly declare in this my Letter, I have taken this Order with the ſaid Chancellor of *France*.

‘Firſt, Foraſmuch as Complaints be here daily made by your Subjects, of ſuch Depredations as be committed upon them by the *French* Men, which is manifeſtly proved before the ſaid Chancellor,

cellor, and not only no Redreſs made to ſome of your Subjects upon the ſame, but alſo divers Ships have been reſcued from them; whereof one, with certain *French* Men apprized thereof, arrived here in your Haven this Day; I have therefore upon thoſe Grounds, without ſpeaking of the Matter of *Burdeux*, cauſed the ſaid Chancellor to determine, that Proclamations be made throughout the Realm of *France* and *Britain*, upon the Sea Coaſts, that no Man, under Pain of Death, ſhall Enterprize to take any *Engliſh* Ships, or *Engliſh* Mens Goods; but that all *Engliſh*, both by Land, Sea, and freſh Water, ſhall have as free Courſe in Surety to paſs, remain, and return at their Liberty, as ever they had heretofore in the Dominions of the ſaid *French* King.

‘ I have alſo moved the ſaid Chancellor to write to the King, his Maſter, that over and beſide the ſaid Proclamations, an open Placard, Signed and Sealed by the ſaid *French* King, ſhall be made, and delivered to your Grace; making Aſſurance to all and ſingular your Subjects, repairing to *Burdeux*, or any other his Dominions under his Obeiſance by Sea or Land, that they, and every of them, ſhall not only be favourably entertained, but alſo ſuffered ſafely to return with their Ships, Goods and Merchandizes, according to the Treaties, without any Trouble or Vexation to any your ſaid Subjects. To the granting and Expedition of which open Placard, I find the ſaid Chancellor right agreeable. And albeit the *French* King be bound hereunto by Treaty, yet, if contrary to the ſame Treaty, Proclamations, and Placards, they ſhall attempt any Thing againſt your Subjects, it may be more grievouſly arrected unto the ſaid *French* King's Charge, when ye ſhall make your Declaration againſt him.

‘ And, Sir, during our Abode at this Diet, having the Chancellor of *France* here, they ſhall not dare to Enterprize any Thing at *Burdeux* againſt the Goods or Ships of any Subject of your Realm. And a Treux or Abſtinence of War being taken by [the Commiſſioners] of this Diet, as I truſt it ſhall be, then Hoſtility ſhall ceaſe on all Parts, during the Treux. Whereby your Navy and Ships ſhall be in Surety.

‘ And yet, Sir, for an habundaunt Cautele for the Safeguard of your Ships and Navy, repairing this Year to *Burdeux*, I have deviſed Three Ways. Whereof the firſt is, That Proviſion by your Grace ſhould be made in your Ports, that no Ship above the Portage of an Hundred, or Six Score, ſhould paſs to *Burdeaux* this Year, and that no Multitude of Ships ſhould Conſort there together, and at once; but ſuch a convenient Number as ye ſhall think good; ſuffering them firſt to return, for Knowledge, how they have ſped, before any mo Ships be ſent forth. By which Means, not only the great Ships of your Realm ſhall be in Safety, but alſo the moſt Part of your Navy conſerved from Danger.

‘ The Second Remedy is this, that in Caſe it may like your Grace, not only to Licence your Subjects to bring their Wines upon Strangers Bottoms, but alſo give Liberty to the *French* Men, and *Britons*, to bring *Gaſcoin* Wines to your Realms upon their proper Ships; ye ſhould not only have right great Plenty of Wines at better Prizes than it hath been accuſtomed to be ſold heretofore, with the Augmentation of your Cuſtoms, but alſo relieve *Flanders*, and the Emperor's Countries with Wines; whereby during the Wars, they ſhall be deſtitute, if they be not re-

‘ lieved by your Means. And beſides that, Sir, there ſhall ſo many *French* and *Britons* Ships reſort to your Realm, under Colour ‘ of your ſaid Licence and Liberty, that ye ſhall always have a ‘ good Country Security and Paine, to take their Ships, if they ‘ wol any Thing Enterprize againſt you.

‘ Finally, Sir, among other Devices and Capitulations, that we ‘ be now in making for the [Safety] and Surety of the Fiſhers, ‘ as well of *Flanders*, as of *France*, during this Herring Time, I ‘ [do intend] beſide the foreſaid Proviſions for the Safeguard of ‘ the Navy, to deviſe the Articles to be concluded by the mutual ‘ Conſent of both Parties; that not only your Subjects, with their ‘ Ships, Goods and Merchandizes, ſhall ſurely and ſafly paſs and ‘ repaſs through all Harbours under the Dominion of the Emperor and *French* King; but alſo, that no maner Ships, Strangers ‘ or others, ſhall be taken within their Streamys. By which Articles, the Liberty of your Stremys and Territories of the Sea ‘ ſhall be more largely extended, and amplified, as well by the ‘ Emperor's, as the *French* King's expreſs Conſents, by ſpecial Articles, than ever it was before. Which Articles alſo ſhall be a ‘ high Remedy for the Preſervation of your Navy, and free Liberty to be given thereby unto them, freely to paſs and repaſs ‘ to all Coaſts and Countries under the Dominions and Obeiſances ‘ of the ſaid Princes, without Damage.

But ſoon after this Letter of the Cardinal's to the King, wherein he laid down ſuch a Politick Scheme to be had with the Commiſſioners of the other King, to preſerve the King's and Merchants Ships, and the Trade to *Bourdeaux*; there were Letters ſent from Court to him, of great Spoil notwithſtanding done by the *French* to ſome *Engliſh* Ships. Which occaſioned another Letter from the Cardinal to the King, who now much required, and depended upon his Judgement. Therein alſo he gave his Majeſty his Thoughts about the Seizing theſe Ships; and alſo about Entring into another Truce with the *French* King, when as yet no open Rupture of the Amity was made; tho' there appeared too much tending thereto; and the King's Ambaſſadors at the *French* Court were not well uſed. And whereas Advice was taken, about deferring the ſending of Ships to *Bourdeaux* for ſome Time longer, till the latter Vintage; when there might be a Likelihood of ſafer Sailing; the Cardinal ſhewed his Reaſon, why he was againſt it. Becauſe, in all Probability, there would more Jealouſies ariſe upon the Emperor's coming into *England*, which was intended to be about that Time. Of all theſe Matters, thus the Cardinal ſhewed his Mind in his next Letter; after ſome Lines, thus proceeding:

The Cardinal to the King on this Occaſion.

‘ AND whereas your Grace doubteth not, but that I, with ‘ your Council here, [at *Calais*] had had ſo large Knowledge ‘ of the Damage of your Subjects, being daily deſpoiled on Sea, as ‘ ye have advertiſed me, ſince both I and they would have agreed ‘ with your Grace in one Opinion; Sir, Truth it is, that I had ‘ certain Knowledge of ſundry Deſpoils done upon the Sea by *French* ‘ Men, before I advertiſed your Grace of my ſaid poor Anſwer and ‘ Opinion for this *Burdeux* Voiage. Which, upon their Complaints, had good Redreſs and Reſtitution: Whereby I was moved to have the better Truſt. And ſince that Time, I received another Letter from your Secretary; wherein he writeth, that two Hulks, wherein certain Goods appertaining to *Engliſh* Men, were lately taken by *French* Men; the one being conveyed to *Boleyn*, and the other to *Frith* in *Scotland*.

‘And as touching the Hulk conveyed to *Boleyn*, ſurmiſed to appertain to *Birch*, wherein one *Roch* of *London* pretendeth to have Goods; I have cauſed ſome of your Council here, to hear the Complaints of the ſaid *Roch*. And albeit the ſaid *Roch* neither can, ne will juſtify the ſaid Hulk to appertain to *Birch*, yet he chalengeth certain Goods in her, whereof I doubt not, he ſhall have Reſtitution, if he can duely prove them to be his. And as unto the other Hulk carried into *Scotland*, I ſee no Remedy, but Letters to be deviſed and ſped by your Grace, to be ſent to the Council of *Scotland*, by the Parties dampnified there, to purſue for Reſtitution. And if they be *French* Men that have taken the Goods, then a Certificate to be made, of their Names and Dwelling Places, with a Specialty of the Goods taken, I ſhall endeavour my ſelf with the Chancellor of *France*, for Reſtitution to be made according to Juſtice. And this, in effect, be all the Deſpoils that I know newly done. Howbeit ſome other Purſuits have been made here, for Redreſs of Depredations done upon the Sea about *Midſummer*, and before: Which ſhall alſo be remedied in the Countries, where the Offendors dwell. For which Purpoſe, Letters be delivered by the Chancellor to the Parties Complainants.

‘This, Sir, like as we heretofore conformed our Opinions and Mind touching the Voiage of *Burdeux*, to your high Pleſure, ſo we eſtſones remit the ſame to your great Wiſdom.

‘And, Sir, to enquire of the *French* Men, why they take the *Eaſterlings* Hulks, it appertaineth not to me, as your Lieutenant. For if they will pretend Inimity to be betwixt the Merchants of *Danske* and them, your Grace may not conveniently let the ſame: Howbeit to reſtore your Subjects Goods being in them, I have and woll ſpeak accordingly.

‘And whereas your Secretary further writeth, that this firſt Vintage may be further reſpited and deferred, upon good Grounds, without Diſtruſt or Jealouſy, by Declaration of this manifold Deſpoylys, and cruel Intreaty of your Subjects upon the Sea, as well by *French* Men, as *Spaniards*; by reaſon whereof it may be ſaid, they abſtain from the ſaid Venture; like as to good Policy it appertaineth, for the Servation of themſelves, and Surety of their Goods; I think the ſame full good and reaſonable Conſiderations, if they take it well: Howbeit to defer that Voyage till the latter Vintage at *Candlemas*, ſo that by Vertue of a Treux to be taken here, they may then reſort thidder in Surety; Sir, under your Favour and Correction, your ſaid Subjects ſhall be in more Danger, going, than now: For if ſome Suſpicion and Diſtruſt be taken now by the *French* King, as your Grace judgeth by the ſtrange Entreaty of your Ambaſſador, it is to be ſuppoſed, that by that Time it ſhall be further ſpread and encreaſed. And ſo I ſay, that if the Treaty, not yet declared broken, the Placard, Safe Conduct, and all the other Remedies before touched, cannot now ſtand in ſtead; then the Abſtention of War, which may be as ſoon broken, if there be no Truſe, as all the other Aſſurance,

‘rance, cannot then prevail; eſpecially conſidering this Amity ſtanding yet unbroken betwixt you and the *French* King, no Treux can be taken betwixt you and him. For taking of a Treux, preſuppoſeth Rupture of Amity. And therefore this Treux muſt be only taken betwixt the Emperor and the *French* King, for the Indemnity of their Subjects: Which cannot help your Subjects. In Conſideration whereof, theſe Remedies now provided, may better ſerve at this Time, than the Abſtinence of War then, and eſpecially the Safe Conduct, comprized in the Placard for all your Subjects reſorting to *France*. Which is an aboundant Cautele; tho' the ſame, ſtanding the Amity, needed not.

‘Sir, If Princes accuſtomably obſerved their Safe Conducts to their Enemies in Time of open War, it is to be ſuppoſed they will not break it, ſtanding the Colour of Peace and Amity.

‘And on the other ſide, the Second Vintage is commonly in *February*, about the *Purification of our Lady*: In which Month it is included by Treaty, that the Emperor ſhall be with you in *England*: And then the Diſtruſt and Jealouſy ſhall be more largely impreſt in the *French* Mens Minds, than it is now. And albeit your Subjects might then go ſurely without Impeachment, yet it were not poſſible to bring Wine of the Second Vintage, to ſerve the Emperor at his coming into your Realms.

‘And whereas it is further written, that by this Treaty taken with the Emperor, it is ſufficiently provided for the Indempnity in the Penſion of *France* to be paid by the Emperor, if the *French* King refuſe to pay the ſame: Sir, the Matter dependeth upon your Declaration. And therefore, good it were to ſave the next Payment to be made by the *French* King, if it might conveniently be.

‘And whereas it is alledged, that my Doubt is ſolved by mine own Writing; whereas I ſuppoſe the *French* King ſhall not provoke your Enemity, but conſerve your Amity; Sir, if my Letter be well regarded, I writ that only conditionally, unleſs he be driven thereunto by Diſtruſt and Diffidence; and ſo that Doubt remaineth not unabſolved.

Cardinal Woolſey *to King* Henry VIII. *as it was before the Death of the Pope and his Endeavours to obtaine the Popedome.*

No 48. B. II. ch. 24. SIR, it may like your Highnes to underſtande I have this howre receyved Letters from your Orator Reſident in the Courte of *Rome* mentionyng howe the xiiith day of this Inſtant it pleaſed Allmyghty God to Call the Popes Holynes to his Mercy whoes Soule our Lord pardon, and in what Trayne the Matters there were at that time for Election of the Future Pope your Highnes ſhall perceyve by the Letters of your ſaid Orator which I ſend unto the ſame at this time whereby appereth that myne abſence from thence ſhall be the only obſtacle (if any be) in Election of me to that Dignitie, Albeit there is no greate Semblance that the Colledge of Cardinalles ſhall conſent upon any beyng there preſent, becauſe of the Factions that be amongs themſelves, for which cauſe though afore God I repute my ſelf right unmete and unhable to ſo high and Greate Dignitie deſiring moche rather to demore, continue, and ende my lyfe with your Grace for doying of ſuch poore Service as may be to your Honour and wealth of this your Realme then to be Popes, yet nevertheleſs remembryng what mynd and opinion your Grace was of at the laſt vacation to have me preferred thereunto, thinking that it ſhould be to the honour, benefit and advancement of your Affairs in tyme Comyng, and Suppoſing verely that your Highnes perſiſteth in the ſame mynd and Intent, I ſhall diviſe ſuch Inſtructions and Commiſſions and other Wrightyngs as the laſt Tyme was delivered to Mr. *Pace* for that purpoſe, and the ſame I ſhall ſend to your Grace by the next Poſt, whome it may like to do further therein as ſhall ſtande with your gracious pleaſure Whereunto I ſhall Always Conforme my ſelf accordingly and to the Intent it may appere further to your Grace what mynde and determination they be of towards myne advancement. Which as your Orators write have now at this preſent tyme the principall auctoritie and cheif Stroke in the Election of the Pope making in maner *Triumviratum*. I ſende unto your hignes their ſeveral Lettres to me addreſſed in that behalf beſeeching our Lord that ſuch one may be choſen as may be to the honor of God the weale of Chriſts Church and the Benefice of all *Chriſtendome*, and thus Jeſus preſerve your moſt noble and Royall Eſtate. At the *More*, the laſt Day of *December* by your

moſt humble Chapleyn.

From the Library of his Grace the Duke of Grafton *communicated by Mr.* Martyn.

T. Car'lis ebor.

To the Kings moſt Noble Grace Defenſor of the Feith.

Coll. N° 49. B. II. c. 24. To K. *Henry* 8th from Cardinal *Woolſey* touchinge his Election to the Popedome.

SIR, It may like your Grace to underſtonde that enſuing the Tenour of my Letters ſent unto your highnes yeſterday I have deviſed ſuch Commiſſions and Lettres to be ſent unto your Councellors the Biſhop of *Bath* and *Richard Pace* and Maſter *Thomas Haniball* jointly and ſeverally as at the laſt time of vacation of the papal dignitie were delivered unto the ſaid Maſter *Richard Pace* for the Preferrement either of me (or that failing) of the Cardinal *de medicis* unto the ſame which Lettres and Commiſſions if it ſtonde with your gracious pleaſure to have that matter ſet further it may like your Highneſs of your benigne Grace and Goodnes to ſigne, ſo to be ſent to the Courte of *Rome* in ſuch diligence as the Importance of the ſame with the brevitie of the tyme doth neceſſarily require and to the intente alſo that th' Emperor may the more effectually and ſpedely concur with your hignes for the furtherance thereof. Albeit I ſuppoſe verely that enſuying the Conferences and Communications which he hath had with your Grace in that behalf he hath not pretermitted before this Tyme to avaunce the ſame, yet nevertheleſs for the more acceleration of his Furtherance to be gyven thereunto I have alſo deviſed a Familiar Lettre in the Name of your Grace to be directed unto his Majeſtie which if it may pleaſe your Highneſs to take the payne for to note with your own hand putting thereunto your ſecrete ſigne and mark beyng between your Grace and the ſaid Emperour ſhall undoubtedly do ſingular benefice and Furtherance, to your gracious intent and vertuous purpoſe in that behalf beſeechyng Almighty God that ſuch Effect may enſue thereof as may be to his pleaſure, the Contentation of your Highneſs the Weale and exaltation of your moſt royal Eſtate, Realme, and Affairs, and however the matters ſhall chaunce, I ſhall no leſſe knowledge my ſelf bounden fere above any my deſerts unto your Highneſs then if I had attayned the ſame whereunto I would never in thought aſpire, but to do honor, good, and ſervice unto your noble perſon and this your Realm, and thus Jeſu preſerve your moſt noble and Royal Eſtate. At the *More*, the firſt Day of *October* by your

1523. *moſte humble Chapleyn.*

From the ſame Library, and by the ſame Hand. T. Car'lis ebor.

The ſame to King Henry VIIIth, *touching his miſſing of the Popedome and the Election of the Cardinal de Medicis, called* Clement *the* 7th.

Coll. N° 52. B. II. c. 24. SIR, after my moſt humble and lowly Recommendations this ſhall be only to advertiſe your Highnes that after grete and long altercation and contrarietie which hath depended between the *Cardinallis* in the Conclave they at the laſt reſolved fully and determined (the Faction of *France* abandoned) to Elect and chooſe either my Lord *Cardinall de Medicis*, or me, which deliberation comyng to the knowledge of the Nobles and Citizens of *Rome* they alledging that the Affaires of *Italy* being in the Trayne as they then were (it ſhould be to the extreme danger thereof to chooſe a perſon abſent) made ſundry greate acclamations at the Conclave Windowe whereby the Cardinalls beyng in fear not only of the Inconvenience like to inſue unto *Italy* but alſo of their own perſons albeit they were in manner principally bent upon me yet for eſchewing the ſaid Danger and murmur by inſpiration of the holy Goſte without further difficulty of buſynes the xixth day of the laſt month in the morning Elected and chooſe the ſaid *Cardinall de medicis* who immediately was publiſhed Pope and hath taken the Name of *Clement* viith, of which good and fortunate News Sir your Highnes hath moche cauſe to thank Allmyghty God. For as moche as not onely he is a parfite Friend and faithful to the ſame but that alſo moche the rather by your means he hath attayned to this and for my parte as I take God to Record I am more Joyous thereof than if it had fortuned upon my perſon knowing his excellent Qualities moſt mete for the ſame And how greate and ſure a Friend your Grace and th'Emperor be like to have of him, and I ſo good a Father, by whoſe aſſumption unto that digintie not only your and the ſaid Emperors Affairs but alſo all *Chriſtendome* ſhall undoubtedly come to moche better and more proſperous perfection, like as upon the firſt knowledge thereof the *Frenchmen* be all ready departed from *Myllayn* and paſſed a River towards *France* called *Tycino* truſting that the next News which ſhall come from thence ſhall be of their arrival at home, wherein as I ſhall have further knowledge ſo I ſhall advertiſe your Highnes thereof accordingly. And thus Jehu preſerve your moſt noble and Royal Eſtate. At my poore houſe beſides *Weſtminſter*. The vijth day of *December* by your

moſte humble Chapleyn.

From the Duke of Grafton's *Library communicated by Mr.* Martyn. T. Car'lis ebor.

Cardinal

Cardinal Woolſey's *Letter to* Rome, *for procuring the Popedom to himſelf, upon Pope* Adrian's *death.*

MY Lord of *Bath*, Mr. Secretary, and Mr. *Hannibal*, I commend me unto you in my right hearty manner; letting you wit, That by Letters lately ſent unto me from you my Lord of *Bath*, and Mr. *Hannibal*, dated at *Rome* the 14*th* day of *September*. Which Letters I incontinently ſhewed unto the King's Grace his Highneſs. And I have been advertiſed, to our great diſcomfort, That the ſaid 14*th* day, it pleaſed Almighty God to call the Pope's Holineſs unto his Infinite Mercy, whoſe Soul *Jeſu* pardon. News certainly unto the King's Grace and to me right heavy, and for the univerſal weal or quiet of *Chriſtendom*, (whereunto his Holineſs, like a devout and virtuous Father of Holy Church was very ſtudious) much diſpleaſant and contrarious; Nevertheleſs, conforming our ſelves to the Pleaſure of Almighty God, to whoſe Calling we all muſt be obedient; the Mind and Intention of the King's Highneſs, and of me both, is to put ſome helps and furtherances, as much as conveniently may be, that ſuch a Succeſſor unto him may now, by the Holy College of Cardinals, be named and elected, as may, with God's Grace, perform, atchieve, and fulfil the good and vertuous Purpoſes and Intents, concerning the Pacification of *Chriſtendom*; whereunto our ſaid late Holy Father, as much as the brevity of the time did ſuffer, was, as it ſhould ſeem, minded and inclined; which thing, how neceſſary it is to the ſtate of Chriſt's Religion, now daily more and more declining, it is facil and eaſie to be conſider'd; and ſurely amongſt other Chriſtian Princes, there is none which as ye heretofore have perfectly underſtood, that to this purpoſe more dedicated themſelves to give Furtherance, Advice, and Counſel, than the Emperor and the King's Grace, who as well before the time of the laſt Vacation, as ſithence, by Mouth and by Letters, with Report of Ambaſſadors and otherwiſe, had many ſundry Conferences, Communications, and Devices, in that behalf. In which it hath pleaſed them, far above my merits or deſerts, of their goodneſs, to think, judg, and eſteem me to be meet and able for to aſpire unto that Dignity; perſuading, exhorting, and deſiring me, that whenſoever opportunity ſhould be given, I ſhould hearken to their Advice, Counſel, and Opinion in that behalf; and offering unto me, to interpone their Authorities, Helps, and Furtherances therein to the uttermoſt. In comprobation whereof, albeit the Emperor, now being far diſtant from theſe Parts, could not, nor might in ſo brief time, give unto the King's Grace, new or freſh confirmation of his Purpoſe, Deſire, and Intent herein: Yet nevertheleſs my Lady *Margaret*, knowing the inclination of his mind in this ſame, hath, by a long diſcourſe made unto me ſemblable Exhortation; offering, as well on the Emperor's behalf, as on her own, that as much ſhall by them be done, to the furtherance thereof, as may be poſſible. Beſides this, both by your Letters, and alſo by particular moſt loving Letters of the Cardinal's *de Medicis, Sanctorum Quatuor & Campegius*, with credence ſhow'd unto me on their behalf, by their Folks here reſident, I perceive their good and faſt minds, which they, and divers other their Friends owe unto me in that matter. And finally, the King's Highneſs doth not ceaſe, by all the gracious and comfortable means poſſible to inſiſt, that I, for manifold, notable, urgent, and great reſpects, in any wiſe ſhall conſent that his Grace and the Emperor do ſet forth the thing with their beſt manner. The Circumſtances of whoſe moſt entire, and moſt firm mind thereunto, with their bounteous, godly, and beneficial Offers for the Weal of *Chriſtendom*, which his Grace maketh to me herein, is too long to rehearſe. For which Cauſes, albeit I know my ſelf far unmeet and unable to ſo high a Dignity, minding rather to live and die with his Grace in this his Realm, doing Honour, Service, Good or Pleaſure to the ſame, than now (mine old days approaching) to enter into new things; yet nevertheleſs, for the great zeal and perfect mind which I have to the exaltation of the Chriſtian Faith; the honour, weal, and ſurety of the King's Grace, and the Emperor, and to do my Duty both to Almighty God and to the World, I referring every thing to God's diſpoſition and pleaſure, ſhall not pretermit to declare unto you ſuch things, as the King's Highneſs hath ſpecially willed me to ſignify unto you, on his Grace's behalf, who moſt effectually willeth and deſireth you to ſet forth the ſame, omitting nothing that may be to the furtherance thereof, as his ſpecial truſt is in you.

Firſt, Ye ſhall underſtand, that the mind, and entire deſire of his Highneſs, above all earthly things, is, That I ſhould attain to the ſaid Dignity, having his perfect and firm hope, that of the ſame ſhall enſue, and that in brief time, a general and univerſal Repoſe, Tranquillity, and Quietneſs in *Chriſtendom*; and as great Renown, Honour, Profit, and Reputation to this Realm as ever was; beſides the ſingular comfort and rejoice that the King's Grace, with all his Friends and Subjects ſhould take thereof; who might be well aſſured thereby, to compone and order their great Cauſes and Affairs, to their high Benefit, Commodity, and moſt Advantage. For this, and other great and urgent Cauſes, the Pleaſure of his Highneſs is, That like as ye my Lord of *Bath*, and Mr. *Hannibal*, have right prudently and diſcreetly begun: ſo ye all, or as many of you as be preſent in the Court of *Rome*, and continue your Practices, Overtures, Motions and Labours, to bring and conduce this the King's inward Deſire to perfect end and effect.

And becauſe it is not to be doubted, but that before the receipt of theſe my Letters, ye having former Inſtructions, ſhall have far entred your Devices in this Matter, wherein the King's Grace truſteth ye do loſe no time or opportunity that poſſibly may be had; I ſhall therefore, briefly and compendiouſly touch ſuch this things, as the King's Highneſs would ye ſhould ſubſtantially note in this behalf.

One is, That albeit ye both before, and alſo now, know the King's mind and deſire herein, as is aforeſaid, taking that for your Foundation; yet nevertheleſs, foraſmuch as it appeareth by your ſaid Letters, and otherwiſe, that the *Cardinal de Medicis*, whoſe preferment (if this may not be had) both the King's Grace and I tendereth above all other, mindeth to experiment what may be done for himſelf, great policy and dexterity is in your Labours and Communications to be uſed, ſo that ye may firſt, by great enſearch and enquiry, perfectly underſtand, as nigh as may be, the Diſpoſition, Mind, Affection, and Inclination, as well of the ſaid *Cardinal de Medicis*, as of all the reſidue, if it be poſſible; which thing, well known, well pondor'd and conſider'd, ye ſhall thereby have a great light to the reſidue of your Buſineſs, wherein always ye muſt ſo order your ſelves, that the Matter appearing unto you much doubtful and uncertain, your particular practices (the deſired Intent peradventure failing) ſhall not be cauſe of diſpleaſure or unkindneſs to be noted by any that may be elected; and for your introduction herein, the King's Grace ſendeth unto you at this time two Commiſſions under his great Seal, the one couch'd under general words, without making mention of any particular Perſon; and in the other, his Highneſs hath made mention of me by ſpecial Name: Beſides that, ye ſhall receive herewith two Letters from his Grace to the College of Cardinals, with the Copies of the ſame; the one in ſpecial recommendation of me, and the other in favour of the *Cardinal de Medicis*; beſide ſuch other particular Letters in my recommendation to certain Cardinals, and other, as by the Copies of them herewith encloſed ye ſhall now perceive. After the receipt thereof, if the Cardinals before that time ſhall not be entred into the Conclave, ye taking your Commodity, as by your Wiſdom ſhall be thought moſt expedient, ſhall deliver unto the *Cardinal de Medicis*, the King's Letters, and mine to him addreſſed, ſhewing unto him, with as good words and manner as ye can, that for his great Virtue, Wiſdom, Experience, and other commendable Merits, with the entire love and favour which the King's Grace and I bear unto him, thinking and reputing him moſt meet and able to aſpire unto the Papal Dignity before all other. Ye have Commandment, Commiſſion, and Inſtruction, ſpecially and moſt tenderly, to recommend him unto the whole College of Cardinals, having alſo the King's and my Letters to them in his favour; upon which Declaration ye ſhall perceive his Anſwer to be made unto you in that behalf; whereupon, and by knowledg of the Diſpoſition of the Reſidue, ye may perceive how to govern your ſelves in the delivery of the reſt of your ſaid Letters; for in caſe it may evidently appear unto you, that any of the Cardinals, to whom the King's Letters be directed, have firmly eſtabliſh'd their minds upon the ſaid *Cardinal de Medicis*, the more circumſpection is to be uſed with any ſuch in the delivery to him of the King's Letters, and overture of the ſecretneſs of your minds touching me; conſidering, that if the King's Intent might in no wiſe take effect for me, his Grace would, before all other, advance and further the ſaid *Cardinal de Medicis*. Nevertheleſs, if either by his Anſwer to be made unto you, or by other good knowledg, ye ſhall perceive that he hath ſo many Enemies herein, that of likelihood he cannot attain the ſame, ye may be the more bold to feel his mind how he is inclin'd towards me; ſaying, as indeed the King's Grace hath written unto him, That in caſe he ſhould fail thereof, the King's Highneſs would inſiſt, as much as to his Grace were poſſible, for me; which ye may ſay were in manner one thing, conſidering that both the *Cardinal de Medicis* and I bear one mind, zeal, and ſtudy, to the Weal and Quiet of *Chriſtendom*, the Increaſe and Surety of *Italy*, the Benefit and Advancement of the Emperor's and the King's Majeſty's Cauſes; and I being Pope, he in a manner (whom I above all Men love, truſt, and eſteem) were Pope, being ſure to have every thing according to his mind and deſire, and as much Honour to be put unto him, his Friends and Family, as might be deviſed in ſuch wiſe: That by theſe and other good words and demonſtrations, ye may make him ſure, as I think he be, that failing for himſelf, he with all his Friends do their beſt for me; and ſeeing no likelihood for him, ye may then right-well proceed to your particular labour and practices for me, delivering the King's Letters, both to the College of Cardinals, and to the other, apart, as ye ſhall ſee the caſe then to require; and ſolliciting them, by ſecret labours, alleadging and declaring unto them my poor Qualities, and how I having ſo great experience of the Cauſes of *Chriſtendom*, with the entire Favour which the Emperor and the King's Grace bear unto me; the knowledg alſo, and deep Acquaintance of other Princes, and of their great Affairs; the ſtudious mind that I have ever been in, both to the Surety and Weal of *Italy*, and alſo to the Quiet and Tranquility of *Chriſtendom*; not lacking, thanked be God, either Subſtance or Liberality to look largely upon my Friends; beſides the ſundry great Promotions, which by election of me ſhould be vacant, to be diſpoſed unto ſuch of the ſaid Cardinals, as by their true and faſt Friendſhip had deſerved the ſame; the loving Familiarity alſo which they ſhould find in me; and that of my Nature I am not in great diſpoſed to rigour or auſtereneſs, but can be contented, thanked be God, frankly, pleaſantly, and courteouſly, to participate, diſpoſe, and beſtow, ſuch things as I have, or ſhall come to my diſpoſition, not having any ſuch Faction, Family, or Kinſman, to whom I might ſhew any partiality in beſtowing the Promotions and Goods of the Church; and which is higheſt to be regarded, that is likely and in manner ſure, that by my means, not only *Italy* ſhall be put in perfect ſurety for ever, but alſo a final reſt, peace, and quiet, now moſt neceſſary eſtabliſhed betwixt all Chriſtian Princes; whereupon the greateſt and moſt notable Expedition might be made againſt the Infidels that hath been heard of many Years. For the King's Highneſs in that caſe would be contented, and hath fully promiſed, God willing, to come in Perſon, when God ſhall ſend time, unto *Rome*; whither alſo I ſhould not doubt to bring many more of the Chriſtian Princes, being determined, if God ſhould ſend me ſuch Grace, to expone mine own Perſon in God's Quarrel; by means of which my preſence many things ſhould be ſtated, that for Superioty and otherwiſe, in times paſt, hath been occaſion of diſagreement amongſt Princes; Albeit peradventure the greateſt reſpect ſhall not now be had hereunto, nor this be the beſt Elective to win the Cardinal's Favour; wherein you muſt therefore uſe your ſelf by your wiſdoms, as you ſhall ſee the time, ſeaſon, and care to require; aſſuring them, for the removing of the doubt in changing of the See, or not ſpeedy repair thither; that after the Election once paſſed and notified to me, I would not fail, by God's Grace, within three months to be in *Rome*; there, and in the parts thereabout, to remain during my Life, whereof ye may make faithful aſſurance. By theſe, and other good means and promiſes on the King's behalf of large Rewards, which his Highneſs referreth to your diſcretion, and is contented to perform that which ye do therein; It is not to be doubted but that you ſhall obtain the Favours of many of them; ſo as if reſpect may be had to the Honour of the See Apoſtolic, and the Surety of *Italy*, the Tranquility of *Chriſtendom*, the Defence of the ſame againſt the Infidels, the Exaltation of the Faith, the Perſecution of Chriſt's Enemies, the Increaſe and Weal of the College of Cardinals, with their Advancement and Promotion; gentle, frank, and liberal entertainment of them, and generally to the benefit of all Holy Church. The King's Grace ſuppoſeth his mind and deſire herein, with all your good means, diligence, and ſollicitations, is not unlike to take good effect; wherein, for the more authority, and better conducing of your purpoſe, the pleaſure of his Grace is, That you join with the Emperor's Ambaſſadors, as far as you may ſee and perceive them to favour this the King's Intent, like as his Grace thinketh, that according to the often Conferences, Communications, Promiſes, and Exhortations made by the Emperor to me in this behalf, and according to my ſaid Lady *Margaret*'s deſire or offer, they have commandment to do. In the politick handling of all which Matters, the King's Highneſs putteth in you his ſpecial truſt and confidence, ſo to order your ſelf in the Premiſes, as you ſhall perceive to accord with the inward deſire of his Grace, and the ſtate and diſpoſition of the thing there; for which purpoſe his Grace hath furniſhed you at this time, jointly or ſeverally, with two ſundry Commiſſions, the one general for me, and in my favour, by the which you have ample Authority to bind and promiſe, on the King's behalf, as well gift of Promotions, as alſo as large ſums of Mony to as many, and ſuch as you ſhall think convenient; and as ſure ye may be, whatſoever ye ſhall promiſe, bind his Grace, and do in that behalf, his Highneſs will inviolably obſerve, keep and perform, the other ſpecial, as afore Letters to the College of two effects, the one for the *Cardinal de Medicis*, and the other for me, with other particular Letters in my favour; all which his pleaſure is, That you ſhall uſe in manner and form aforeſaid; that is to ſay, If you ſhall perceive the Affair of the *Cardinal de Medicis* to be in ſuch perfect train, that he is like to have the ſame Dignity, ye then proceed to that which may be his furtherance, uſing nevertheleſs your particular labour for me, if you think it may do good, after ſuch ſort as ye ſhall not conceive any ingratitude or unkindneſs therein. And if you may ſee that the ſaid *Cardinal de Medicis* be not in ſuch great likelihood thereof; then conſidering, that the King's Grace and I, think verily he will do his beſt for me, ye ſhall effectually ſet forth your practices for attaining and winning as many Friends for me as poſſible may be, delivering your Letters for the Intent, as you ſhall ſee cauſe. Wherein you being now furniſhed for both Purpoſes, and alſo having one of the Commiſſions general and indifferent, without any Perſon therein ſpecially recommended, things be to be done or omitted, as you ſhall know to ſtand with the ſtate or commodity of the Affairs there, and with the Ground of the King's Mind to you now declared, which ſhall be your beſt and perfect Inſtruction; and as you ſhall do or know herein, ſo the King's Grace deſireth you often and ſpeedily to advertiſe me, by your Letters, having no doubt but that his Highneſs will ſee your travels, diligence, and pains in this behalf, ſo to be conſidered, as you ſhall have cauſe to think the ſame well employed and beſtowed.

And my Lord of *Bath*, as you do know well, becauſe Mr. *Pace*, at the time of the laſt Vacation, was ſent purpoſely from hence with Commiſſion and Inſtruction for that Matter; the King, and I, ſuppoſing that upon knowledg of this news, he being at *Milan*, would incontinently repair unto *Rome*; hath therefore made the foreſaid Commiſſions, and alſo this Letter to be directed unto you, jointly and ſeverally willing you, in ſuch ſubſtantial and diſcreet wiſe to proceed in that Matter, not forbearing any thing that may be to the furtherance thereof, as his Grace, and my ſpecial Truſt, is in you: And thus moſt heartily fare you well. At my Mannor of *Hampton-Court*, the *4th* day of *October*.

The reſt is the Cardinal's own Hand.

MY Lord of *Bath*, the King hath willed me to write unto you, That his Grace hath a marvellous Opinion of you; and you knowing his mind as you do, his Highneſs doubteth not but this Matter ſhall be by your Policy ſet forth in ſuch wiſe, as that the ſame may come to the deſired effect, not ſparing any reaſonable Offers, which is a thing, that amongſt ſo many needy Perſons is more regarded, than per-caſe the Qualities of the Perſon; ye be wiſe, and ye wot what I mean; truſt your ſelf beſt, and be not ſeduced by fair words, and ſpecially of thoſe which (ſay what they will) deſire more their own preferment than mine. Howbeit, great dexterity is to be uſed; and the King thinketh that all the Imperials ſhall be clearly with you, if Faith be in the Emperor. The young Men, which for the moſt part being needy, will give good ears to fair Offers, which ſhall be undoubtedly performed; the King willeth you neither to ſpare his Authority, or his good Mony, or Subſtance. You may be aſſured, whatſoever you promiſe ſhall be performed; and our Lord ſend you good ſpeed.

Your loving Friend,

T. Cardinalis Eborac.

A Copy of my Lords Legats Letter ſent to the Ambaſſadors att Rome *upon knowledge of the Popes election.*

Coll. N° 51. B. II. c. 24. (ad P. 522.) E Bibl. Yelverton.

THIS Letter was written to the Biſhop of *Bathe* being Ambaſſador at *Rome* immediatlie upon Election of Pope *Clement* whereas the ſaid Biſhop had inſtructions to congratulate with him both in the name of the King and the Cardinall and withall in caſe poſſible to practiſe with the ſame Pope to bring him to joyne with the Emperor and the King againſt *Francis* the *French* King againſt whome they had joyntly begunne this warre.

My Lord of Bathe *Mr. Secretary and Mr.* Hanniball.

I Recommend me unto you in my right heartie manner ſince my writeinge unto you, I have at ſundry tymes receyved your Letters of the laſt of *October* and nyneteenth of *November* wherein to the Kings and my good and full contentation yee have right dilligently advertiſed me of ſuch Things comeing to your knowlege as have ſucceded in thoſe parts, as well concerning the Cardinalls then being in conclave as otherwiſe, And how after long altercations and ſundrie contrarietys which ſeemed to be amongſt the Cardinalls, Att laſt by the grace and inſpiration of the holie Spiritt they agreed and condiſcended upon my Lord *Cardinall de Medeces* whome the ſaid nyneteenth daie they elected and publiſhed Pope takeing him the name of *Clement* the ſeaventh with other matters mentioned and compriſed in your ſaid letters more at large for the which your ſubſtantial good and ſpeedie advertiſements by me always ſhewed and declared unto the Kings highneſs his grace and I give unto you moſt ſpeciall and heartye thankes, namely for the deſired newes of the ſaid Election which

I aſſure you to bee as much to the Kings and my rejoyce conſolation and gladneſs as poſſibly may bee deviſed or imagined for which cauſe his highneſs and I (in ſigne token and comprobation of the ſinguler comforte which wee take in the ſame, not abydeing nor tarrying for any intimation to bee made thereof either by the Popes holyneſs now elect, or by the College of Cardinalls) thought convenient and requiſite with dilligence to ſpeede unto you letters congratulatory directed unto the Popes holyneſs whereby the ſame may perceive the entire love and moſt cordial affection that his grace and I contynually beare unto him, which letters congratulatory being herewith, you the effect ſhall perceive by the Coppies of the ſame here incloſed the Kings mynde and pleaſure is that yee (taking a convenient tyme for that purpoſe) ſhall in due requiſite and moſt loving manner preſent and deliver unto the Popes holyneſs that is to ſaie.

Firſt the Kings letters and afterwards myne, makeing ſuch humble hartie filiall and obedient commendations on the behalf of his grace, and of me aparte, as to the moſt entire affection and devoute mynd which hee beareth unto his holyneſs, you doe know to bee for either of us meete convenient and concordant, After the reading whereof yee ſhall ſhew and declare unto his holyneſs att length, what joy comfort and gladnis it is both to the Kings highneſs and me, to perceive and underſtand that once in our lives it hath pleaſed God of his great goodneſs to provide and ſend ſuch a paſtor and governor unto his Church, as his Grace and I have long and inwardlie deſired; Who for his vertue, Wiſdome and other high and noteable quallityes meritts and deſerts wee have alwaies reputed the moſt worthy and able perſon in this World to aſpire and be called to that dignity. And for my part I have in this behalfe attayned that thing which I have intirely and cordially long'd for and deſired, Aſſureing you that I cannot with my tongue or penn expreſſe the inward joy which I have taken and doe take to ſerve, for ſurelie beſides the manifold perticuler cauſes moveing the Kings highneſs and me moſt ſpecially to deſire the exaltation weale and comfort of ſo faithfull and ſo conſtant a Freind as his holyneſs hath bene ever unto us, haveing firme and undoubtful hope, that the ſincere love and conſtant affection heretofore, ſurelie eſtabliſhed rooted and knitt, is and ſhall bee for ever moſte aſſuredlie permanent and indiſſolute on either parte, his grace and I conſider the preſent Calamityes trobles diſſentions Jarrs varyances diſcords wherewith *Chriſtendome* is all over vexed afflicted and inquieted, beſides many other enormyties Perills dangers and miſcheives whereby the ſtate thereof is greatly and pitiouſly compelled to declyne, for the ſuccour of which infirmityes none ſo apt and convenient a medycine would have been exhibited in this ſtormy ſeaſon, as by the proviſion of God to have a Pope and head, which both may can and will endeavour himſelfe to repaire and reſtore the ſame unto the due perfection, whoſe aſſumption is undoubtedly to be reputed a due gift of God onely, and an act moſt fortunate and gracious and chanced in a moſt convenable tyme and ſeaſon, for which the Kings grace and I have given and doe give unto the Almightie God as loveing thankes as may bee. And yee may aſſure his holyneſs that the Kings grace (like an obedient and moſt loveing ſonne) and as a moſt pious and vertuous prince (will not faile effectuallie firmely and conſtantly to joyne and concurre with him, in all things which may ſound to his honor weale and ſurety, the tranquillity quiett and repoſe of *Chriſtendome* offering his Graces authoritie puiſſance Releave and blood for the furtherance thereof to the uttermoſt, like as I alſo as a moſte devout and aſſured member of his ſhall not faile to imploy my witt ſtudie perſon ſubſtance and life to doe unto his holyneſs all the ſervice and pleaſure to me poſſible as by the contynuall experience of the ſame ſhall aſſuredlie prove from time to time whenſoever and ſo ſoone as the caſe ſhall require, All which matters yee ſhall extend with the beſt moſt hartye and loveing words and demonſtrations that you can deviſe in ſuch wiſe as his holyneſs may thereby perceive the aſſured mynd and cordiall affection which the Kings grace and I doe beare unto the ſame. Over thys yee ſhall ſhew unto the Popes holyneſs that albeit the Kings highneſs was reſolved and determyned that his Army being in *France*, haveing there right good ſucceſſe with honorable victory ſhould have remeyned there all this winter haveing made their waye and entrye into the bowells of *France* without reſiſtance, the Towne of *Aucree* neere to the river of *Zone* taken bee dedition and the caſtles and walls throwne downe, the towne of *Bray* ſituate upon the ſaid River mightily fortified and by the enemy valiantly defended, by ſtrength gotten and acquired and the ſaid Enemys by their loſſe profligated, The Towne of *Mount Lidder* ſix leagues beyond the ſaid river, after approaches fire and batterye made thereunto, wherein were *Pontremy* and divers noblemen with 5000 footmen and 500 ſpeares furniſhed by them after a conflict made wherein were taken Mounſieur *Dannavile* and two other great men of Armes and as many ſlaine, beſides 60 footmen and 60 men att Armes and as many ſlayne by the Kings leivetenant to the uſe of the Kings highneſs as parcell of his inheritance of his Realme of *France* rendered and delivered the Townes of *Roy* and   with other Townes and Caſtles alſo taken And the ſaid Armye being upon waie of *Travers* of the Realme of *France* towards the Towne called *Larm* in *Lamoges* where they ſhould be in convenyente readyneſs both to proceed ſtrayte to *Paris*, alſo to joyne with the Duke of *Burbon*, and ſuch as with the 10000 Lance Knights being at the Kings charge hee had with him for which purpoſe alſo the number of 8000 freſh Soldiers horſemen and footmen were prepared for their inforcement and paſſed on their way unto *Dover* and other places on the Sea coaſt readie to take paſſage; The Kings Army being alſo ſufficiently and amply furniſhed of mony for there contynuance and the ſome of 100000 crownes ſent unto *Ray Samſon* for the payment of the Lance Knights from moneth to month ſoe as on the Kings part nothing was loſt or pretermitted which ought or conveniently might have beene done for the contynuance of this Winter warr, whereby the Enemy diſturber of the quiet in *Chriſtendome* might the rather bee inforced to know and informe himſelfe or els ſuffer ſo largelye that his timerity ſhoulde thereby be mittigated and repreſſed, yet ſuch fervent colds reigned att that tyme with other divers incomodiate weather, That firſt the Lance Knights being under the leading of the County *Felix*, and ready to joyne with the Duke of *Burbon*, partly by means thereof and partlie (as is aforeſaid) by corruption abandoned the Feilde, and after a great bounty taken, retyred into their Countryes, and that Army thereby at thys time clearly diſſolved. The Duke of *Burbon* alſo paſſed towards *Spaine* by the way of *Italie* and over that the horſes and the beaſts which drew the

Kings and Emperors Artilleryes and other carriages dyed daily and nyghtlye in ſuch number that there remeyned not enough in dry weather to remove the ſame and contynuing two or three dayes longer they ſhould have beene fayne to leave the ſaid Artillery for lack of Carriage which could not then for a long ſeaſon have been recovered, Men alſoe paſſing by the waye as well *Engliſhmen* as *Burgomans*, periſhed for cold in ſo great number that a pitty it was to ſee. And finally there was ſuch lacke and default in payement of the *Burgomans* that for that and other conſiderations before ſpecified the Duke of *Suffolke* and Counte *De Buren* leaders of the common Army for the King and Emperor could ſee no other remedy but for a tyme to withdrawe themſelves in ſome ſure place in Townes for releiſe and ſuccour of their men and beaſts or els utterly to looſe the ſame, leave the Artillery and putt the common Affaire in extreame hazard like as they by common aſſent retyred unto *Valentia* takeing alſo in their way certayne Caſtles and places of *Boyhen* and *Beonerroy* which being delivered by the Duke of *Suffolke* to the *Burgomans* to bee kept to the Kings uſe were ſince by the ſaid *Burgomans* abandoned and forſaken And findeing the tyme of the yeare clearlye unſeaſonable of new to proceed and retorne unto the Enemyes Countrye they by mutuall accorde agreed to diſcharge their ſaid Armyes till the begynning of the next ſpring of the yeare leaveing every thing in ſuch ſtate and order as they may then right ſpeedylie bee ready to proceed again unto their enterpriſes, and foraſmuch, as the ſaid Armye being beyond the Sea, chanced the death of the Pope *Adrian*, and the Election of the Popes Holyneſ being unto that dignity by meanes whereof it is uncertaine what further direction ſhallbe taken for his holyneſ and ſtates of *Italie* for the yeare now enſeweinge and comeing eſpeciallie the affaires of the Dutchy of *Millayne* being in better trayne then they were, It is thought by his Kings Highneſs and his councel neceſſary and requiſite, that yee ſhewing unto the Popes holynes the ſaid ſucceſs's with the firme and conſtant mynd which the Kinges grace is of, to perfect theis other victories with, in caſe other princes, to whome as well for their perticular cauſes as their tranquillity of all *Chriſtendome* it apperteyneth, will doe the ſemblable ſhall deſyre his holynes to aſſertine his highneſs of his mynde in this behalfe, ſhewing unto him not onely the vertuous groundes, why their common enterpriſes bee attempted againſt him who by his inordinate ambition annoys and infects all *Chriſtendome* and how much the repreſſing of him ſhall ſound to the pleaſure of God the weale of Chriſts Church, the ſuretie of the Popes holyneſs and of all *Italie*, which have beene the principall cauſes moveing the Kings grace, to expreſſe his labour, travaile payne ſubjects and aſſiſtance with his ſubſtance, for reformation thereof, but alſo ſuch thinges as for this preſent tyme bee thought good and profitable to perſecute warr againſt the common enemy which bee theis.

Firſt the honourable grounds moveing the Emperor and the King now laſt into theis warrs of *France*.

Secondly the firme conjunction which is contracted betweene the Emperor and the King.

Thirdlie the baſe eſtate whereunto the *French* King is brought being exhauſt of mony and his ſubjects not able to contribute more unto him.

Fourthly his horſemen greatlye deminiſhed without likelyhood how he may repayre them.

Fiftly the revolting from him of the Duke of *Burbon* haveing 500 Gentlemen in *France* ſworne unto his parte.

Sixtly the mindfull hatred that the *French* King hath amongſt all his commons, the feare that he is in by the diſtruſt of his Lords, not knowing which of them are his Freindes or his enemies, The doubt leaſt that the *French* King hath amongſt all his commons (not being preſſed) may gather freinds and fortifie places now weake which afterwards by peace may be impregnable The diſhonor which the *French* King hath taken in *Italie* the conſideration between the ſtates of *Italie* the abandoning of the *French* King by the *Venetians* by reaſon of the new elected Pope ſhall declare themſelves more ſincerlie for the Emperor and the Kings grace then before, The way and meanes found on this ſide for entring the Bowells of *France* without beſeigeing any ſtrong places the example of ſmall reſiſtance againſt the Duke of *Suffolke* and ſemblablye againſte the Emperour on that ſide on *Spaine*, and faculty to winne the peoples favours, the diſcourage of the *French* King by diſappointment of the *Scottiſh* invaſion and flying of the Duke of *Albany*, The anoyance already done to the *Scotts* not being mynded or able to contynue their warres, the readyneſs wherein the Emperor and Kinges Shipps, Artillery and Ordinance is in, The goodlye ſommes of mony granted to the Emperour and the King by their Lords and Commons, the likelyhood that the *French* King once preſſed ſhall not bee able of a long ſeaſon to bee againe ſoe Inſolent, whereby an end ſhall bee of the warrs in *Chriſtendome* for many a day, And finally the great incertainty which is to be reckoned in obeiſance of any conventions to bee made by the *French* Kinge concerning the ſame peace or truce, which hee will noe longer obſerve then ſhall bee for his owne benefitt.

Theis thinges well and ſubſtantiallye conſidered, the Kings ſpeciall truſt is that the Popes holyneſs, (who hath alwayes hadd fervent inclynation to thoſe matters, as to a virtuous Cardinall and honorable member of Chriſts Church apperteyneth) will (now that it hath pleaſed almighty god to conſtitute and ordeyne him to bee head of the ſame) no leſſe tender the weale and quiett of *Chriſtendome* then hee hath hitherto bene moſte deſirous therof Which ſhall bee the higheſt merritt and honor that in this his begynning his holyneſs may or can attayne. Wherefore the Kings inſtant deſyre is to know aſſuredly whereunto his grace may truſt, and what expectation his highneſs may have of perfect favour and effectual aſſiſtance from thoſe parts, without any more outward demonſtrations to bee made therein then ſhall bee entirely and ſinceerly accompliſhed, for aſyet hitherto the Kinges grace for the inward zeale which hee hath to the weale of *Chriſtendome*, hath in a manner borne the moſt and weightieſt burthen of theis warrs, and moſt effectualye hath proceeded unto the ſame obſerveing all promiſſes without varyance, delay or alteration, others have bene more ſlack and remiſſe then ſhall bee now convenient or needfull to rehearſe, and hitherto noe profitt hath come unto his hignes, but onely honorable renowne for his gratious and vertuous mynde and intent, though other bee in ſtate and condition more meete, to their purpoſe, praſe and hearken to a perpetuall peace which in proceſſe ſhallbee but a colour and ſhaddow of goodneſs rather then that thing whereof may come in the iſſue a perfect and general eſtabliſhment of reſt and peace in all *Chriſtendome.*

The premiſſes well and ſubſtantiallye conſidered it ſhall not onely bee A vertuous and meritorious but alſoe a faithfull Act for the Popes holyneſs to declare his full mynde reſolution and intent plainly herein to the kings grace (who hath alwayes bene inclyned to doe unto the holy Church And perticularly to the Pope now being, as much honor, as hath bene in the faculty and power of his grace) who may by ſuch loveing knowlege as ſhall be given unto him by the Popes holyneſs, order and trayne his weighty matters and cauſes accordingly: For his holyneſs after ſoe many gratitudes to the holy Sea Apoſtolique heretofore, moſt largely extended, is now deſirous and mynded to experiment and ſee what correſpondency ſhall bee ſhewed unto his grace for recovery of ſuch portions as belong to his moſt mightie tytles and inheritance deteyned and withholden by the common enemye, like as to pollicy, wiſdome, and good reaſon doth apperteyne, and to the intent that ſemblable knowlege may bee had of the myndes intents and diſpoſitions, as well of the *Venetians* as alſo of the Duke of *Millaine* how they will concurre for the anoyance of the enemy, The kings mynd is either by your ſpeciall letters to bee ſent unto *Venice*, or by ſuch other good meanes as you ſhall think convenient yee doe enſearch know and underſtand the inclination mynd and reſolution of the *Venetians*, which hadd the kings hignes is contented that Mr. Secretarie and Mr. *Hanniball* in conſideration of your long demurrs in theis parts ſhall retorne home, paſſinge by the Duke of *Millaine* for knowlege of his intent and mynde in the premiſſes for which purpoſe letters of Credence ſhall bee a ſufficient inſtruction for you in ſuch thinges as ſhall be needful to be commanded at this tyme.

Furthermore yee ſhall on the Kinges behalf ſhew unto the Popes holyneſs, that if the ſame be mynded to eſtabliſh and ſorther univerſall peace in *Chriſtendome*, none ſoe good or convenyent way or means can bee deviſed to compell the common enemye to come unto honorable and reaſonable conditions, as att thys tyme to preſſe him earneſtly and by all wayes poſſible. Wherefore amongſt other anoyances to be done unto him as well on that ſyde as of the Countryes of *Spaine* and on this ſyde, It ſhall be in any wayes requiſite and expedient, that the Duke of *Burbon* (whereſoever he bee at this preſent tyme either in *Italie Spaine* or elſewhere) ſhall with all poſſible and convenient diligence repayre ſtriaght hither to the kinges grace with whome his higneſs is mynded to conclude on the Emperours behalf and his owne ſuch notable thynges for anoyance of his ſaid enemyes as (God willing) ſhall bee for the high furtherance of the common cauſe and affaires, And for that cauſe you ſhall deſire his holyneſs to putt his hand and helpe, that in any wiſe the ſaid Duke of *Burbon* may repayre hither (as is aforeſaid) and ſolemnlye if he remeyne in thoſe parts, you may confer with him as well upon his ſpeedie comeing as alſo to aſſure

that

that the kinges highneſs wilbe gladd and very joyous to ſee him within this Realme being mynded to accept and enterteyne him in moſt kinde and loveinge manner, and to take ſuch way with him by the Emperors conſent concurrence and agreement for the enterpriſes to bee atchieved and done withall diligence as ſhall be to his moſt ſuretye, honor, and weale, whereas if he ſhould refuſe to come unto the kings grace for order to bee taken in the preſent affaires his highneſs is not mynded to charge himſelf further then hee hath done, for any aſſiſtance to be given unto the ſaid Duke, And thus by all good meanes to you poſſible you ſhall advance and ſollicitt, as well with the Popes holyneſs as otherwiſe that no tract or deley bee uſed therein, but that to avoyd loſſe of tyme (which cannott be recovered) the ſaid Duke may accelerate his comeing into this Realme and in caſe after the thing perfected with the Kinges grace he ſhall think good to paſſe into *Spaine* yet the moſt requiſite waie for the ſubſtantiall promoting of all the common affaires were to paſſe by the kinges grace, if hee bee not paſſed already out of *Italie* aſſerteyneing you that the kinges highneſs hath ſemblably written unto the Emperor, that if before the arrivall of thees letters the ſaid Duke ſhall have fortund to taken the Sea towards *Spaine*, the Emperor ſhall upon his comeing to him cauſe him to uſe all poſſible diligence in his comeing hither like as I am ſure the Emperor knowing the importunity of the matter will doe accordinglye Albeit that in the beginning of this letter it is mentioned that the kinges grace not abydeing nor tarrying any intymation to bee made by the Popes holyneſs of his election, doth ſend now his letters congratulatory (as is aforeſaid) yet neverthelesſ I advertiſe you to bee kept unto your ſelf, that I have receyved with convenient diligence att ſeveral tymes, not onely your letters of the third day of *December* but alſo of the 18th of the ſame.

In the firſt was conteyned matter of right good effect, whereat the kinges highneſs and I take ſinguler rejoyce and comfort, to heare and perceive the Popes holyneſs was of ſoe good mynd and inclynation towards the Emperor and the kinges affaires, myndeing either to concurre with him effectually in caſe hee may bee advertiſed they intend to contynue and proſecute the warrs after this winter Or els if the Emperor be not able ſoe to doe, his holyneſs doeing ſecretlie as much as hee ſhould bee bound to doe (if hee as Pope did enter the league) would keepe himſelf in ſuch ſtate as hee might bee mediator. That after the *French* King ſhould offer ſuch peace unto them both as ſhould ſtande with their honor, wherein his Holineſs then (as yee affirmed) had great hope with other good matters conteyned in your ſaid former letters, howbeit the laſt ſeeme to bee of another ſorte conſidering that (as yee write) his Holineſs giveth to much hearkening unto the *French* Cardinalls with other matters therein conteyned ſoundeing rather to an appearance of overmuch inclynation to the *French* party and their practiſes and abuſes then unto his firme adhereing unto the Kinge and Emperor. Wherefore the Kinges highneſs and I not a little marvaile, haveing made thes our ſpecial truſt and confidence, that upon your declaration unto him of the kinges mynde and intent, with the great reaſons, and urgente conſiderations ſpecified before in our letters why the common enemye ſhall be earneſtlie preſſed without which he will never be induced to any reaſonable poynte, his holyneſs enſewing that which hee wrotte in your former letters will effectually concurre with the Kinge and the Emperors, either declareing himſelf to accept the league, if the Emperor and King will contynue the warrs, and makeing alſo ſome new league with the kinges grace and the Emperor (as your ſaid letters purport) or els if the Emperor ſhall not be furniſhed for the ſaid contynuance to produce by pollicy an honorable and profitable peace (as is aforeſaid) for you may ſay unto his holyneſs that of all perſons liveing which might have aſpired unto this dignitye the kinges and my entire confidence is that none would or could bee more favorable unto the Emperor and kinges affayres then hee, And it were not honorable that his holyneſs (being Cardinall of the league with other things ſounding to the peachment of the common enemye) ſhould now being Pope find fault or exception att the ſame, And ſure may hee bee, that whatſoever practiſe of the *French* men, ſhall ſett forth with him, He ſhall find them but abuſes wherein his holyneſs hath good experience in tymes paſt knowing right well that they will neither obſerve nor keepe any of their conventions or promiſſes longer then ſhall ſtand with their comoditie and profitt Beſides his holyneſs not adhereing and concurring effectuallie with the King and Emperour it ſhould bee an occation for them to thinke no ſmall ingratitude for the ſame, And therefore their cauſes and affaires ſhould be greatlie hindered, and the reputation of the Emperor furthered greatly, who by that meanes ſhoulde bee further from any good or reaſonable way to bee taken then hee is now, and conſequentlye the enemy proſpring in *Italie*, and the king and the Emperor diſpayreing of the Popes entyre favor, what a danger as well the ſtate of his holyneſs as of all *Italie* were in, is plaine and eaſie to bee conſidered, The *French* King being alſo att ſuch ſore deale would thinke to have all his pleaſures and commands of the Pope which hadd or refuſed hee then haveing ſoe great a foote would and might uſe his holyneſs as a Chaplaine And finally the Pope not then ſoe well aſſured of the kinges and Emperors aſſiſtance as hee now is ſhould experiment what it were to caſte away two ſuch freinds which bee able and mynded to maynteyne conſerve and defend his eſtate to the uttermoſt The ſect alſo of the *Lutherans* might by meanes thereof the rather be accepted by divers ſubjects of the Emperor as well in *Almaine* as elſewhere which ſhould heare of the Popes ingratitude and peace; that might ſpread ſoe farr both in *France* and *Spayne* and *Italie* that the dignity of *Chriſts Church* might thereby in breiſe tyme bee ſuppreſſed, and hadd in ſmall reputation All which dangers with many more which might enſue for lack of the Popes effectuall joyneing att this tyme, with the king and Emperor either for warre or conduceing of peace (as is aforeſaid) yee muſt inſtantly beſeech his highneſs vertuouſlie and diſcreetly to ponder and remember, ſhewing unto the ſame that for knowledge what the Emperor is mynded and able to doe this ſommer for the anoyance of the enemy, his higneſs hath before this by me diſpatched his eſpetiall letters both to his Majeſtye and alſo to the Kinges Ambaſſador their reſident with intimation of the kinges mynde being right well able and thinkeing beſt that the enemye be earneſtly preſſed on both ſydes if the Emperor ſhould be furniſhed to doe the ſemblable for lack thereof yet there may bee ſuch an enterpriſe attempted and is deviſed to be done by the Duke of *Burbon* with the aſſiſtance hee ſhall have from the king and Emperor, without expreſſive charges, and praſe ſhall as much and more abaſe the *French* kinge, then if the kinges grace and Emperor had invaded *France* in their owne perſons with their Armyes royall to which purpoſe the kings highneſs hath not onely inſtructed his Ambaſſadors reſident with the Emperor lookeing right ſhortlie for the Emperors anſweare and reſolution therein, with repaireing hither of the Duke of *Burbon*, but alſo hath written to the Lady *Margaret* deſireing her to call a Councell generall like as the kings highneſs doth heere the ſemblable and to know and underſtand what they will contribute and what ſhee and other the Emperors lowe countryes bee mynded to doe in thes behalf; wherefore yee ſhall exhort the Popes holyneſs in any wiſe to leave and forbeare any demonſtration of favor, and inclynation towards the *French* parte ſhewing himſelſe firme and conſtant in his love and affection towards the Emperor and the kinges cauſe which ſhall bee the next meanes and way to make the *French* King to make overture and offer of reaſonable conditions, and much the rather if his holyneſs will declare himſelf in the league, whereas by the contrary hee ſhall bring the enemye to ſuch elation that uſeing firſt crafty practiſes and ſubornations with the Popes holyneſs againſt whome undoubtedlie hee beareth in his heart an old rooted ſecrett and hidden mallice, and ſetting the leſſe by the Emperor, and the kinges grace, hee ſhall at the laſt findeing tyme and opportunity diſcover his peſtiferous intent to the utter ruyne, ſlander and oppreſſion as well of the dignity of the Church of *Rome*, as alſoe of the ſtate of *Italie* for ever And therefore if the Popes holyneſs bee mynded to bee the Author of a good peace and unity in *Chriſtendome* and will regarde his owne weale honor and ſuretye hee muſt effectually adheere to the Emperor and king leaveing his familiarity with the *French* Cardinalls and hearkening to the practiſes of their faction which wil bee the immediate waie to cauſe the common enemy to know himſelſe and either to come to reaſonable and honorable conditions, or by the firme concurrence together of the Pope and Emperor, and the kinges grace with the *Venetians* and other ſtates of *Italie* and other their freinds to bee brought to ſuch baſe and lowe eſtate as hee ſhall not be able to doe anoyance diſpleaſure or hurte unto them hereafter, And of the Popes Anſwere herein with all matters worthy of knowledge which you ſhall advertiſe me by your letters in diligence to the intent the kinges grace may trayn his matters accordingly And of the comeing hither of Mr. *Melchior* from the Pope, and is not yet arrived nor any knowledge had of him But by your letters to make unto him ſuch anſweare as ſhall apperteyne.

The Cardinalls Letter to Mr. Secretary Pace 240. *at* Rome.

Coll. N° 53.
B. II. c. 24.
(ad p. 523.)
Bib. Yelv.

MR. Secretary I commend me unto you in my right hearty manner, by my other letters to my Lord of *Bathe* and Mr. *Hannibal* att this tyme directed I have written unto you all att length as well in the kings cauſes as my owne This ſhall bee onelye to advertiſe you That albeit I am right well aſſured that yee have to the uttermoſt and beſt of your power indeavored and imployd yourſelf to the obteyning of the bull of legation now granted unto me by the Popes holynes, yet nevertheles to bee playne with you, as one in whome I have my ſinguler truſt and confidence, I eſteeme ſomewhat more ſtrangneſſe to bee ſhewed unto to mee then my merritts requires in that theire hath bene difficultye made to amplifie my facultyes (*per non familiares*) and ſuch other things as bee conteyned in my inſtructions given unto my Lord of *Bathe* Suppoſeing verily yee haveing familliar and perfecte Accquaintance with the Popes holynes may by your dexterity and wiſedome doe ſoe much to the remedynge thereof, if as of your ſelfe alone you ſometymes doe repaire unto his holineſs putting the ſame by good meanes and introduction in remembrance of my merritts, and faithfull mynde towards him, as well in *minoribus* as nowe, ſhewing furthermore howe by Pope *Leos* graunte and Pope *Adrians* who paſſed my legation with as large facultyes as now I have *ad Quinquennium* and ſoe from 5 yeares to 5 yeares, dureing my life, I knowe right well how that for the prerogatives the kinges highnes hath in this Realme, as for other cauſes, all the profitts that may arriſe of my legation, haveing alſoe all the Amplification of the faculties aforeſaid will not bee worth 1000 Duckatts by the yeare whatſoever reporte may bee made to his holynes to the contrarye by ſome that might ſuppoſe and think that greate revenues might growe therof, And yee may ſay though yee perceive that I repute and eſteeme the benevolence as much and as high as the ſame is worthy to bee taken yet nevertheles yee have taken mee to bee one that can note and conſider the cauſes of the ſaid Bull And what emolument honor and benefitt ſhall enſue unto mee thereby more then I had before by the Graunts of other Popes, to whome I was entirely dedicated as to his holynes. wheresfore you may ſay your opinion is, as of yourſelfe, that in ſigne and comprobation of A ſpeciall grace and more large favour towards mee then others generally, hee ſhould amplifie the ſaid Bull with the ſaid other facultyes, or rather with more, which then ſhall bee a very demonſtration and manifeſt appearance that his holynes ſingulerly tendereth and loveth me, whereof I may take ſuch rejoyce and comforte as praſe hereafter may bee to the contentation of his holynes, And thus by good manner to uſe yourſelfe in this matter without knowledge that it proceedeth of me, That by your politique handling not onlye the ſaid facultyes may bee extended to my deſire But alſoe the Popes holynes to knowe what it is that he hath done for me, and what of likelyhood is my expectation. In which your doeing, you ſhall adminiſter unto mee ſinguler pleaſure to bee amongſt other remembred accordingly. And heartilye fare you well att my Palace beſides *Weſtminſter* the laſt of *February*.

Your loveing Freind,

T. Car'lis Ebor.

Bulla ſuper Prorogatione Officiis Legationis & Ampliationis Facultatum.

Regiſtrata in Camerâ apoſtolicâ.

De Ceſis.

No 54. l. 2. ch. 24. Rym. ex Origine, T. 13. f. 739.

LEO Epiſcopus *Servus Servorum Dei*, dilecto Filio *Thomæ Titulo Sanctæ Ceciliæ Presbytero Cardinali*, In Regno Angliæ noſtro & Apoſtolicæ Sedis Legato, Salutem & Apoſtolicam Benedictionem.

Dudum poſtquam *Circumſpectionem tuam*, & dilectum Filium *Laurentium* Tituli *Sanctæ Anaſtaſiæ*, tunc vero *Sancti Thomæ in Parione Presbyterum Cardinalem*, Quem ad chariſſimum in Chriſto Filium Noſtrum, pro Reipublicæ Chriſtianæ arduis Negotiis, noſtrum & Apoſtolicæ Sedis Legatum de Fratrum noſtrorum Conſilio per Quaſdam deſtinaveramus in dicto Regno & aliis Terris & Locis eidem Regi Subjectis noſtros & dictæ Sedis Legatos, de ſimili Conſilio per Alias deputaveramus, necnon per reliquas Circumſpectioni veſtræ omnia & ſingula Monaſteria, & Loca virorum & mulierum Ordinum quorumcunque in Regno, & Locis predictis Conſiſtentia, exempta & non exempta, eorumque Præſidentes, & alias perſonas tam in Capitè, quam in Membris, ac Spiritualibus & Temporalibus, quotiens opportunum foret, per vos conjunctim vel alios ydoneos, quos ad id duxeritis deputandos, Auctoritate noſtrâ viſitandi & reformandi, & de eorum vitâ inquirendi ac ipſos Caſtigandi, & puniendi, aliaque tunc expreſſa Faciendi, & Exequendi conceſſeramus. Cum ex certis aliis Cauſis *Eundem Laurentium Cardinalem*, & Legatum ex Regno & Legatione prædictis, ad nos advocare intenderamus, per alias eidem *Circumſpectioni tuæ*, omnes & ſingulas Facultates in ipſis Litteris expreſſas & conceſſas, motu proprio & ex certâ noſtrâ Scientiâ, ac de Apoſtolicæ poteſtatis plenitudine, *Interceſſione etiam* prefati Henrici Regis, dedimus & conceſſimus ac Licentiam deſuper in omnibus & per omnia elargiti ſumus, perinde ac ſi dictæ Litteræ & Facultates a principio tibi Soli directæ & conceſſæ fuiſſent, Tibi, quòd etiam ſeculares Eccleſiaſticas perſonas, ac clerum Regni & provinciarum hujuſmodi, cujuſcunque Præeminentiæ exiſtentes vocatis tamen & in hoc tibi aſſiſtentibus Earum ordinariis Epiſcopis & Prælatis, ad honeſtiores vivendi mores in Capite & membris reformare, & pro Illorum Reformatione ejuſmodi omnibus & ſingulis Facultatibus prædictis uti ac per Pœnas & Cenſuras per te, vel alium, ſeu alios, ſuper hoc a te deputandos, & aliàs contra eas & clerum ipſum procedere, corrigere, caſtigare, & punire, ac ad laudabiles mores reducere, & vices tuas, quotiens tibi videbitur, committere & advocare poſſes, Facultatem Concedimus, Teque, quoad Præmiſſa omnia de ſimili Conſilio noſtrum & dictæ Sedis Legatum de Latere fecimus conſtituimus, & deputavimus, ac Legationem tuam hujuſmodi, per Receſſum *dicti Laurentij Cardinalis* a dicto Regno, non expirare, ſed ad Annum a die Receſſûs ipſius *Laurentij Cardinalis*, computanda Duntaxat, quoad premiſſa durare decrevimus.

Et deinde cum præfatus *Laurentius Cardinalis* ad Nos rediiſſet & Finis Anni a Die Receſſûs ſui ex Regno hujuſmodi inſtare noſceretur, nos per reliquas motu proprio, ac Scientia, & poteſtatis plenitudine prædictis, conſideratione etiam prefati Regis, Annum prædictum intra quem *Circumſpectio tua* tunc adhuc exiſtebat, ac cum omnibus & ſingulis in eis contentis Clauſulis, ſingulas prædictas ad Biennium, a Fine ipſius prioris Anni computandum, quo durante, eadem *Circumſpectio tua* omnibus & ſingulis Facultatibus tibi per ſingulas Litteras prædictas conceſſis prædictis aliàs juxta ipſarum Continentiam & Tenorem uti valeres, extendimus & prorogavimus eidemque *Circumſpectioni tuæ*, ut, etiam dicto prorogato Biennio durante, quotiens in Eccleſiis & Locis dicti Regni in præſentiâ ipſius Regis, & cariſſimæ in Chriſto Filiæ noſtræ, *Catherinæ Angliæ Reginæ* illuſtris, vel alterius eorum, in Pontificalibus miſſarum ſolemnia celebrares, omnibus & ſingulis utriuſque ſexus Chriſti Fidelibus, vere pœnitentibus & confeſſis ſeu Confitendi propoſitum habentibus, & Celebrationi alicujus miſſarum hujuſmodi, aut ſaltem Benedictioni per te ſuper populum inibi tunc intereſſendum largiendæ, Intereſſentibus, plenariam omnium peccatorum ſuorum Remiſſionem relaxandi, plenam & liberam Facultatem Conceſſimus.

Et ſucceſſive cum Finis Biennii prorogati hujuſmodi inſtare etiam noſceremus nos per alias noſtras Litteras ex certis aliis Cauſis Animum noſtrum moventibus, motu, ſcientiâ & poteſtate ſimilibus, conſideratione etiam prefati Regis, Biennium prædictum, infra quod adhuc exiſtis, ac cum omnibus & ſingulis in eis contentis Clauſulis ſingulas Litteras prædictas ad aliud Biennium, a finè ipſius prioris Biennii Computandum quo durante, eadem *Circumſpectio tua*, omnibus & ſingulis Facultatibus, & plenariâ Remiſſione omnium Peccatorum per priores & poſteriores Litteras hujuſmodi conceſſis prædictis aliàs, juxta ipſarum priorum Litterarum hujuſmodi Continentiam & Tenorem uti liberè & licitè valeres, Auctoritate Apoſtolicâ præfatâ, extendimus & prorogamus, prout in ſingulis Litteris, prædictis plenius continetur.

Nos Cupientes tuam honorare perſonam, ut Negotia, per nos tibi commiſſa, plenum Conſequentur effectum, & ut erga perſonas in Locis Legationis tuæ reſidentes & Familiares tuos continuos commenſales ac alios quoſcunque infra Limites tuæ Legationis te poſſis reddere gratioſum, eidem *Circumſpectioni Tuæ* (de qua in hiis & aliis ſpecialem in Domino Fiduciam obtinemus) *Officium* Tabellionatûs quibuſcunque perſonis ydoneis, recepto ab eis Juramento in Formâ Solitâ, concedendi, alioſq; Tabelliones creandi aliàs juxta Formam in quinterno Cancellariæ Apoſtoliæ deſcriptam, ac *Milites Auratos quinquaginta, & totidem Comites palatinos, ac totidem Accolitas Capellanos* creandi, necnon *quadraginta* in noſtros & Apoſtoliæ ſedis Notarios Auctoritate Apoſtolicâ recipiendi, & aliorum Noſtrorum & dictæ ſedis Notariorum, & Accolitarum Capellanorum ac Aulæ noſtræ Lateranenſis Comitum Palatinorum numero & conſortis reſpectivè favorabiliter aggregandi & quod omnibus & ſingulis Privilegiis, Prærogativis, Honoribus, Exemptionibus, Gratiis, Libertatibus, Immunitatibus, & indultis gaudeant & utantur, quibus alij noſtri & dictæ ſedis notarij, & Accoliti Capellani ac Aulæ noſtræ Lateranenſis comites Palatini, etiam cum poteſtate creandi Tabelliones & *legitimandi Baſtardos* in Formâ, utuntur potiuntur & gaudent, ac uti, potiri & gaudere poterunt quomodolibet in futurum Exhibendique & exhiberi faciendi eis Inſignia Notariatûs hujuſmodi, recepto prius tamen ab eis ſolito Juramento,

Ac Quaſcunque Perſonas, ſufficientes tamen & idoneas, volentes ad Doctoratûs aut Baccalaureatûs in utroque vel altero Jurium & ad Magiſtratûs tam in Theologiâ, quam in Artibus & Medicinâ, vel alios Gradus promoveri prævio Examine rigoroſo & diligenti, ac ſervatis Conſtitutionibus Viennenſis Concilij & aliis Solemnitatibus in talibus adhiberi ſolitis promoveri ſeu promoveri faciendi, eiſque Gradus hujuſmodi & Inſignia ſolita & debita conferendi, & exhibendi, ſeu exhiberi & conferri faciendi, quodque ſic tum promoti omnibus & ſingulis privilegiis Libertatibus, Immunitatibus, Exemptionibus, & Indultis aliis ad hujuſmodi Gradus in Univerſitatibus ſtudiorum generalium promotis conceſſis & concedendis, impoſterum etiam quoad Aſſecutionem Beneficiorum, prærogativis ac ſi in ſtudio generali ac aliàs juxta Conſtitutiones Apoſtolicas promoti fuiſſent, & requiſita adimpleviſſent, uti potiri & gaudere libere & licite poſſint, & debeant, indulgendi,

Nec non cum quibuſvis perſonis ſuper quibuſvis Natalium Defectibus & Irregularitatibus, Quas aliqui ſine Diſpenſatione ante Ætatem legitimam, ſeu ad fictum Titulum Beneficij, ad Sacros & Preſbyteratûs Ordines promoti fuerunt, ac Cenſuris Eccleſiaſticis Ligati Miſſas & alia divina Officia celebrando, aut aliàs, ſe illis immiſcendo quomodolibet, non tamen in Contemptum Clavium contraxerint, & ad omnes etiam Sacros & Preſbyteratûs Ordines promoveri, & in illis ac per eos ſuſceptis, aut ſuſcipiendis Ordinibus, etiam in Altaris Miniſterio miniſtrare, & quæcunque, quotcunque, & qualiacunque, Beneficia Eccleſiaſtica, cum Cura & ſine Cura, ſe invicem compatientia etiamſi Dignitates Perſonatus, Adminiſtrationes vel Officia, ſeu Canonicatûs & Præbendæ in Cathedralibus etiam Metropolitanis vel Collegiatis Eccleſiis, & Dignitates, Perſonatus Adminiſtrationes vel Officia hujuſmodi curata & electiva fuerint ſi eis canonice conferantur aut eligantur, præſententur, vel aliàs aſſumantur ad illa & inſtituantur in eis recipere, & quoad vixerint, cum clauſulá permutandi totiens quotiens, retinere,

Nec non cum quibuſvis perſonis Eccleſiaſticis ſecularibus ut Leges legere & audire, ac in eis Gradus conſuetos recipere, ac cum Regularibus ut ubicunque Locorum *Verbum Dei* prædicare libere & licite valeant, diſpenſandi,

Nec non Eos, qui *Horas Canonicas* prout tenebantur, dicere & recitare omiſerant, abſolvendi,

Ac quibuſvis perſonis, ut *Horas Canonicas* & Officium diurnum, ſecundum uſum, Ritum, & Conſuetudinem Romanæ Eccleſiæ, ſoli aut cum uno vel duobus Sociis, dicere & recitare valeant, concedendi,

Ac omnes & ſingulos quibus Gratias & Indulta hujuſmodi, juxta Facultatem, quam ipſi in Litteris per te Expediendis inſeri facere non tenduntur tibi conceſſam, conceſſeris ſeu erga quos hujuſmodi Facultatibus uteris, a quibuſvis Excommunicationis ſuſpenſionis & Interdicti, aliiſque Eccleſiaſticis Sententiis cenſuris & Pœnis a jure vel ab Homine quavis Occaſione vel Cauſa latis, ſi quibus quomodolibet innodati erunt, etiamſi forſan ultra Annum inſorduerint aut pro Re judicatâ, Excommunicati fuerint, ad Effectum Gratiarum per Eandem *Cicumſpectionem tuam* conceden darum duntaxat, abſolvendi, & abſolutos fore, nunciandi.

Premiſſis ac quibuſvis conſtitutionibus noſtris ſuper Reſtrictione Facultatum Legatis & Nunciis noſtris pro Tempore conceſſis, a nobis Editis & in dicta Cancellaria publicatis, ac Pictavenſis Concilii & aliis Conſtitutionibus Apoſtolicis, nec non omnibus illis quæ in omnibus aliis Litteris noſtris prædictis volumus non Obſtare, cæteriſq; Contrariis nequaquam Obſtantibus, Auctoritate Apoſtolicâ Tenore præſentium Facultatem concedimus, tibique pariter indulgemus.

Nulli ergo Hominum liceat Hanc paginam noſtræ Conceſſionis & Indulti infringere, *&c.*

Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ Milleſimo quingenteſimo viceſimo primo; Kal. Aprilis, Pontificatûs noſtri Anno nono.

Leo Papa decimus.

Sub Sigillo plumbeo, a Filis ſericis flavi rubrique Coloris pendente a plica.

A. de Caſtello.

Prorogatio Legationis per Papam Adrianum pro Cardinale Eborum.

Regiſtrata apud me

T. Hezium.

Ex Origine Rym. T. 13. 795.

ADrianus Epiſcopus ſervus Servorum Dei dilecto Filio Thomæ Tituli Sanctæ Ceciliæ presbytero Cardinali Eboracenſi, In Regno Angliæ Noſtræ & Apoſtolicæ Sedis Legato de Latere, Salutem & Apoſtolicam Benedictionem.

Dudum poſtquam felicis Recordationis, *Leo Papa Decimus* predeceſſor Noſter te & dilectum Filium noſtrum Laurentium Tituli Sanctæ Anaſtaſiæ tunc Sancti Thomæ in Parione presbiterum Cardinalem, Quem ad Cariſſimum in Chriſto Filium Noſtrum *Henricum Angliæ Regem* illuſtrem, Fidei Defenſorem pro nonnullis arduis univerſam chriſtianam Rempublicam concernentibus Negotiis, ſuum & Apoſtolicæ Sedis de Latere Legatum, de Fratrum ſuorum, de Quorum Numero licet abſentes tunc eram de Conſilio, per quaſdam deſtinaverat in Regno Angliæ & certis aliis Terris, & Locis eidem Regi ſubjectis, ſuos & dictæ Sedis Legatos de ſimili Conſilio per alios deputaverat, nonnullaſque vobis Facultates per alias ſuas Litteras conceſſerat, cum ex certis eundem Laurentium Cardinalem & Legatum ex Regno Angliæ & Legatione prædictis ad ſe advocare intenderet Circumſpectioni Tuæ ut ipſa in Legationis Officio remanere, ac Facultatibus hujuſmodi perinde ac ſi illæ ipſi Soli a principio conceſſæ fuiſſent, per alias conceſſit, ac Legationem tuam hujuſmodi per Receſſum dicti *Laurentij* Cardinalis a dicto Regno non expirare, ſed ad Annum a die Receſsûs *Laurentij* Cardinalis hujuſmodi computandum, duntaxat durare decrevit.

Et deinde cum præfatus *Laurentius* Cardinalis ad ipſum prædeceſſorem rediiſſet ipſe Leo prædeceſſor Annum prædictum ad Biennium, à fine Anni computandum, per alias ſuas Litteras extendiſſet & prorogaſſet præfatus Leo prædeceſſor motu proprio & ex certa Scientia, ac Apoſtolicæ poteſtatis plenitudine, Biennium hujuſmodi ac ſingulas Litteras prædictas, cum omnibus in eis contentis Clauſulis ad Quinquennium, a Fine dicti Biennii computandum, per reliquas ſuas Litteras extendit & prorogavit, ac nonnullas alias Facultates tibi conceſſit, prout in eiſdem omnibus & ſingulis Litteris, Quarum Tenores Clauſulas & Formas preſentibus pro ſufficienter expreſſis & totaliter inſertis haberi volumus, plenius continetur.

Volentes igitur eandem Circumſpectionem tuam quam potentem opere pariter & Sermone, in Magnis & arduis Negotiis longâ Experientiâ comprobatum, ac eximia probitate & Fidelitate conciliique Maturitate eminentem, aliiſque grandium Virtutum donis, quibus perſonam tuam illarum Largitor Altiſſimus inſignivit pollentem cognovimus Favoribus & Honoribus proſequi opportunis, ac ſpecialem in Domino Fiduciam Sumentes, quod ea quæ ipſi *Circumſpectioni tuæ* duxerimus committenda, ad omnipotentis Dei Laudem, noſtrique & dictæ Sedis Honorem Dignitatem & Amplitudinem, curâ pervigili & exactiſſimâ Diligentiâ adimplere curabis, Motu, Scientiâ ac poteſtatis plenitudine Similibus, nec non conſideratione præfati Regis poſteriores Litteras prædictas cum omnibus & Singulis in eis contentis Facultatibus & aliis Clauſulis ad alium quinquennium, a Fine dicti quinquennij computandum, Auctoritate Apoſtolicâ, Tenore preſentium, extendimus & prorogamus.

Volentes ut eadem *Circumſpectio Tua* etiam dicto quinquennio ad quod Litteras predictas, ut prefertur, prorogavimus, durante Legationis hujuſmodi Officio, ac omnibus & ſingulis Facultatibus in quibuſlibet Litteris predictis comprehenſis, uti frui & gaudere, juxta dictarum Litterarum Formam, & Tenorem, libere & licite poſſit & valeat. —— Non Obſtantibus. ——

Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum petrum Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ Milleſimo quingenteſimo vigeſimo Tertio prid. Id. Junij. Pontificatûs noſtri Anno primo.

Viſa de Curia **T. Hezius.**

Super plicam **W. de Euckenvoirt.**

Sub plumbeo Sigillo pendente a Filo Cannabi. **Albergatus.**

Pro Cardinale Eborum, de Juriſdictione ad Viſitandum & Reformandum Loca Religioſa, priorum Bullarum Innovatio Extenſio & Ampliatio.

Regiſtrata in Camera Apoſtolica. *De Ceſis.*

An. D. 1524.
An. 16. H. 8.
Rym. Ex Origine.

CLemens Epiſcopus Servus Servorum Dei Dilecto Filio Thomæ Tituli Sanctæ Cæciliæ Presbytero Cardinali noſtro & Apoſtolicæ Sedis in Regno Angliæ Legato de Latere, Salutem & Apoſtolicam Benedictionem.

Licet alias, Fælicis Recordationis, Leo Papa Decimus Prædeceſſor noſter Te ad Cariſſimum in Chriſto Filium noſtrum Henricum Angliæ Regem Illuſtrem Fidei Defenſorem pro nonnullis arduis Negotiis Reipublicæ Chriſtianæ ſuum & Apoſtolicæ Sedis Legatum de Latere ad certum tempus tunc expreſſum deſtinaverit,

Et, inter cætera, Tibi omnia & ſingula Loca Religioſorum, tam Virorum quám Mulierum, tám Exempta quám non Exempta, cujuſcumque Statûs Religionis & Ordinis fuerint, eorúmque Præſidentes & alias Perſonas, tam in Capite quàm in Membris, quotiens oportunum foret, per Te vel alium ydoneum, quem ad id deputandum duceres, Auctoritate Apoſtolicâ Viſitandi & Reformandi, & de eorum Vita & Moribus Inquirendi Caſtigandi & Puniendi, ac alia tunc expreſſa Faciendi & Exequendi Facultatem per quaſdam Literas conceſſerit, non Obſtantibus quibuſcunque Privilegiis & Indultis Apoſtolicis eiſdem Locis & Ordinibus ſub quacunq; forma verborum conceſſis, etiam ſi in eis caveretur expreſsè ut Neminem contra vel præter hujuſmodi Privilegia & Indulta ad ſe Viſitandum vel aliter, admittere teneantur, niſi eorumdem Privilegiorum & Indultorum expreſſa ac de verbo ad verbum mentio fieret.

Ipſeque Leo Prædeceſſor Legationem & Facultatem hujuſmodi diverſis Temporibus & Facultatibus prorogaverit,

Et piæ Memoriæ Adrianus Papa Sextus etiam Prædeceſſor noſter Legationem & Facultatem hujuſmodi ad certum alìud Tempus tunc expreſſum per aliàs ſuas innovaverit, Et Nos Legationem, Conceſſiones, Facultates, & deſuper conceſſas Literas prædictas Innovaverimus & Extenderimus & Ampliaverimus, ac omnibus illis, quæ præfati Anteceſſores noſtri in ſuis Literis voluerunt non obſtare, Derogaverimus, prout in ſingulis Literis prædictis, quas hic pro expreſſis haberi volumus, pleniús continetur.

Tamen nonnulli Religioſi, ſe, prætextu Privilegiorum Apoſtolicorum ſuorum, exemptos eſſe aſſerentes, Facultates Tibi circa Præmiſſa à Præfatis Prædeceſſoribus & à Nobis conceſſas in Dubium revocare nitentes, & Tuam Juriſdictionem declinantes, à Viſitationibus, per Te ad Religionis Conſervationem, Eccleſiaſticorum Morum Reſtitutionem & Lutheranæ aliorúmque Scandalorum & Hæreſium Extirpationem inſtitutis, appellârunt & provocârunt, necnon Appellationes & Provocationes hujuſmodi forté in Romanâ Curiâ aut alibi committi obtinuerunt, prætendentes, inter cætera, Ordini ſuo ſeu forſan eorum alicui ſpeciali Domui vel Conventui à Romanis Pontificibus eſſe conceſſum né quis Legatus de Latere eos viſitet, in cujus Facultatibus non fieret tum Ordinis tum Privilegiorum eorum de verbo ad verbum ſpecialis & expreſſa mentio, & quod in ſuis privatis regularibus Inſtitutis (quorum obſervationem ſe expreſsé voviſſe aſſerunt) ſit cautum ut ſuo generali Miniſtro firmiter obediant, quod illi ſic interpretantur ut, ſine illius generalis Miniſtri conſenſu, nullius alterius Juriſdictioni, inoffensâ Regulâ Sancti Franciſci, parere aut quovis modo obtemperare poſſint,

Nos igitur, cupientes ut Tu, qui Opere potens es & Sermone, & ut accepimus pro tuo erga Religionem & Cultum divinum jugi Studio ad Reformationem Religioſorum Locorum infra Limites tuæ Legationis conſiſtentium accuratiſſimé direxiſti Animum, cujuſque eximia Virtus Probitas & Fides à Nobis comprobata multó majora pollicentur ut feliciter Cœptum munus hujuſmodi ad optatum Finem deducere, ac ut in dicto Regno Vitia extirpare, ac Virtutes plantare, ac horrendæ Lutherianæ Peſti & multis aliis in Eccleſia Dei indies ſerpentibus malis liberiús occurrere poſſis, Motu proprio non ad alicujus nobis ſuper hoc oblatæ Petitionis inſtantiam, ſed de noſtra mera Deliberatione ac certa Scientia, & de Apoſtolicæ Poteſtatis plenitudine, noſtras & Prædeceſſorum noſtrorum Literas, etiam ad hoc ut circumſpectio tua per Te vel alium ſeu alios omnia & ſingula Eccleſias, Monaſteria, Domos, & alia Loca tam exempta quàm non exempta, quorumcúnque, etiam Sancti Benedicti, Sancti Auguſtini, Cluniacenſium, Ciſtertienſium, Præmonſtratenſium, Grandimontenſium, Carthuſienſium ac prædicti & aliorum Mendicantium, etiam Prædicatorum, Carmelitarum, Heremitarum, etiam Minorum regularis Obſervantiæ Sancti Franciſci Ordinum & Congregationum fuerint, & quocúnque Nomine cenſeantur ac Prærogativis & Privilegiis Apoſtolicis muniti ſint, tam in Capite quam in Membris viſitare, reformare, corrigere, ac Delinquentes punirè, caſtigare, & (eorum ſic expoſcentibus Demeritis) etiam Carceribus mancipare, ac Monaſteriis Domibus & Locis, necnon Dignitatibus Officiis & Beneficiis Eccleſiaſticis privare & Illos ab eis amovere, & alia in Præmiſſis & circa ea neceſſaria ſeu quomodolibet oportuna mandare facere & exequi, ac ut prædictis & aliis Appellationibus & Provocationibus, quæ à quibuſcúnque Ordinum & Locorum prædictorum Viſitationibus, per Te factis & faciendis forſan ſunt interpoſitæ, aut in futurum interponentur, deferre minimé tenearis, ſed Appellationibus & Provocationibus eiſdem, tám interpoſitis (quas à quibuſcunque Judicibus, quibus commiſſæ reperiuntur, Ad nos harum ſerie advocantes, & Tibi in eiſdem ſtatu & terminis, quibus nunc reperiuntur

riuntur, etiam ſi in eis ad aliquos Actus ſit Proceſſum, audiendas, decidendas, & Fine debito terminendas committimus) quám interponendis, rejectis, ad Viſitationum hujuſmodi Terminationem & Executionem procedere liberé & licité valeas, ipſæque Viſitationes & illarum Terminatio & Executio per Appellationes & Provocationes hujuſmodi, ante aut interim interpoſitas, non ſuſpendantur, ſed ſuum plenum effectum ſortiri debeant in omnibus & per omnia, perinde ac ſi ab illis appellatum non fuiſſet, Auctoritate Apoſtolicâ, Tenore Præſentium, extendimus & ampliamus,

Et, pro potiori cautela, ad omnem tollendum Scrupulum, Tibi ſuper hiis de Novo Facultatem concedimus, Motu Scientia & Poteſtatis plenitudine ſimilibus, Declarantes Attentantes & Decernentes Intentionis noſtræ in futurum fore, per quaſcúnque Literas Reſcripta Privilegia aut Indulta, per Nos quibuſcúnque Perſonis Ordinum & Congregationum, prædictorum ac aliis, cujuſcúnque Dignitatis, Statûs, Gradûs, Ordinis, & Conditionis exiſtant, etiam cum quibuſvis Inhibitionibus, etiam ſub Cenſuris Eccleſiaſticis ac Clauſulis & Decretis etiam irritantibus ac aliás ſub quibuſcúnque Tenoribus & Verborum formis conceſſa, hactenus & impoſterúm concedenda, præſenti ac prædictis & aliis quibuſcúnque Facultatibus Tibi per Nos ac ſedem prædictam conceſſis concedendis, etiam ſuper Secularium & quorumvis Ordinum Regularium Eccleſiarum Monaſteriorum & Locorum prædictorum Viſitationibus & Reformationibus, in partibus illis faciendis, & Proceſſibus deſuper habendis, quominus illis liberè & licité juxta tuarum Facultatum continentiam uti & ea proſequi valeas, minimé derogare, ſed illa ſub quibuſvis Revocationibus, Suſpenſionibus, Modificationibus, Reſtrictionibus, Reductionibus, & Derogationibus per Nos & ſedem prædictam etiam Motu Scientiâ & Poteſtatis plenitudine ſimilibus, & cum quibuſvis efficaciſſimis & inſolitis, etiam Derogatoriarum derogatoriis Clauſulis irritantibuſque & aliis Decretis in genere vel in ſpecie, etiam per Cancellariæ Apoſtolicæ Regulas & quaſvis alias Conſtitutiones Apoſtolicas, per Nos aut alios Romanos Pontifices etiam conſiſtorialiter ac etiam Motu Scientia & Poteſtatis plenitudine ſimilibus aut aliás factis & faciendis nullatenus comprehenſas, ſed ſemper ab illis exceptas, & quotiens illæ emanabunt totiens in priſtinum ſtatum reſtitutas exiſtere & cenſeri, Promiſſiones quoque Vota & Juramenta quæcúnque contra effectum Præſentium per dictorum Ordinum Religioſos in manibus quorumcunque ſuorum ſuperiorum aut aliàs præſtita & præſtanda invalida eſſe & eos ipſos ad eorum Obſervationem minimé teneri, ſicque in Præmiſſis omnibus per quoſcúnque Judices & Commiſſarios, etiam Sanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ Cardinales, interpretari judicari & diffiniri debere, ſublata eis & cuilibet eorum aliter interpretandi judicandi & diffiniendi Poteſtate, Irritum quoque & Inane ſi ſecus ſuper hiis a quoquam quavis Auctoritate ſcienter vel ignoranter contigerit attemptari,

Et inſuper univerſis & ſingulis Eccleſiarum Monaſteriorum Domorum & Locorum ac Ordinum & Congregationum prædictorum Prælatis, etiam Generalibus & aliis Perſonis, ſub Excommunicationis Sententiâ eo ipſo quo contrafecerint incurrendâ, inhibemus nè Tibi ac Facultatibus tuis hujuſmodi, directé vel indirecté, quovis quæſito colore, contra dicere vel venire præſumant, quinymò illis humiliter intendant & obediant; Non Obſtantibus Præmiſſis ac quibuſvis Apoſtolicis, necnon Bonæ Memoriæ Ottonis & Ottoboni olim in dicto Regno præfatæ Sedis Legatorum Conſtitutionibus & Ordinationibus, ac Eccleſiarum, Monaſteriorum, Domorum, Ordinum, &

Congregationum prædictorum Conſtitutionibus, Ordinationibus, Regulis, Statutis, & Conſuetudinibus, Promiſſione quoque & Obedientiæ Votis per dictos Religioſos Ordinum ſuorum Prioribus, Abbatibus, Magiſtris, Miniſtris, & aliis Prælatis & Superioribus etiam generalibus factis & emiſſis & quavis firmitate aliâ roboratis, Privilegijs quoque & Indultis ac Literis tam Apoſtolicis quàm in forma Brevis Eccleſiis, Monaſteriis, Domibus, Ordinibus, & Locis, Prioribus, Magiſtris, Miniſtris & aliis Prælatis & Superioribus etiam generalibus prædictis ſeu eorum alicui ſub quibuſcúnque Tenoribus Formis etiam per modum Statuti & perpetuæ Ordinationis & cum quibuſvis etiam Derogatoriarum Derogatoriis fortioribus & inſolitis Clauſulis ac irritantibus & aliis Decretis etiam Motu Scientiâ & Poteſtatis plenitudine ſimilibus per eundem Leonem & quoſcúnque alios Romanos Pontifices Prædeceſſores noſtros & ſedem prædictam ac etiam per Nos iteratis vicibus conceſſis approbatis & innovatis, etiam ſi in illis caveatur expreſsè quòd eis per quaſcúnque Literas Apoſtolicas niſi in Literis quæ eis derogare viderentur illorum omnium Tenores de verbo ad verbum inſerantur, & expreſsè appareat Romanum Pontificem illis voluiſſe derogare, ac Cauſa urgens & ſufficiens experimatur, & aliàs certis modis & formis obſervatis, aut nullatenus derogari poſſit, quibus omnibus & ſingulis (illorum Tenores, ac ſi de verbo ad verbum inſerti eſſent, & forma in illis tradita obſervata foret, Præſentibus pro expreſſis ac verè & non fictè inſertis, contra quæ nullam Probationem admitti volumus, habentes) illis aliàs in ſuo Robore permanſuris eiſdem Motu Scientiâ & Apoſtolicæ Poteſtatis plenitudine ſpecialiter & expreſsè Derogamus, necnon omnibus illis quæ Præfati Prædeceſſores noſtri in ſuis ac Nos in noſtris Literis prædictis voluimus non obſtare, cæteriſque contrariis quibuſcúnque.

Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ Milleſimo Quingenteſimo Vigeſimo quarto, Duodecimo Kal. Septembris, Pontificatûs noſtri Anno Primo.

Jo. Mattheus Gibertus,

Super Plicam *A. De Caſtillo.*

Clemens Papa Septimus,

Sub Plumbeo Sigillo pendente a filis canabeis.

Richardi Fox Epiſcopi Wintonienſis ad Cardinalem.

Coll. No 57.
B. II. c. 24.
(ad p. 528.)

REverendiſſime Pater & D'ne mihi unice ſemper obſervande ſalutem plurimam & optatum votorum omnium ſucceſſum. Ingentem atq; mirificam Pater ampliſſime ex proximis veſtris ad me literis cepi conſolationem atq; voluptatem quod ex eis intellexi D. V. R^{m} univerſi Cleri reformationem ſecum inſtituiſſe & ad inchoandam atq; aggrediendam diem brevi futuram præfiniſſe & præſcripſiſſe; Eum namq; profecto diem jam diu non minus quam Symeon Ille Evangelicus expectatum Meſſiam votis omnibus videre expetivi. Et ex quo illas D. V. R. literas legi Reformationem ampliorem & multo exactiorem univerſæ Anglorum Eccleſiaſticæ Hierarchiæ mihi videor tantum non ſentire & palpare, quam ego hac hominum ætate vel faciundam vel ineundam divinare potui, nedum ſperare. Conatus ſum enim facere quod mearum erat partium in ditione hac meâ peculiari & exiguâ, quod V. Præſt. D'atio inſtituit in utraq; hujus Regni Provinciâ, & hoc fere perpetuum triennium illi uni negotio diligenter incubui; Omniaq; mea Studia Labores vigilias ſudores in ea fere una collocavi; ubi quod prius non putaſſem deprehendi & animadverti Omnia, quæ ad antiquam cleri & præcipue Monachiæ integritatem ſpectant, adeo vel licentiis & corruptelis depravata vel temporum malignitate & diuturnitate abolita & corrupta, ut ætate mihi confecto voluntatem & ſtudium auxerint. Spem vero omnem ſuſtulerint perfectam & abſolutam unquam videndi reformationem in hac vel mea Dioceſi privatam. Nunc autem ex optatiſſimis illis V. R. D'onis literis veni in certiſſimam ſpem ſummamq; expectationem brevi videndi Univerſalem & publicam; Exploratiſſimum nempe habeo multiſq; experimentis luculentiſſime perſpectum quicquid D. V. R^{ma} moliatur inſtituerit & ſuſceperit id Eam omne prudentiſſimè conſtantiſſimè citra negotium aut contationem confecturam & facillime abſoluturam. Tam incomparabilis extat in Eâ divinarum humanarumq; rerum peritia, tamq; ſingularis apud ſereniſſimum noſtrum Regem & ſanctiſſimum D. Papam Gratia & authoritas, quibus cum V. circumſpectiſſima D'atio hactenus ita perfuncta ſit, ut ſummam inde laudem ampliſſimamq; per univerſum orbem famam ſit aſſecuta, ex hac profecto ſuâ clariſſimâ Legatione. Quam compoſitis & ſua una opera inter chriſtianiſſimos Principes confirmatis fœderibus ad ſtatum & ordinem Eccleſiaſticum reformandum & componendum decrevit convertere ſolidam & immortalem apud Deum & omnem poſteritatem Gloriam reportabit Tanto cæteris omnibus qui noſtra memoria quovis Gentium à Summi Pontificis latere miſſi ſunt præſtantiorem & celebriorem, quanto vel Pax bello expetibilior vel Clerus populo Sanctior & veneratior. Nam ſi quam plurimis Pont. max. vel oblivione vel ſilentio præteritis, bini Illi olim huc Legati omnium ore ubiq; Terrarum hodie celebrantur, Idq; tantum ob nonnullas Sanctiones quas præmaturo Romam Reditu infirmiores reliquere. Quæ ætas aut quæ malignitas V. R^{mi} Nominis laudem & celebritatem vel delere poſſit unquam vel offuſcare, quum univerſum Angliæ clerum & Monachiam ſuæ integritati & dignitati reſtituerit, & Leges ad eam tuendam & inconcuſſe ſervandam condiderit, conditaſq; moribus & conſuetudine comprobari & confirmari fecerit.

Quod D. V. R^{mæ} non dubito eo multo facilius feliciuſq; ſuccedet, quod Rex noſter Chriſtianiſſimus cujus hortatu & auſpiciis (arbitror) hanc provinciam recepit, omnem ſuam authoritatem & opem ei ad votum impertiet omneſq; Prælati præſertim Epiſcopi ſuos aſſenſus & Studia alacres ni admodum fallor adhibebunt, Et ut de meipſo ſaltem pollicear quod animus meus ferre præſtareq; geſtit, ſic mihi videtur hæc reformatio Cleri & Sacrorum Omnium oblatrantem diu populum placatura, Clerum illuſtratura, Regem ipſum ſereniſſimum & Optimates omnes Clero conciliatura, & Deo imprimis Opt. Max. plus omnibus Sacrificiis uſq; adeo placitura, ut quicquid reliquum ſit mihi hujus vitæ curriculi id in eam libentiſſime impenderem & conſumerem: uti D. V. R^{mæ} apertius coram declarabo ad diem in Illius literis præfinitum, ſi mihi vivo & ſano illum videre detur. Interim dum vixero Deum Benigniſſimum cotidie aſſidueq; inter Sacri .... precabor ut D. V. R^{mam} diu-

tiſſime ſervet omniaq; Illius inſtituta ſecundet & feliciter & fauſte.

Ex Marwellis poſtridie Calend. *Jan.* V. R. D. devinctiſſimus Orator.

R. Wynton.

Communicated by the Learned and Reverend Dr. Rogers.

I ſhall add, ſince it may not be unacceptable to the Engliſh *Reader, a Tranſlation of this Letter, done by a young Gentleman of* Oxford.

THE ſatisfaction and pleaſure, moſt Reverend Father, was inexpreſſibly great, which I receiv'd from your laſt letter; by which I am inform'd, that your Grace is determined to reform the whole Body of the Clergy, and that you have notify'd and prefixed the Day, on which you will ſpeedily begin and proceed upon that work: For which I have truely no leſs ardently wiſh'd, than did *Symeon* mention'd in the Goſpel, to ſee the much deſired and expected *Meſſiah*. And ſince I have read theſe letters of your Lordſhip, I perſwade my ſelf that I have in a manner a ſenſible demonſtration of a more entire and perfect Reformation of the *Engliſh* Eccleſiaſtical Hierarchy, then I could expect or even hope to ſee effected, or ſo much as attempted in this Age. I endeavoured, as it was my duty, to execute the ſame deſign within the Compaſs of my own ſmall juriſdiction, which your Lordſhip will ſoon finiſh in both the large Provinces of this Kingdom: For the Space of three years this important Affair was the great End of my Study, Labour, and Attention, till I diſcover'd what before I had not imagined, that all things, relating to the primitive ſimplicity of the Clergy, (eſpecially of the monaſtick State, were perverted either by Indulgencys or Corruption, or elſe become obſolete and exploded by the iniquity of the Times: As this, in a declining Life, improv'd my inclination and vigilance, ſo it took from me all hopes of ever ſeeing a Reformation, even in my own particular Dioceſe. But I do now conceive from your Lordſhips moſt acceptable Letter an aſſured hope and full Expectation of ſeeing a Reformation both publick and univerſal. For I am fully perſwaded, by many inſtances, that whatever your Lordſhip may at any time deſign or undertake, as it will be wiſely concerted, ſo your prudence and Reſolution will accompliſh it without Difficulty or Delay. Of ſo ſurpriſing an extent is your knowledge of Divine and human affairs; ſo Extraordinary your favour and intereſt with our ſovereign Lord the King and with his Holineſs the Pope; which advantage your Lordſhip has in ſuch a manner improved, that you have acquir'd the moſt exalted Character in the whole World: And certainly in Conſequence of your moſt renowned Negotiation, (the Fruits of which having by your ſole conduct compoſed the difference and ſettled peace among Chriſtian princes, you have determined to employ in reforming and ſettling the Eccleſiaſtical ſtate and Diſcipline) you will derive ſubſtantial and immortal honour from God, and All Poſterity, and be diſtinguiſhed by a Name ſo much Superior to that of any other, who in the Memory of Man hath been ſent hither or elſewhere in Quality of Legate from the Pope, as Peace is more to be deſired than War, and the Clergy are, or ought to be, more holy and venerable than the Laity. For if, while the Names of ſeveral other Legates are buryed in Oblivion, thoſe two Legates who yet left the Conſtitutions framed by them on account of their too ſpeedy Return to *Rome* leſs perfect, are juſtly celebrated and eſteemed throughout the whole World; what Time or Prejudice will be able to eraſe or obſcure the Honour and Luſtre of your Grace's Character, when you ſhall reſtore the whole eſtate of the *Engliſh* Clergy and of the Monaſterys to their primitive Rules and Dignity, and enact Laws for their preſervation and laſting eſtabliſhment; Laws, which you ſhall cauſe to be confirm'd and recommended by being carefully and conſcientiouſly obſerved.

I doubt not but your Grace will with leſs difficulty, and greater ſucceſs, effect this Buſineſs, ſince our moſt Chriſtian King, by whoſe Encouragement and Advice, as I conceive, you have taken upon you this Task, will ever, to your Deſires, contribute his authority and aſſiſtance; and the Prelates, the epiſcopal eſpecially, will chearfully concur, by their beſt endeavours; and as I judge by my ſelf, and ſo far as my own mind ſuggeſts to Me, this Reformation of the Clergy and Religion will ſo abate the Calumnys of the Laity, ſo advance the honour of the Clergy, and ſo reconcile our Sovereign Lord the King and Nobility to them, and be ſo much more acceptable to God, than all the ſacrifices we can offer, that I intend the ſhort courſe of Life which I have now to run, ſhall be entirely devoted towards the Advancement of it, a further Teſtimony of which my zeal I ſhall give at the day appointed by your Lordſhips letter, if God ſhall ſo long grant me life and health. In the mean time I ſhall daily and inceſſantly pray to God, that he would keep your Lordſhip in continual ſafety, and give ſucceſs to all your undertakings.

A Letter to the Author.

Reverend Sir,

N° 58. B. II. c. 24.

THough this draught be meanly performed yet it muſt be allowed to be of authority, as to the manner of the Seſſion of the Peers in their different Habits, and on their reſpective Benches, and with reſpect alſo to thoſe, who carryed the Regalia, the Officers of State and the Attendants on the King; ſince it was deſigned by the Order of the then *Garter* King of Arms and preſerved in a fair Velom Manuſcript which hath his name and arms in ſeveral places and likewiſe repreſents him performing his duty at this Parliament in his proper Robe and Place.

Your requeſt for a Copy of this deſign is probably confined only to *Cardinal Wolſey*, yet being Maſter of this days leiſure, I ſhall curſorily obſerve ſome other particulars of it, which relate to the Spiritual Peers, for there is the authority of an Act of Parlament to give that Epithet.

It is certain *Cardinal Wolſey* is herein exhibited, becauſe the Arms of the See of *York* empaling his own Arms, are placed over him. Theſe Arms had been granted to him, by this ſame *Garter* which are ſett upon an Archiepiſcopal Croſſe, ſurmounted with a red or purple hat with the uſual Cordons and nodules, appropriated to a Cardinal.

He is here repreſented in a full or rather in a three quarters face, which is the more obſervable if the Traditionary Report have any foundation, that the diſeaſe, which was objected to him in the Articles, had left ſuch a blemiſh in one of his Eyes, that to hide that defect He was conſtantly pictured in profile: If that ſhould be true, either We are to ſuppoſe His Seſſion in this part of the Houſe required ſuch a method of the poſition of his face, or that He contracted the marks of this diſtemper before the time that this picture was taken,

The ſeat of the Archbiſhop of *York* in the Houſe of Lords antiently was on the left ſide of the Cloth of Eſtate towards the end of the Travers, that is, on the left hand of the King, directly oppoſite to the place where *Warrham* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ſits in the preſent draught, and I have ſeen ſome delineations of the Houſe, where theſe Archbiſhops are thus placed. This manner of their Seſſion was altered by an Act of Parliament; [a] which enjoins, “That no perſon or perſons of what Eſtate degree or Con- “ dition ſoever He or they be of (except only the Kings Children) “ ſhall at any time hereafter attempt or preſume to have place “ at any ſide of the Cloth of Eſtate in the Parliament Chamber, “ neither of the one hand of the Kings Highneſſe, nor of the “ other, and therein a particular Bench or Form is appropriated to “ the two Archbiſhops.

The Arms of the See of *Canterbury*, empaling thoſe of *Warrham*, are over the Head of that Archbiſhop, who is here on the Cardinals Right Hand, which however muſt be in an inferior place becauſe the Cardinal is nearer to the perſon of the Sovereign.

Dr. *Burnet* [b] informs us, “That even after *Wolſey* was Cardi- “ nal, *Warrham* as Lord Chancellour tooke place of him, as appears “ from the Journalls of the Houſe of Peers 7 *H.* 8. and afterwards “ [He means after *Wolſey* was made lord Chancellour] gave him “ place; as appears on many occaſions, and particularly in the let- “ ter written to the Pope 1530 ſet down by the lord *Herbert*, “ which the Cardinal ſubſcribed before *Warrham*.

The learned *Anthony Harmer* in his Specimen of ſome Errors in that Hiſtory, *p.* 45. hath made ſome juſt Strictures on this paſſage, to which I ſhall add ſome Collections touching the precedency of Cardinals taken only from our own Hiſtorians. It ſeems evident from *Eadmer* [c] that the Archbiſhops took place of Cardinals, and we find that Cardinals though legats gave the precedency to Biſhops [d] which was obſerved even in the Council of *Vienne.* [e] But this was afterwards altered, for when *Kempe* Archbiſhop of *York* upon his advancement to the dignity of a Cardinal, in reſpect thereof claimed in Parlament the precedence of *Chichele* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, which He on the other ſide inſiſted upon as belonging to the Prerogative of his See, which controverſy being referred to the Pope, He exhorts *Chichele* to ſubmit and conform himſelf to the Cuſtoms of the Church of *Rome* and to give place to the Cardinal [f], and this inſtance anſwers Dr. *Burnets* Suppoſition; ſeeing Cardinal *Kempe* upon his Promotion to the Purple had reſigned his Place of Chancellour of *England*.

The two Croſſes are born by Prieſts which is evident from their Tonſure, but though theſe Croſſebearers are behind the Travers neareſt to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and notwithſtanding all Primates had Croſſes carried before them within their Provinces as Biſhopps had Croſiers within their own Dioceſſes, and notwithſtanding former Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* had their Croſſes in the Parliament Chamber, inſomuch as the Lords frequently made their Promiſſory Oaths upon it [g]. Yet I am inclinable to believe that both theſe Croſſes belong to the Cardinal; and neither of them to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; For *Innocent* III. [h] had determined "Quod Patriarchæ Dominicæ Crucis vexillum ante ſe faciant ubiq; deferri niſi in urbe Romana, & ubicunq; ſummus Pontifex preſens extiterit, aut ejus Legatus utens inſignijs Apoſtolicæ dignitatis:" So that if the Power of the *Patriarks* of *Conſtantinople*, *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, and *Jeruſalem* in bearing Croſſes ought to have deſiſted in ſuch a caſe, much more ſhould that of *Metropolitans* deſiſt in the like caſe. *Wolſey* had been made legat *de latere* on 18 *June* xi *H.* 8. and I ſuppoſe this figure repreſents the Parlament begun on 15 *Apr.* 14 *H.* 8. But yet if He had been only a Cardinal, *Warrham* could not have born the Croſſe in his preſence; ſince *Gregory* XI. hath enjoined, "Quod Patriarchæ, Primates, & Archiepiſcopi non faciant Crucem deferri coram eis in præſentia Cardinalium." Which the Archbiſhop muſt know becauſe it is recorded in his Regiſtry [i]. And in the year 1600, we find Cardinal *Aldrobrandin* Legat in *France* inſiſted, that the Biſhops ought not in their preſence to wear Rochets [k]. Therefore as to the power of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, though he had the honour of a Legat *born* [l], yet his power, as ſuch, ceaſed in the preſence of a Legat *de latere* [m]. For in the Canon Law a Legat *de latere* is ſaid to be inveſted with an *Ordinary* Juriſdiction [n], it being ſuppoſed that He is not only ſent by the Pope himſelf, but by the See, and therefore his Authority doth not expire by the death of the Pope [o].

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[a] 31 H. 8. c. x. §. 2. [b] Hiſt. of Ref. vol. 1. p. 8, 9. [c] P. 52. [d] Decem Scriptores col. 1663. 4046. [e] A. D. 1311. Ibid. col. 1730. 30. [f] Which may be ſeen at length in Jacobatius l. 1. de Concil. art. 12. quoted by Dr. Duck Vita Chich. p. 90, 91.

Allmoſt Every Action of *Wolſey* hath been interpreted as an inſtance of Pomp, Ambition, or inſolence; notwithſtanding, probably, upon a ſtrict examination, moſt of them will be found to be ſtrictly precedented. This particular of two Croſſes gave *Polydor Virgil* an opportunity of making an uncharitable Reflection "Non contentus una cruce, qua utebatur, quod Archiepiſcopus eſſet Eboracenſis, alteram præ ſe ferri voluit, per duos ſacerdotes ſtatura elegantes, & equis magnis inſidentes, qui aperto capite, quocunq; anni tempore incederent. Nunc plane conſtat *Wolſæum* ſuæ ſibi conſcium eſſe culpæ, qui propterea binas in pompa habet cruces, quod una non ſatis foret ad ejus expianda commiſſa [p].

Skelton Poet laureat of that time wrote a moſt ſevere Satyr and invective againſt this Cardinal, and upon its publication fled to the ſanctuary in *Weſtminſter* for refuge, He takes notice of theſe Croſſes in the following lines.

With worldly pompe incredible
Before him rydeth two Preſtes ſtronge
And they beare two Croſſes right longe,

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[g] See Rot. Parl. 5 H. 4, &c. [h] C. antiqua 23 de Privileg. & Exceſſ. [i] Wittleſey p. 48. [k] Thuan. Hiſt. l. 123. [l] Ch. 1. de Offic. leg. in Decret. [m] Cap. Volentes de Offic. legati in Decret. [n] Si gratioſe de Reſ. in 6. [o] Cap. legatos de Offic. legati in 6. [p] Hiſt. p. 655, 656.

Gapynge in every mans face.
After them folowe two laye men ſecular
And eache of theym holdyng a pillar
In their hondes ſteade of a Mace.
Then foloweth my lorde on his Mule
Trapped with golde under her cule
In every poynt moſt curiouſly
On eache ſyde a pollaxe is borne
Which is none wother uſe are worne
Pretendynge ſome hyd miſtery
Then hath he ſervants five or ſix ſcore
Some behynde and ſome before, &c.

Here is a long Catalogue, and yet poſſibly not one particular is ſingular to the Cardinal. For the ſame Honours according to the known Cuſtoms of *Rome* were to be paid to every Legat *de Latere* as to the Sovereign Pontiff himſelf [q]. Nay he might of right uſe all Papal Enſigns and Ornaments for which *Pariſius* [r] produces the Vouchers.

I know not what was the figure of the *pillars* here mentioned, but it was not an unuſual Enſign, becauſe *Chaucer* in the Plowmans Tale ſetting forth the duty of Clergymen v. 2044.

And uſin none yerthly honours,
Ne croune, ne curious covertours,
Ne pillar, *ne other proud pall*, &c.

According to the preſent Cuſtoms in this Country no one will charge the Cardinals riding on a Mule to be a mark of his inſolence or haughtineſſe, neither was it any teſtimony of his humility, but an uſage of his Age in correſpondence to the antient practice of Clergymen, who eſteemed it unbecoming them to ride upon an Horſe, when our Saviour rode on the Fole of an Aſſe. Thus St. *Baſil* on *Pſalm* 32. *Excluſus eſt ab uſu ſanctorum Equus*; and here I cannot forbear from diverting you with the odd ſimplicity of the Stile, wherein *Peraldus* [ſ] expreſſes himſelf on this occaſion, "Chriſtus nunquam equitavit, tantum ſemel aſinavit, atq; adeo neq; mulavit, neq; palafredavit, neq; dromedariavit. His ſentiment was as of ſome other rigid diſciplinarians at that time, that the Clergy ſhould travell on foot." 'Tis well known that our Judges till the firſt year of Queen *Mary* rode always to *Weſtminſter* on Mules [t]. Hence *Chriſtopher Urſwyke* who had been Dean of *Windſor* in his will made 10 *Oct.* 1521. deviſes to Mr. *Cuthbert Tunſtall* maiſter of the *Rolles* his gowne of black furred with *Martron*, his typpet of ſarcenet furred with Sables, and his little *Mule* with ſadle and bridle and all hir harneys. *Lib.* Mainwaryng in *Cur. Prærog.* and upon the motive of an affected Humility it doubtleſſe was that *John de Beverle* in his will dated in 1380. "Volo quod corpus meum ſit ductum ab hoſpitio meo per duos aſinos ſi poſſint inveniri, *&c.* Regiſtr. *Bekingham Epiſcopi Lincoln.* And hence the Sumptuary Law for apparel 24 *H.* 8. *c.* 13. prohibits all perſons to weare upon their horſe, *Mule*, or other beaſt any ſilk of purpure, *&c.* Of the cuſtome of the Clergy ſee *Bede Eccl. Hiſt.*

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[q] Du Freſn. Gloſſ. in voce. [r] De reſignat. l. 7. qu. 13. n. 6 & 7. [ſ] Tom. 2. ſummæ de ſuperbia. [t] Dugd. Orig. Jurid. p. 38.

l. 3. *c.* 14. *l.* 4. *c.* 3. and that they firſt begun to ride on mares *Ibid. l.* 2. *c.* 13. unleſſe there be ſome Error in the print. And as to Cardinals *David Chambre* in his Hiſtory of the Popes abridged [u] acquaints us, that *Innocent* IV. gave them liberty to ride on horſeback, and that Pope *Clement* V. ordained they ſhould ride upon aſſes according to the example of our Saviour.

But theſe rich trappings and houſings of the Cardinals mule may give offence; Herein He could juſtify himſelf by an eſpetiall privilege to theſe of his Degree, *Equitare mulas phaleratas, & clavam argenteam ante ſe deferre* [x]. Here then is a Poleax or Mace alſo, and the ſame Author *p.* 30. acquaints us that in the *Roman* Court, the Cardinals "Dum equitant *mulas*, præmittunt apparitores cum "argenteis *clavis* & *bulgis* ab acupictoribus gentilitijs inſignibus "auro & argento redimitis, necnon famulos duos pediſſequas (pa-"rafrænarios vocant) baculis duobus innixos.

The Chancellour had and ſtill hath a Sergeant of Arms who bears a Mace before him and in like manner the Chancellour of *France* [y]. But though *Wolſey* was Chancellour when this draught was made, yet we ſee ſome Biſhop ſupplied his place *pro tempore* ſtanding behind the Travers on the Right of the Throne.

I ſuppoſe your intention in publiſhing this draught extends no farther than to the Cardinals perſon; but there are ſeveral other particulars very remarkable: I ſhall very briefly touch ſome of them, and take the Eccleſiaſticks firſt who are all placed on the two Benches on that ſide of the Houſe which is on the Right Hand of the King as he ſitts on his Throne, the Biſhops on one Bench and behind them the Abbots and Prior of *Coventry* on another placed next to the Wall. For the Prior of St. *Johns* as it will be ſoon ſhewn was reputed a Temporal Baron.

Here are not the whole number of the Biſhops Abbots or Temporal Peers ſummoned; but in all probability thoſe only that were actually preſent in Parliament are here repreſented, and if their Arms had been placed near them, as in the caſes of the Cardinal and Archbiſhop, We might have been inſtructed in ſeveral particulars touching the precedency of theſe Eccleſiaſticks; for I have reaſons to believe ſome Sees and ſome Abbeys had a ſtated precedence annexed to them, while others were contingent and ambulatory in their places according to the antiquity of their reſpective Conſecrations.

I ſhall begin my obſervations on the Miters, the greateſt mark of Dignity of theſe Eccleſiaſticks, which this figure exhibits in the ſame form, though certainly there was a difference between thoſe of Biſhops, who had an ordinary Juriſdiction through the Limits of their Dioceſſes, and thoſe of the Abbots, whoſe juriſdiction was circumſcribed within the precincts of their Cloyſters. Nay ſome of the Abbots had the uſe of the Miter before they were exempted from the Juriſdiction of their *Dioceſan*. Thus the Abbot of *Taviſtock* had licence to procure a Bull *utendi mitrâ, ſandalijs, & alijs inſignibus Pontificalibus* Pat. 36 H. 6. p. 2. and obtained a grant by patent to ſit in the Houſe of Lords in 5 *H.* 8. *Seldens* Titles of Hon. *p.* 260. and yet was not exempted from the Juriſdiction of the Biſhop of *Exeter* till by a Bull dated 18 *Sept.* 1517.

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[u] P. 152, 160. [x] Cohellius Notitia Cardinalatus p. 28. [y] Du Cheſne Hiſt. des Chancel. en preface.

One of the Epiſcopal Enſigns within the Diſtricts of their Dioceſſes was a Croſier Staff, which the Abbots who had Pontifical Ornaments granted them by Bulls, uſed alſo in conſequence of that Privilege, and yet we are inſtructed by the Effigies on Seals that the Biſhops carried theſe Croſiers in their left Hands whereas the Abbots bore them in their Right, and probably there was ſome known contradiſtinction likewiſe in the Rings Gloves and Sandals.

But the preſent Enquiry is touching the miters, the practice in foreign parts is, that Biſhopps wear them with the Broadſide, not with the Horns as they are termed or ſlitts before, the Abbots for difference wear them turned in profile with the Croſſe on the Inſide to intimate their juriſdiction is confined to their Monaſteries [z] which Variety of poſture is carefully obſerved by ſome of our Heraldick Authors [a]. But this method of diſtinction doth not appear in this figure, for the Biſhops and Abbots wear their Miters exactly alike in front.

When ſeveral Abbots had obtained Indulgences from the Popes to uſe Miters, the Biſhops being diſſatisfyed at their entring the Synods and Councils, Pope *Clement* IV. by a Bull dated 19 *Kal. Sept.* in the 2d year that is *A. D.* 1266. determined, "Ut in Synodis abbates exempti mitris aurifrigiatis, ſed ſine gemmis, laminiſq; aureis vel argenteis utantur, non exempti ſimplicibus albis & planis: in alijs vero locis utriſq; ijs uti Mitris liceat, quas ſedis Apoſtolicæ indulta permiſerint." Du Freſn. Gloſſ. voce Abb. "mitrati. The Ceremonial of the Proceſſion and ſitting in Parl. 5 *H.* 8. takes notice that the Miters of the Biſhopps were real Gold, thoſe of the Abbots argent garniſhed Gold all of them with murrey labells [b]. I can't here omit what a ſecular Clergyman who wrote upon Heraldry in the reign of *H. 6.* ſaith of theſe Abbots who bore Miters, which hath relation too to the Mules, which was according to the fantaſtick Humour of his age, "Quod iſti magni Abbates & abbatiſſæ debent in ſuis Armis portare leopardos, mulos, burdones, vel titiros, pro eo, quod ipſi habent & portant inſtrumenta Epiſcoporum ut mitram & crucem, ut muli, leopardi & tales beſtiæ portant inſtrumenta generativa equorum & leonum, non tamen eis utuntur naturaliter, neq; habent ipſum actum vel generationis exercitium. Sic dicti Abbates & Abbatiſſæ habent mitras & baculos, non tamen ipſum actum habent vel exercitium conferendi & miniſtrandi certa ſacramenta & negotia Epiſcopis pertinentia [c].

Whatever might be the diſtinction in their Miters, the robes of the Abbots differ from thoſe of the Biſhopps the former wore Gowns Hoods and black Caſſocks, but ***Waltham*** and ***Cirenceſter*** had doubtleſſe white Caſſocks underneath according to the Habit of Canons Regular of St. *Auſtin*, and thus they are depicted in the Proceſſion to Parl. in 3 *H.* 8. which may be conſulted in ***Muſéum Aſhmol. Oxon. n.*** 13.

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[z] Diction. de Trevoux v. Mitre. [a] Silveſter de Petra Sancta Teſſ. Genhlit. p. 618. Cidaris in Epiſcoporum ſymbolicis parmulis omnino adverſa ſtatuitur, obliqua vero in parmulis Cœnobitarum. Meneſtr. Blaſon juſtif. p. 220. les Abbez portent une Croſſe, les Abbez mitres y ajoutent la mitre, mais un peu tournee, les Eveques la mettent de front. Du Val obſer. p. 5. les Eveques mettent la mitre de front. Monet Pratiq. des Arm. p. 182. le Timbre des Abbes mitres ſe dreſſe de leur mitre en pourfil. [b] L. 10. penes me p. 9. [c] Upton de re militari p. 148.

If the Arms of theſe Eccleſiaſticks had been here placed, we ſhould have been inſtructed in the method of their precedencies, which if I am not miſtaken were different, that is that ſome of the Abbots like the Biſhops had by vertue of their Abbeys a certain fixed precedency, and that others of them took place according to the priority of their Creations. But to omit that enquiry, we here find the Prior of St. *Johns* of *Jeruſalem*, who was no part of the Clergy [d] ſitting at the Head of the Temporal Barons, and thence He was ſtiled *Primus Baro Angliæ* [e]. The Barons Bench begins on the form which is placed athwart the Parlament chamber, and the ſame is continued with a ſupplementall form next the Wall behind the Earls Bench. Here we have the Robe of this Prior, which is repreſented alſo in colours in *Muſ. Aſhmol.* in a rolle of Proceſſion to the Parlt. 3 *H.* 8. being a Gown Sable doubled Ermin murray a Collar with the Croſſe on the left ſide of his Gown Argt. his Stockings red and Shoes black. Hence in the Statute of Apparel 24 *H.* 8. *c.* 13. there is a Proviſion that Viſcounts, the Prior of St. *John* of *Jeruſalem* and Barons might weare in their doubletts or ſleveleſſe Cotes Cloth of Gold Silver or tinſell. I have ſufficiently tired you and therefore omitt the explaining that part of this Draught which exhibits the Sovereign, the *Regalia*, the Temporal Peers, the Great Officers, the Aſſiſtants, the Officers Attending, and the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons at the Bar, with others of that houſe, whereof one is covered, a privilege granted to ſeveral perſons in the reign of *Hen.* 8.

I am your moſt faithful Servant,

Heralds Office 2 January 1722. John Anſtis *Garter*.

I had forgot to obſerve that this Compariſon of Abbots with Miters to Mules was not ſolely the Notion of the Heralds, for *Chaſſanæus Catal. Glor. Mundi p.* 1. *concluſ.* 5. writes that the Pontifical Ornaments do not belong *de jure communi* to any inferior to the Order of Biſhopps, and quotes *Germinianus* in *c. ut apoſtolicæ de privileg. in* VI. *quod hæc operantur in iſtis* [*Abbatibus,*] *quod genitalia in mulis*, which in the Edition of that Book in 4*to* is miſprinted *multis*.

Coll. Nº 59. B. II. c. 24.

‘PLeaſeth your good Lordſhip to underſtand, that ſithence the Beginning of the Parliament, there hath been the greateſt and ſoreſt Hold in the Lower Houſe for the Payment of Two Shillings of the Pound, that ever was ſeen, I think, in any Parliament. This Matter hath been debated, and beaten fifteen or ſixteen Days together. The higheſt Neceſſity alledged on the King's Behalf to us, that ever was heard of: And, on the contrary, the higheſt Poverty confeſſed, as well by Knights, Eſquires and Gentlemen of every Quarter: As by the Commoners, Citizens and Burgeſſes, there hath been ſuch Hold, that the Houſe was like to have been diſſevered. That is to ſay, the Knights being of the King's Council, the King's Servants and Gentlemen

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[d] Te Bret Playdoie 27. [e] Pat. 1. E. 4. p. 2. m. 13. Pat. 10. E. 4. p. 1. m. 13. Camd. Brit. p. 123.

‘of the one Party; which in ſo long Time were ſpoken with, and made to ſee, yea, it may fortune, contrary to their Heart, Will and Conſcience. Thus hanging this Matter yeſterday, the more Part being the King's Servants, Gentlemen, were there aſſembled: And ſo they, being the more Part, willed and gave to the King, Two Shillings of the Pound of Goods or Lands, the beſt, to be taken for the King. All Lands to pay Two Shillings of the Pound fro the Laity, to the higheſt. The Goods to pay Two Shillings of the Pound, fro Twenty Pound upward: And from Forty Shillings of Goods, to Twenty Pound; to ſixteen Pence of the Pound. And under Forty Shillings, any Perſon to pay eight Pence. This to be paid in two Years. I have heard no Man in my Life, that can remember, that ever there was given to any one of the King's Aunceſtors Half ſo much at one Graunt. Nor, I think, there was never ſuch a Preſident ſeen before this Time. I beſeeke Almighty God, it may be well and peaceably levied; and ſurely paſſed unto the King's Grace, without Grudge; and eſpecially, without looſing the Good will and true Hearts of his Subjects: Which I reckon as far greater Treaſure for the King, than Gold and Silver. And the Gentlemen that muſt take Pains to levy this Money among the King's Subjects, I think, ſhall have no little Buſineſs about the ſame.

This Gentleman's Conjecture proved true in the Parts of *Suffolk*; where there was an Inſurrection of Four Thouſand People againſt the Duke, and other Commiſſioners, upon their Collection of this Tax; but appeaſed by the Duke of *Norfolk*: As there was a Murmuring about it in other Places of the Realm. But to go on with the Letter.

‘My Lord Cardinal hath promiſed on his Faith, that the Two Shillings of the Pound of Loan Money ſhall be paid with a good Will, and with Thanks. But no Day is appointed thereof, *&c.*

‘Alſo, the Convocation among the Prieſts, the Day of their Appearance, as ſoon as Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt at *Paul*'s was done, my Lord Cardinal acited alſo them to appear before his Convocation at *Weſtminſter*: Which ſo did; and there was another Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt. And within ſix or ſeven Days, the Prieſts proved, that all that my Lord Cardinal's Convocation ſhould do, it ſhould be void; becauſe that their Summons was to appear before my Lord of *Canterbury*. Which Thing ſo eſpied, my Lord Cardinal hath addreſſed a new Citation into every Country, commaunding the Prieſts to appear before him eight Days after the *Aſcenſion*. And then I think they ſhall have the Third Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt. I pray God, the Holy Ghoſt be among them, and us both.

‘I do tremble to remember the End of all theſe high and new Enterprizes. For oftentimes it hath been ſeen, that to a new Enterprize, there followeth a new Maner, and ſtrange Sequel. God of his Mercy ſend his Grace unto ſuch Faſhion, that it may be for the beſt. Written on *Aſcenſion* Day, by him that, during his Life, ſhall be glad to be at your Commaundment with his Service.

No Name ſubſcribed.

Decanus.
Subdecanus.
Sexaginta Canonici primi Ordinis } *Omnes Studiis*
Quadraginta Canonici ſecundi Ordinis } *incubituri.*

Treſdecim Presbyteri Conductitii
Duodecim Clerici Conductitii } *Omnes Divorum Celebrationi quotidie inſervituri.*
Sexdecim Choriſtæ

Profeſſores Collegii & Academiæ publici,

Sacræ Theologiæ.
Juris Canonici.
Juris Civilis.
Medicinæ.
Artium Liberalium.
Humaniorum Literarum.

Profeſſores Privati & Domeſtici,

Philoſophiæ.
Logices.
Sophiſtriæ.
Humaniorum Literarum.
Cenſores Morum & Eruditionis, Quatuor.
Præfecti Ærarii, Tres.
Vacantes colligendis Redditibus, Quatuor.
Miniſtri communes Collegii, Viginti, in re Oeconomica prædictis ſubſervituri.

Summa totius numeri CLXXVI.

Aſſignantur item annuatim non mediocres pecuniarum Summæ, Partim in excipiendis convivio extraneis inſumendæ; Partim in Eleemoſynas ſingulis anni quartis erogandæ. Præter ſumptus equitii, ac aliorum, quæ in tanta familia indies occurrunt, & ſunt neceſſaria.

A Correct Liſt of the Priors of St. Frideſwids Oxon. *as well as that can be poſſibly Collected from all the Evidences I have been able to meet with.* Brown Willis, *Eſq;*

Coll. N° 60. B. II. c. 25. G*uymundus* made Firſt Prior IIII died according the Monaſtion 1141. *aa*
Rob. de Cricklade alias *Canutus* ſucceeded 1141 preſided 1159 as did
Philip Anno 1179 and 1188 and
John Anno 1191 after whom I meet with
W—— Prior in ſome records to 1204 in *A. Woods* Collection, and then
Simon Anno 1219 and 1227 to whom ſucceeded
Helias Canon of this Church Elected 1228 the next was
E—— *Scotus* on whoſe Deprivation 1235
Will. de Glouceſter alias St. *Aldato* ſucceeded 1235 on whoſe Death
Rob. de Weſton became Elected 1248 as did
John de Aney 1254 He died 1278 and was ſucceeded by
John de Leukenhower or *Leuknor* 8 *Cal. Oct.* 1278 I take him to be the ſame with
John Ols Sylver Prior of this Church killed in a Tumult 1284 his Succeſſour was
Robert de Weſton alias *Eveline* who reſigning 1291
Alexander de Sutton was choſen Prior 8 *Cal. Maii* 1291 He died 1317 and was ſucceeded by

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aa I take it the preſent Church was begun by Prior *Guymond* and finiſhed in his time and that of his 2 Succeſſors Prior *Robert* and Prior *Philip* the Firſt of of them was Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Oxford* and the other (*viz.*) *Philip* made himſelf known to Poſterity by writing a Book of the Miracles of St. *Frideſwide* and tranſlating her Relicks into a Tomb or ſhrine he built for that purpoſe. *Oxon. Twyne* and *Woods* Antiq. univerſ. *Oxon.* See *Kennets* porochial Antiquitys of *Ambroſden*, &c. *Woods* Antiqu. Un. *Oxon.* and ſeveral Manſcr. in *Chriſts-Church* Treaſury *Oxon.*

Robert de Torweſton 8 *Cal. Sept.* 1317 He died 1346 and was ſucceeded by

John de Lytlemore 1346 He died 1349 and was ſucceeded by

Nicholas de Hungerford 8 Id. *Maii* 1349 being *Anno* 1362 accus'd of Dilapidations he ſeems to have been forced to quit this Office to

John de Wallingford 1362 who reſigned in *Nov.* 1373 had for his Succeſſour

John Dodeford Elected *Dec.* 1373 he reſigned *Anno* 1391 by reaſon of his great Age 2 Years before his Death to

Tho. Bradwell Confirm'd Prior *May* 23. 1391 His Succeſſour was

Richard de Oxenford he occu' Prior 1401 and 1409 and probably govern'd till 1434 when

Edmund Andever was Elected to this dignity *June* 8th 1434 He died as I judge about 1440 1450 and was ſucceeded by

Robert Downham who occu' Prior 1441 and 1456 the next I meet with is

George Norton He preſided *Ano.* 1479 but when He was admitted appears not to me and dying about the latter End of the ſame Year, *viz.* 1479 or beginning of 1480 was ſucceeded by

Richard Walker he died 1495 and was ſucceeded by

Tho. Ware admitted Prior *Jan.* 6. 1495 he died 1501 and was ſucceeded by

Will. Chedyl admitted *June* 6. 1501 on whoſe reſignation

John Burton the laſt Prior became admitted *April* 8th 1513.

Anno 1518 he commenced *LLB* and afterwards Doctor having Govern'd this Monaſtery about 11 Years, he ſurrendred the ſame to Cardinal *Wolſey* to the intent that He ſhould Erect a College on the Site thereof which was accordingly perform'd and Named *Chriſt Church* on his Reſignation he obtain'd a Sallary of 20 Marks *per An.* during Life, which is all I know of him, except that on his quitting this Place, as I Gueſs, he retir'd to *Oſeney* Abby, where he became Abbot *An.* 1531. About ſeven Years after which I preſume he died and was there buried.

The Lodgings of the Prior of St. *Frideſwide* are poſſeſſed by the Canon of the ſecond Stall, who is Dr. *Tho. Burton* ſucceſſor in this Canonry to his Grace Dr. *Wake* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury.*

Great part of the Cloyſters together with the Chapter houſe are ſtill ſtanding; and the latter is commonly uſed as the Audit Room of the Canons.

Pro Suppreſſione Monaſterii Sanctæ Fridiſwidæ de Aſſenſu Regio conceſſo.

REx omnibus ad quos, *&c.* Salutem.

Inſpeximus Bullam ſanctiſſimi Domini noſtri Clementis ejus Nominis, Divinâ Providentiâ, Papæ ſeptimi ad Reverendiſſimum in Chriſto Patrem Thomam, Miſeratione Divinâ, Tituli Sanctæ Ceciliæ trans Tiberim ſacroſanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ Presbiterum Cardinalem Eborum Archiepiſcopum & Apoſtolicæ ſedis Legatum, necnon Felicis Recordationis Leonis nuper Papæ Decimi & Adriani Papæ ſexti ac etiam ſanctiſſimi Domini noſtri Clementis, Divinâ Providentiâ, hujus Nominis Papæ Septimi moderni dictæque Sedis ad Nos Regnumque noſtrum Angliæ ac omnes & ſingulas ipſius Regni noſtri Provincias Civitates Terras atque Loca illi ſubjecta & alia illi adjacentia ad Vitam ſuam etiam de Latere Legatum, Epiſcopum Dunelmenſem, Exemptiq; Monaſterij Sancti Albani Commen-

Coll. N° 60. Rym. Conv. T. 14. p. 15. B. II. c.

datorium perpetuum, Angliæ Primatem & Cancellarium noſtrum, per nomen Dilecti Filii Thomæ Tituli Sanctæ Ceciliæ Presbiteri Cardinalis in Regno Angliæ ſui & Apoſtolicæ Sedis Legati tranſmiſſam Plumbo ſigillatam & Datam Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ Milleſimo Quingenteſimo Viceſimo, quarto, Tertio Nonas Aprilis, Pontificatûs ejuſdem Anno Primo,

Cujus Tenor ſequitur in hæc Verba.

Clemens Epiſcopus Servus Servorum Dei Dilecto Filio Thomæ Tituli Sanctæ Ceciliæ Presbitero Cardinali in Regno Angliæ noſtro & Apoſtolicæ Sedis Legato Salutem & Apoſtolicam Benedictionem.

Quoniam per Literarum Studia Viri bonis Moribus imbuuntur, Humiles extolluntur, Studioſi, Spiritu ſapientiæ ac intellectûs ſuffuſi, gerendis Rebus ſeriem ac cæteris opem Concilii afferunt ſanioris, dignum cenſemus ut hujuſmodi Studiis vacantibus favores gratioſos & opportuna Commoditatum Auxilia liberaliter impendamus.

Cum itaque Circumſpectio tua, in partem Solicitudinis à Sede Apoſtolica vocata, ſicut in humanis adhuc agens, Conſilio, Prudentiâ, & Auctoritate Sedem hanc honorare, ac eandem Hæreſibus undequaque impetitam illibatam conſervare. Fidemque chriſtianam tueri ſtuduiſti, honoras conſtruas quantumque tueris; Ita, quo magis à Domino, ad Animæ tuæ Salutem, promerearis, Literarum & Eruditionis, quæ unicum Fidei & Religionis Præſidium ſunt, in Collegio, per Circumſpectionem tuam in Alma Achademia Oxonienſi conſtruendo, Sedem perpetuam ponere & conſtabilire intendis,

Nos igitur, præſentium Temporum Calamitate edocti quantum Religionis & Fidei retulerit Orthodoxæ ſana Scientiarum Studia conſtitui, ſanctúmque proinde animi tui Propoſitum ad effectum perducere cupientes, ac de Ingenii tui claritate Providentia ac Morum integritate aliiſque Virtutum Donis, quibus mirum in modum inſignitus es, confidentes, Motu proprio, non ad alicujus Nobis ſuper hoc oblatæ Petitionis inſtantiam, ſed de noſtra mera Deliberatione ac certa Scientia, Circumſpectioni tuæ in Monaſterio, per Priorem gubernari ſolito, Sanctæ Frediſwidæ Ordinis Sancti Auguſtini Lincolnienſi Dioceſe, quod in ipſius Univerſitatis meditullio exiſtit, ſi ad hoc Clariſſimi in Chriſto Filii noſtri Henrici Angliæ Regis Illuſtris acceſſerit Aſſenſus, Nomen Monaſterij & Dignitatem Prioratûs necnon Ordinem hujuſmodi & Dependentiam Auctoritate noſtrâ ſupprimendum penitùs & Extinguendum ac Canonicorum inibi degentium Perſonas ad aliâ Monaſteria ſive Loca ejuſdem Ordinis Transferendi, necnon, ſuppreſſis Monaſterij Nomine Dignitate Ordine & Dependentia hujuſmodi, Nomen Collegij Clericorum Secularium Imponendi, & Collegium hujuſmodi Inſtituendi, ac illi omnes & ſingulos ipſius tunc ſi ſuppreſſi Monaſterij Fructus, Redditus, Proventus, & Bona, quæ omnia Præſentibus pro expreſſis haberi volumus, ad effectuum ut Perſonæ idoneæ pro ratione Facultatum dicti Loci in eodem Loco inſtituendæ, partim publicis Lectionibus aſtrictæ Liberales Artes ac commodum Studentium profiteantur & aliis interpretentur, partim Eccleſiæ dicti Loci in eodem Loco inſtituendæ, partim publicis Lectionibus aſtrictæ Liberales Artes ac commodum Studentium profiteantur & aliis interpretentur, partim Eccleſiæ dicti Loci intendentes divinis inſerviant, perpetuó Applicandi & Appropriandi, aliáque, prout Tibi commodo dictæ Univerſitatis videbitur, in Præmiſſis & circa ea neceſſaria Faciendi, Statuendi,

endi, ac etiam ſub Cenſuris & Pœnis Eccleſiaſticis exequendi, plenam & liberam Auctoritatem Tenore Præſentium concedimus,

Non Obſtantibus Apoſtolicis ac Bonæ Memoriæ Ottonis & Ottoboni olim in Regno Angliæ Apoſtolicæ ſedis Legatorum ac in Provincialibus & Sinodalibus Conciliis editis generalibus vel ſpecialibus Conſtitutionibus & Ordinationibus, necnon Monaſterij & Ordinis prædictorum Juramento Confirmatione Apoſtolicâ vel quavis Firmitate aliâ roboratis Statutis & Conſuetudinibus, ac eiſdem Monaſterio & Ordine ſub quibuſcumque tenoribus & formis ac cum quibúſvis Clauſulis & Decretis conceſſis Privilegiis & Indultis Apoſtolicis, quibus, illorum Tenores Præſentibus pro expreſſis habentes, illis aliàs in ſuo Robore permanſuris hac vice dumtaxat ſpecialiter & expreſsè, Motu ſimili Derogamus, cæteriſque contrariis quibuſcumque.

Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ Milleſimo Quingenteſimo Viceſimo quarto, Tertio Nonas Aprilis, Pontificatûs noſtri Anno primo.

Nos verò, attentiùs conſiderantes piam & Sanctam Mentem Beatiſſimi Domini noſtri Papæ antedicti ut in Bulla prædicta continetur, quòd Nomen Monaſterij & Dignitas Prioratûs Sanctæ Frediſwidæ Ordinis Sancti Auguſtini, necnon Ordo hujuſmodi cum omni ejuſdem Dependentia, per prædictum Reverendum in Chriſto Patrem ſupprimatur & extinguatur, ac Canonicorum inibi degentium Perſonæ ad alia Loca ſive Monaſteria ejuſdem Ordinis transferantur,

Etiam conſiderantes Conceſſionem Bullæ prædictæ per Sanctiſſimum Dominum noſtrum antedictum non in aliam Intentionem factam fuiſſe quam ut Fructus, Redditus, Proventus, & Bona Monaſterij ſic ſuppreſſi in meliorem & commodiorem Uſum Convertantur,

Et omnino cupientes ut tàm pius Sanctiſſimi Domini noſtri Affectus ſuum plenum integrum & inviolabilem conſequantur Effectum,

Ex mero Motu Gratia noſtra ſpeciali ac ex certa Scientia noſtra plenum & integrum Aſſenſum noſtrum Regium Dedimus & Conceſſimus, ac per Præſentes Damus & Concedimus ut prædictus Reverendiſſimus in Chriſto Pater, virtute & vigore Bullæ prædictæ, & ex noſtro pleno Aſſenſu, Nomen Monaſterij & Dignitatem Prioratûs Sanctæ Frediſwidæ Ordinis Sancti Auguſtini prædictæ, necnon Ordinem hujuſmodi, cum omni ejuſdem Dependentia, Supprimere Entinguere & Canonicorum inibi degentium Perſonas ad alia Monaſteria ſive Loca ejuſdem Ordinis Transferre poſſit & valeat, ad Intentionem quod idem Reverendiſſimus in Chriſto Pater Nomen Collegij Clericorum Secularium ibidem, de licentia & Auctoritate noſtris, imponat, & hujuſmodi Collegium inde Inſtitui faciat omnibus & ſingulis quoad ad Inſtitutionem Collegii prædicti necnon ad Erectionem & Fundationem ejuſdem quæ in ea parte requiruntur Auctoritate noſtrâ concurrentibus,

Et Ulterius Sciatis quòd Nos, de Gratia noſtra ſpeciali, tam Impetrationem prædictæ Bullæ, quàm etiam Præſentationem, Exhibitionem, Acceptationem, ſive Receptionem ejuſdem & Executionem Approbamus, & Ratificamus, omnia Rata Grata & Firma ac etiam ut Juri noſtræ Coronæ & Prærogativæ noſtræ conſona habentes & reputantes, quæcúmque à quocúmque, circa dictæ Bullæ Impetrationem, Exhibitionem, Acceptationem, Executionem aut Uſum, geſta, facta, executa, dicta, ſeu quomodolibet procurata fuerint.

Declarantes noſtræ Intentionis eſſe nè quis Juſticiariorum Eſcaetorum, Ballivorum, Vicecomitum, Coronatorum, aut Miniſtrorum noſtrorum Hæredum, aut Succeſſorum, ſeu quævis alia Perſona deinceps & impoſterùm, ullo quæſito colore noſtræ Prærogativæ aut Coronæ noſtræ, dictæ Bullæ Impetrationem, Exhibitionem, Acceptationem, Executionem, aut Uſum ejuſdem impugnare aut Impedire præſumant, aut hujuſmodi vel quocúmque alio prætextu ſeu occaſione, Foriſfacturæ Pœnæ aut commiſſi Nomine, vel quavis alia ex Cauſa Re vel Materia, aliquid Nomine noſtro Hæredum aut Succeſſorum noſtrorum aut aliàs petere exigere aut vendicare, licet idem Monaſterium de Fundatione noſtra ſive alicujus Progenitorum noſtrorum aut cujuſvis alterius Fundatione exiſtat.

Eo quòd expreſſa mentio de vero valore Annuo, aut de Certitudine Præmiſſorum, ſive aliquo alio Valore vel eorum alicujus, aut aliis Donis ſive Conceſſionibus, per Nos aut aliquem Progenitorum noſtrorum, præfato Reverendiſſimo Domino Cardinali ante hæc tempora factis, in Præſentibus minimé facta exiſtit, aut aliquo Statuto, Actu, Ordinatione, aut Proviſione, & ſpecialiter Statuto de Terris & Tenementis ad Manum Mortuam non ponendis & Statuto de Proviſoribus inde in contrarium factis, editis, ordinatis, ſive proviſis, aut aliquâ aliâ Re Cauſâ & Materiâ quacúmque in aliquo non obſtantibus.

Et Quoniam Animi id noſtri Intentioniſque ſit omnibus quibuſcúmque modis providere, ut Conceſſiones noſtræ prædictæ, præfato Reverendiſſimo in Chriſto Patri factæ, adverſus Inſidiantium, Calumpniantium, Tergiverſantium, & Repugnantium Conatus Aſtutias & Calliditates omneſque Objectiones, Allegationes, & Exceptiones, quacúmque ex cauſa competentes & per quemcúmque deinceps proponendas, Firmæ ſemper maneant & Inconcuſſæ, ſuámque Vim integram conſervent & illibatam in Jure Judiciiſque omnino optineant & admittantur, pleniſſimum denique & validiſſimum conſequantur Effectum, volumus inſuper & Concedimus quòd ſi præfatæ Literæ noſtræ, in aliqua parte earumdem, ratione Omiſſionis Tranſpoſitionis aut Immutationis quarumcúmque Clauſularum Sententiarum Verborum Literarum, diverſave aut indebita Nominum aut Locorum Nominatione Appellatione, aut aliàs quomodocúmque minus validæ efficaces & inſufficientes in Lege exiſtunt, aut aliquos Defectus in eiſdem contigerit aliquo unquam tempore inveniri in futurum, ſicque Literæ hujuſmodi in Materia, Forma, Modo, Ordine, Scriptura, Data, aut alio modo quocúmque neceſſe habeant immutari corrigi aut reformari déque novo fieri conſcribi & ſigillari, ex tunc Cancellarius noſter Angliæ Hæredum & Succeſſorum noſtrorum qui pro tempore fuerit, harum Literarum Patentium virtute Mandato & Waranto, Poteſtatem habeat & Auctoritatem, ad Petitionem Requiſitionem & Proſecutionem prædicti Reverendiſſimi in Chriſto Patris Hæredum & Succeſſorum ſuorum aliorúmque quorumcúmque quos hæc noſtra Conceſſio quoviſmodo tanget, præſentes Literas, reformare, corrigere, addere, diminuere, detrahere in melioremque efficaciorem & validiorem Modum & Formam, prout Caſus exiget, qui pro Parte prædicti Reverendiſſimi in Chriſto Patris Hæredum & Succeſſorum ſuorum aliorúmque quos hæc noſtra Conceſſio tanget facere videbuntur, & ſecundùm eas judicare erga & contra Nos Hæredes & Succeſſores noſtros prout meliús ſciri poterit ac intelligi, non obſtante aliquâ Omiſſione Defectu Negligentia Repugnantia ſeu Contrarietate in eiſdem.

Et inſuper de uberiori Gratia noſtra, & Liberalitate ac Munificentia, ſingulari Affectione, propenſóque Animo quem erga dictum Reverendiſſimum in Chriſto Patrem, ac etiam præfati Collegij Erectionem Fundationem & Stabilimentum gerimus, necnon ob egregia ejus in Nos Regnúmque noſtrum præſtita Officia, ac alias juſtas & rationabiles Cauſas Nos Animúmque noſtrum in hac parte moventes, prædicto Reverendiſſimo in Chriſto Patri omnia & ſingula Fines & Pecuniarum Summas quaſcúmque pro Præmiſſis aut Præmiſſorum aut alicujus eorumdem occaſione, Nobis Hæredibus aut Succeſſoribus noſtris debita, ſive debenda & quæcumque a nobis Hæredibus aut ſucceſſoribus noſtris ab eodem Reverendiſſimo in Chriſto Patre Hæredibus & Succeſſoribus ſuis aliiſque quibuſcúmque, eorumdem vel alicujus eorum prætextu, in Cancellaria noſtra Hanaperio Scaccario aut alibi peti, requiri, demandari, aut exigi poterant, liberè plenè & integrè Dedimus & Conceſſimus Damus & Concedimus per præſentes, indéque prædictum Reverendiſſimum in Chriſto Patrem Hæredes & Succeſſores ſuos ac alios quoſcúmque, quos hæc noſtra Conceſſio quovis modo tanget, Acquietamus & Liberamus, Quietos & Liberos dimittimus per Præſentes.

Nolentes, quòd prædictus Reverendiſſimus in Chriſto Pater Hæredes & Succeſſores ſui aliive quicúmque, ea de Cauſa, moleſtentur inquietentur aut in aliquo graventur; ſed quód Cancellarius noſter Angliæ, Theſaurarius & Barones Scaccarij noſtri, Clericus Hanaperij, ac cæteri Officiarij & Miniſtri noſtri quicúmque, à prædictis Feodorum Finium & aliorum ſolvi debitorum aut conſuetorum pro Præmiſſis, aut aliquo Præmiſſorum Petitione Exactione vel Levatione, ſint, apud Nos Hæredes & Succeſſores noſtros per has Literas noſtras penitus & totaliter Acquietati & Exonerati, abſque aliquo alio Brevi Mandato ſive Waranto noſtro Hæredum vel Succeſſorum noſtrorum pro Præmiſſis aut aliquo Præmiſſorum proſequendo, fiendo habendo, aut in Hanaperio noſtro ſive Cancellaria noſtra aut aliquibus aliis Curiis noſtris aut alibi exhibendo.

Volumuſque & Mandamus quod ſuper hujuſmodi noſtris Conceſſionibus præſentes Literæ noſtræ Patentes aliæq; deinceps corrigendæ & reformandæ, ſi quas tales fieri contigerit, fiant expediantur ſigillentur & tradantur prædicto Reverendiſſimo in Chriſto Patri, Hæredibus, Succeſſoribus, Executoribus, & Aſſignatis ſuis, abſque aliquo Fine ſive Feodo magno vel parvo Nobis in Cancellaria noſtra ſive in Hanaperio noſtro ſeu alibi ſolvendo ſive faciendo; Eo quod expreſſa mentio, *&c.*

In Cujus, &c.

Teſte Rege apud Weſtmonaſterium Decimo Die Maii.

Inclytæ Oxonienſ. Academiæ.

Coll. Nº 61.
B. II. c. 25.
Ep. 102.

Dilectiſſimi Amici Sal' atq; aſſiduum in bonis literis profectum. Quantum fidei ſynceriſſimis noſtris monitis preſtiteritis, ex eo facillimum fuit agnoſcere, quod noſtris acceptis literis, diſſidia, factionumq; ſtudia ob procuratorium negotium iſthic inter vos exorta, non ſolum ſedaſtis, verum etiam (quod maxime cupiebamus) per duos, eoſdemq; probos viros rem integram ad nos deferendam cenſuiſtis, quæ ſane obſequentiſſimi animi ſignificatio ſic nobis extitit accepta, ut rebus potius, quam literis tum publice tum privatim cumulatam vobis gratiam referre concupiamus; Interea tum eam potiſſimum dabimus operam, ut veſtra ſpe, judicioq; concepto neutiquam fruſtremini. Ubi igitur procuratoriam cauſam, ſeditionumq; veſtrarum ſtatum ac ſummam ex duobus viris, hujus duntaxat rei gratia, communi veſtro conſilio ad nos miſſis, omni ex parte percepiſſemus, ex veſtrorum ſtudiorum quiete & tranquillitate imprimis fore exiſtimavimus, ut hæc electio in commodius aliud tempus differatur, duoq; viri tum probi tum vero minus ambitioſi deputentur, qui procuratoris officium uſq; ad divi Michaelis feſtum communi omnium nomine exerceant, nec tanquam procuratoribus, ſed, ut ſcolarum magiſtris, hæc illis provincia demandetur. Huic autem obeundo muneri, quoniam prudentiam, modeſtiam, ac probitatem Thomæ Starke, & Laurentio Barbar artium liberalium magiſtris, haud mediocrem ineſſe accepimus, qui à vobis præficiantur maximè eos dignos eſſe arbitramur, proinde hos in procuratorum locum ſubſtituendos, & uſq; ad præfixum tempus deputandos, vobis ita commendavimus atq; proponimus, ut ſi hoc noſtrum conſilium rejeceritis, veſtrum quoq; commodum & quietem vos aſpernere ſimus judicaturi, at ſi noſtræ huic (ut nihil ambigimus) opinioni adheſeritis, ſtatim poſt feſtum divi Michaelis (tunc enim majorem partem negotiorum, quibus nunc graviſſime premimur, abſolvere nos poſſe ſperamus,) hujuſmodi rerum veſtrarum ſtatum, ordinem & columen Statuemus, ut inclytam iſtam Academiam in ſummo literarum otio altiſſimaq; ſtudiorum tranquillitate conſtitutam, indies clariorem, ſplendidioremq; futuram procul dubio confidamus, Et feliciter valete omnes, ex ædibus noſtris prope Weſtmon. die xxi *Maii.*

1522. *Veſtrorum omnium*

Studioſiſſimus amicus

T. Car'lis Ebor.

Reverendiſſimo Domino Thomæ Cardinali.

Coll. N° 62.
B. II. c. 25.
Ep. 104.

IMprobum profecto exiſtimamus in iis ſummis rerum negotiis quibus veſtra conſultiſſima majeſtas undequaq; graviſſime premitur, veſtram ſublimitatem literis noſtris ſollicitare, ne fortaſſe videamur eam nimia importunitate offendere, atq; publica negocia (quod omen utrunq; Deus avertat) utcunq; remorari. Verum quoniam hoc tempore id negocii habemus quod ex veſtræ unius amplitudinis calculo ita plene pendeat, ut aliunde haudquaquam dirimi poſſit, veſtram clementiam ex animo rogamus ut tantillum ocii à gravioribus negociis ſubtrahat, ac quæ pauculis efflagitamus, benignis auribus excipiat. Demandavit jamdudum nobis per literas veſtra ſublimis authoritas duos viros Academiæ noſtræ Laurentium Barbar & Thomam Starke ad procuratorium negotium exercendum in divi Michaelis feſtum uſq; preficiendos. Quibus literis ubi tam officioſe obtemperavimus, quam multo quidem officioſiſſime debuimus, veſtram clementiſſimam dominationem obſecramus ut ſolitam formulam noſtram eligendi procuratores dignetur pientiſſime ad manus noſtras remittere, atq; eam in uſu integro tantiſper habeamus, donec veſtra majeſtas ab his graviſſimis negociis utcunq; vacua, liberius & commodius nobis & Academiæ noſtræ (quod brevi fore confidimus) proſpexerit. Qua in re ſi veſtra clementia nobis id flagitantibus benigniſſime acquieverit, erit noſtris votis gratum, atq; nos omnia alia in veſtra amplitudine repoſuiſſe, fuerit quoq; gratiſſimum.

ſimum. Ex quo ſane quantum ſplendoris ac beneficiorum noſtræ Academiæ acceſſerit, quanquam ex innumeris argumentis exploratum habemus, ex eo tamen, quod proximis jamdudum cenſuum eſtimationibus à Regiis exploratoribus veſtra clementia tam candide exceptos eſſe voluerit, pleniſſimum fuit intelligere. Quod ſi pari cura Rempub. noſtram (ſupra quam credibile eſt, indigam) veſtra authoritas ab hoc Regio edicto quod rurſum ad æs recolligendum promulgatur, immunem eſſe dignata ſit (hoc enim vel publicis votis ab ea expetimus, apud quam omnia noſtra pleniſſime relata ſunt) eo certe nomine erimus veſtræ celſitudini multo devinctiores, quanquam fuerimus alioqui devinctiſſimi, mirum in modum, Deo immortali ſemper gratulantes, qui talem nobis dedit patronum, quo nemo preclarior felicior aut optatior eſſe poſſit. Deus optimus Maximus veſtram felicitatem nobis diu ſecundet. Oxoniæ vij^{o} Idus Octobris Anno 1522.

Inclytæ Oxonienſ. Academiæ.

Coll. No 63.
B. II. c. 25.
Ep. 105.

AMici noſtri plurimum dilecti; ſalutem & aſſiduum bonarum literarum incrementum. Sepius iſtius veſtræ Academiæ bene componendis rebus animum appoſuimus. Sed ſic negotia graviſſimis ſemper ſucceſſere negociis ut tantum haud unquam otii nobis ſuperfuerit, quo huic rei omni ex parte vacare potuerimus; partim igitur veſtris literis, partim vero aliorum relatu, perſpicientes, ſtudiis, quietiq; veſtræ, detrimenti aliquid ex hac noſtra mora afferri poſſe, conſultiſſimum eſſe cenſuimus, eo uſq; res integras vobis deferendas, quouſq; earum ſtabilimento vacandi ſe uberior offerat occaſio; interea tamen in procuratorum electione antiquas veſtras ſervabitis conſuetudines; ſimultates, rixas, mutuaſq; tolletis ſeditiones, eoſq; nunc potiſſimum eligetis, quos inclytæ iſti academiæ, commodi, decoris, ſplendoriſq; multum afferre poſſe exiſtimaveritis; qua ratione preter cetera illud imprimis aſſequemini, ut bonarum literarum profectus, ſtudiorumq; veſtrorum dignitas quam plurimum augeatur. Ad ea porro quæ de pecuniis Inuit Regiæ Majeſtati conferendis, deq; exoneratoria commiſſione iſthuc mittenda ſcribitis, non poſſumus quicquam ſoli ſuper hac re Statuere, in hoc tamen preſenti termino negotium iſtud una cum his, qui à Regio ſunt conſilio, è re veſtra ſic tractabimus, ut quietem, commodum, ornamentumq; veſtrum ſumme nobis fuiſſe curæ haud dubie vos percepturos eſſe confidamus; Bono igitur eſtote animo, veræ eruditioni, ſanæq; incumbite diſciplinæ, ſeduloq; curate, ne inanis duntaxat gloriæ cauſa, à veris ſtudiis ad privata exercenda odia, animus diſtrahatur. Et feliciter valete. Londini ex ædibus Noſtris die xxij Octobr. M. D. xxij Academie ſtudioſiſſimus Amicus.

T. Car'lis Ebor.

A Letter from the King to the Biſhop of Sarum *concerning the diſſolution of the Monaſtery of* Bromehall, *to be annexed to St.* John's *College.*

Coll. N° 64.
B. II. c. 25.

RIght Reverend Father in God, we grete you well. And for the effectuall diligens ye take at our deſire, in executing your Paſtorall auctoritie, touchynge the excludynge and puttynge owte of the Priores and Nones late of oure Monaſtory of *Bromhall*, for

ſuch Enormityes as was by them uſide, contrary to their Religion, and for the beſtowynge of them in other vertuous Howſes of Religion, we give unto yow our eſpeciall and harty thanks.

And inaſmoche as we underſtonde, that you have in your kepynge certeyne Evydences belongynge to the ſame Monaſtory of *Bromehall*, which ryghtfully belonge unto us, by reſon of the vacation of the ſaid place, and there be noo Nonnes reſtant within the ſame: We therefore woll and command yow further upon the ſyght hereof, to delyver all the ſaid Evydences unto the Bringer hereof, whome we have appoynted to order the ſame, accordynge to our pleaſure. And theſe our Letters ſhall be your ſufficient warrant and diſcharge in this behalfe at all tymes hereafter. Yeven under oure ſignet at oure Mannor of *Richemonde*, the 13th day of *December*, the 13th yere of our Reygne.

By the Cardinall 562.

N° 65. B. II. c. 25. Right interely well beloved Brother in God, we commend us unto you. And foraſmoche as of late the Kyngs Grace did addreſſe unto you his Letters miſſyve, willynge you in the ſame, by your power ordinary to procede ageynſt the enormytes, myſgovernances, and ſlanderus levynge, longe tyme heretofore hade uſede and contynuede by the Priores and the Nonnes for the tymes being of his foundation, wythin your Dioceſs, which we dowte not, but that accordynge to the tenor of his ſaid Letters, ye have done, as apperteynythe. Herefore eftſone we do ſygnyfye unto you by theſe our preſent Letters, that for ſundry lawfull and reſonable Conſiderations, It is the Kyngs pleaſure, and alſo ours, by oure power of Legation, which in the execution of theſe preſents, we be contentid that ye uſe, as oure Depute: and upon ſyghte hereof with all diligenſe and celerite, ye ſhall as well by yowre ſaid power and auctoritie ordinari provide and ſett, as alſo by owre ſaid power of Legation, that all the ſaid Nonnes now beynge there preſent be removede unto other places of that Religion, where ye can beſt and moſt conveyentely beſtowe theyme, ſpecially where they may be brought and inducede unto better and more religious levynge, ſeing theyme and every of theyme incorporated in the ſame places for their ſuerties. Not faylynge thus to doo in any wyſe as ye intende the Kyngs pleaſure and the executyon of oure ſaid auctoritie of Legation: by vertue whereof, we not onely praye, but alſo charge you effectually to execute the premiſſes accordingly. In the doynge whereof we ſhall aſſiſt you from tyme to tyme, as nede and caſe ſhall requiar. So fare ye hartely well, From *Caliſe* the 20th day of *October*.

Upon the Thin Red Book, the oldeſt Book S. John'*s College has, is entred an account of the Foundation of it at Fol.* 61, 62, &c. *After ſome ſhort account of the founding of Chriſt's College, follows*

No 66. B. II. c. 25. Chriſti Collegio conſummato, Oxonienſes Doctores aliquot, qui in Principis [Fundatricis] famulitio id temporis agebant, & inter hos precipue quidam vir magnæ authoritatis, neq; minoris famæ, Principem in ſua vota pellicere ſtudent, hortanturq; ut tale quidpiam Oxonii ageret, quale jam fecerat Cantabrigiæ. Oſtendunt

Monaſterium Divæ Fridiſwydæ, impenſius orant, ut illud in Studioſorum Collegium mutare dignaretur. Id illi facillimum eſſe, quæ nihil non & opibus & potentia potuit. Quo beneficio affirmant, nomen illius in utraq; Academiâ perpetuo celebratum iri. Neq; vero hoc negotium vel ſegniter vel oſcitanter egerunt Oxonienſes illi, ſed magnis & continuis precibus nunquam non inculcabant, ut parum abſuerit, quod non eorum votis aſſentiretur Princeps Inclitiſſima: Si non mature interveniſſet Preſul Roffenſis. Is importunas eorum conſpicatus *preces*, ſimulq; Hoſpitalis Divi Joannis Evangeliſtæ in Cantabrigia ruinam dolens, quod jam ad ſummam miſeriam & inopiam Incolarum luxu & Intemperantiâ devenerat, Chriſto benigniſſimo gratius futurum credens, hoc in loco pietatis opera exhibere, quam illic, ubi aut parum aut nihil erat opus (noverat enim quos Fautores jam tum habebat Oxonia) munificentiſſimam Principem ocius compellat, exponit miſeræ Domus miſeram ruinam, oſtendit (ut revera erat) predia divendita, terras luxu gulaq; abſumptas, Ornamenta expoſita, ſupellectilem prorſus corroſam, & ne ſacris quidem parcitum, Divina Officia intermiſſa, Hoſpitalitatem celebrari nullam, Præpoſitum Domus Creditoris metu latitare, confratres paucos, plus minus quatuor, modo per urbem, modo per Rura divagari, in maximam ſuæ Religionis Infamiam atq; Scandalum, Hoſpitale ipſum prope deſertum. Sed ita alieno ære oppreſſum, ut ne omnia quidem predia, ſi integra manſiſſent, debita illius magnitudine vendita perſolviſſent. Breviter ita dilapſa & deploranda omnia, ut nulla eſſet Salutis vel tenuiſſima ſpes, niſi numen aliquod preſentius aſpiraret. Hæc ut audivit benigniſſima Princeps ab eo, cui ſemper fidebat maxime, deploratæ Domus Sortem miſerata, etſi habuit in diverſa inſtigantes plurimos, ab Epiſcopo tamen Roffenſi id perſuaſa, quod ipſa per ſe probe intelligebat, nullum beneficium vel melius vel utilius collocatum iri poſſe, quam tam peſtiferas & ſteriles herbas, a fertili ſolo ocius extirpare, & quaſi jacto novo Semine, uberrimam Meſſem Chriſto parare, unde nova ſubinde & fertiliſſima repullularet Seges, in maximum Chriſtianæ fidei incrementum evaſura; Convertit ſe totam ad preclarius ſed difficilius & magis arduum pietatis opus. Huic omnibus nervis incumbit, ut ex paupere (ſi liceat dicere) Tugurio, Inſigne (quale nunc eſt) Collegium erigatur.

Pro Eodem Cardinali, Bulla Suppreſſionis Monaſteriorum de Romboro, Felixſtow, Bromehil, Bliborow, & Montjoye.

Regiſtrata, in Camera Apoſtolica de Mandato Reverendiſſimi Cardinalis Sanctorum Quatuor.

B. MOTTA.

CLemens *Epiſcopus Servus Servorum Dei*, Dilecto Filio *Thomæ Tituli Sanctæ Ceciliæ Presbytero Cardinali in Regno Angliæ* noſtro & Apoſtolicæ Sedis *Legato* Salutem & Apoſtolicam Benedictionem.

Cúm hodiè per alias noſtras Literas *Circumſpectioni tuæ in Monaſterio*, per Priorem gubernari ſolito, *Sancti Petri Ordinis Sancti Auguſtini Canonicorum Regularium in Villa ſeu Oppido de Ipſwich* Norwicenſis Diœceſis ſito Nomen Dignitatem Ordinem & Dependentias Supprimendi & Extinguendi, ac inibi Nomen Collegii imponendi, illiúſque Fructus Redditus & Proventus Collegio per Te Inſtituendo Applicandi & Appropriandi Licentiam & Facultatem conceſſerimus, prout in illis pleniùs continetur,

Et quia, ſicut accepimus, Fructus Redditus & Proventus dicti Monaſterii longe minores & tenuiores exiſtant quàm pro Scholaribus inibi Literarum Studio vacare debentibus ad eorum Alimoniam & Suſtentationem ſufficiant, ſintque in Partibus illis infraſcripta Monaſteria, quorum Fructus Redditus & Poſſeſſiones, ſi in Uſus tàm ſalutares (videlicet) Religioni & Moribus multùm profuturos converterentur & applicarentur, ex hoc profectò plures Perſonæ Literarum Studio vacare volentes ſuſtentari & Margaritam Scientiæ acquirere, quâ poſtea acquiſitâ Regno conſulere ac Scientiâ & Virtute Fidelium animarum Saluti prodeſſe poſſent,

Nos, de Circumſpectione tua, quam Altiſſimus egregiis Virtutibus & Animi Dotibus plurimùm inſignivit, & Prudentiam, ac Rerum Experientiam in arduis Negotiis experti ſumus plenam in Domino fiduciam obtinemus, Motu proprio, non ad alicujus Nobis ſuper hoc oblatæ Petitionis Inſtantiam, ſed de noſtra mera Deliberatione ac ex certa noſtra Scientia & Apoſtolicæ Poteſtatis plenitudine, *eidem Circumſpectioni tuæ de Romboro & de Felixſtow* aliàs *Fylſton* ac *de Bromehil* propè *Brandonfery* necnon *de Bliboro* & *Montiſgaudii* aliàs *Montjoy* Sancti Benedicti & Sancti Auguſtini Ordinum reſpectivè dictæ Diœceſis Monaſteria, per Priores gubernari ſolita & in eorum ſingulis Nomina Dignitates Prioratuum ac Ordines & Dependentias, ſi ad hoc Cariſſimi in Chriſto Filii noſtri *Henrici Angliæ Regis* Illuſtris, & *Domini Iberniæ*, ac *Fidei Defenſoris* acceſſerit *Aſſenſus*, penitùs Supprimendi & Extinguendi, ac Monaſteria ipſa cum ſuis Juribus & Pertinentiis univerſis eidem Collegio perpetuò Uniendi, ac illorum Monachos ac Canonicos & Perſonas ad alia Loca ſive Monaſteria ejuſdem vel alterius Ordinis, prout tibi melius videbiter expedire, Transferendi, necnon Monaſteriorum ſic Suppreſſorum hujuſmodi & uniuſcujúſque ſic Suppreſſi Fructus Redditus & Proventus cujuſcúnque naturæ aut qualitatis fuerint, ſive ſint Oblationes Decimæ aut Penſiones quæcúnque ratione Unionis Appropriationis, aut alio quocúnque Jure ſpeciali vel generali Præſcriptionis aut aliàs prædictis Monaſteriis aut eorum alicui ſpectantes aut pertinentes, necnon omnia & ſingula Monaſteriorum prædictorum Bona mobilia ſive immobilia, de quorum omnium tàm Bonorum extimatione quàm Redituum Fructuum & Proventuum Monaſteriorum prædictorum vero annuo Valore ſumus certiorati & hic pro expreſſis volumus haberi, Ea *dicto Collegio* per Te in *Villa ſive Oppido de Ipſwich* Norwicenſis Diœceſis hujuſmodi extruendo perpetuò Applicandi & Appropriandi & cum omnibus ſuis Privilegiis, Juribus, Dependentiis, ac Appendentiis & Pertinentiis univerſis pleno & integro Jure ad *Collegium prædictum* Transferendi, eidem quoque Eccleſias Parrochiales quaſcúnque dictis Monaſteriis aut eorum alicui unitas jam & appropriatas Uniendi ſimiliter Annectendi & Appropriandi, prout Nos etiam potiori pro Cautela in eventum Suppreſſionis hujuſmodi reſpectivè Unimus Appropriamus & Incorporamus, aliáque denique omnia & ſingula, quæ ad Stabiliendam Confirmandam & Perpetuendam Bonorum Terrarum Fructuum Redituum & Proventuum prædictorum Monaſteriorum ſic Suppreſſorum Poſſeſſionem *prædicto Collegio* pacificè in futuro Habendam & Tenendam neceſſaria videbuntur aut opportuna, per Pœnas & Cenſuras Eccleſiaſticas & alias quomodocúnque Faciendi Statuendi & Exequendi Plenam integram & liberam Tenore Præſentium Licentiam concedimus & Facultatem, Iſtaſque Literas ad hoc extendimus & ampliamus, non obſtantibus noſtrâ quâ voluimus quòd in Unionibus faciendis verus Annuus Valor tàm Beneficii Uniendi quàm illius cui Unio fieri peteretur & ſemper vocarentur quorum intereſt ac aliis Apoſtolicis & Bonæ Memoriæ *Ottonis & Ottoboni* olim in Regno Angliæ Apoſtolicæ Sedis Legatorum in Provincialibus & Sinodalibus Conciliis editis generalibus vel ſpecialibus Conſtitutionibus & Ordinationibus, necnon Monaſteriorum ſive Ordinum prædictorum Juramento Confirmatione Apoſtolicâ vel quavis Firmitate alia roboratis Statutis & Conſuetudinibus, Privilegiis quoque & Indultis ac Literis Apoſtolicis etiam in forma Brevis Monaſteriis & Ordinibus prædictis vel quibuſcúnque Tenoribus & Formis etiam per modum Statuti & Ordinationibus perpetuorum & cum quibuſvis etiam Derogatoriarum Derogatoriis fortioribus & inſolitis Clauſulis ac irritantibus & aliis Decretis etiam Motu ſimili & ex certa Scientia ac de Apoſtolicæ Poteſtatis plenitudine, etiam per Nos & Sedem eandem etiam iteratis vicibus conceſſis confirmatis & innovatis, etiam ſi in illis caveatur expreſsè quòd illis etiam per quaſcúnque Literas Apoſtolicas nullatenus derogari poſſit, niſi in Literis quæ eis derogare viderentur, illorum omnium Tenores de verbo ad verbum inſerentur, & expreſsè appareret Romanum Pontificem illis voluiſſe derogare & cauſa urgens & ſufficiens exprimatur & aliis certis modis & formis obſervatis, quibus omnibus, illorum Tenores, ac ſi de verbo ad verbum inſerti & forma in illis tradita obſervata foret, Præſentibus pro expreſſis habentes, illis aliàs in ſuo robore permanſuris, hac vice duntaxat, ſpecialiter & expreſsè, Motu Scientiâ & Poteſtate ſimilibus, Derogamus ac etiam quibuſcumque Defunctorum Teſtamentis ultimis Voluntatibus Ordinationibus aut Diſpoſitionibus, quacunque Auctoritate confirmatis corroboratis & conſolidatis aut quibuſcunque Pœnis & Cenſuris Eccleſiaſticis communitis, ſuper quorum omnium Teſtamentorum ultimarum Voluntatum Ordinationum & Diſpoſitionum ea omnia & ſingula & illorum Tenores pro hic expreſſis & recitatis habentes Immutatione Alteratione & in Uſum prædictum Converſione & Tranſlatione ſpecialiter & expreſsè Motu & Scientiâ ſimilibus Diſpenſamus, ac ſpecialiter quacúmque Allegatione de non expreſſo vero Valore Bonorum aut Annui Redditûs Monaſteriorum prædictorum in Litteris noſtris prætextu alicujus Conſtitutionis inde editæ Curiæve noſtræ Stili aut aliàs requiſito & inſerendo cæteriſque contrariis quibuſcúmque.

Nulli ergo omnino Hominum liceat hanc Paginam noſtrarum Conceſſionis, Unionis, Appropriationis, Incorporationis, Extenſionis, Ampliationis, Derogationis, & Diſpenſationis infringere, *&c.*

Dat. in *Urbe Veteri* Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ Milleſimo Quingenteſimo Vigeſimo octavo, Pridie Id. Maii Pontificatûs noſtri Anno Quinto.

CLEMENS PAPA SEPTIMUS.

Super plicam,

HEN. DE BUSSEYO.

Sub Sigillo plumbeo pendente a filis ſericis flavi rubeique colorum.

An Original Cott. Libr.

Coll. Nº 67. B. I. c. 25.

PLeaſith it your grace to be advertyſed the *Sonday* the 6th day of *September* Maiſter *Stephyns.* Doctor *Lee* with Mr. *Crumwell* repayred to *Gipſwiche* and came to your graces College there and brought with theym Coopes veſtements. aulter Clothes. plate and other things the particullers whereof byn compriſed in a payer of Indenturs made bitwene me and the ſaid Mr. *Crumwell.* the oon indenture the ſaid Mr. *Crumwell* hath with hym and thoder part remeyneth with me. Alſo all the ſaid parcells be ingroced and incerted into your graces boke indented emongeſt other of your graces ſtuff. whiche boke remeyneth in my Cuſtody. Alſo the ſaid Mr. *Stephyns.* Mr. *Lee* and Mr. *Crumwell* taryed in your graces College the ſpace of 4 days, in whiche tyme Mr. *Crumwell* dyd take moche payne and labour not only in ſurveyeng and ordering of hangings benches with all other neceſſaries to the furniture of our hall whiche ys now well trymmed and ordered thrugh his good diligence and helpe And upon our Ladyes evyn, I with all the company of your graces College as the Subdeane Mr. *Ellis.* 6 preſts 8 clerks and 9 choreſters with all our Servaunts when we had fyniſhed our evyn ſong in our College chirche then immediately after we repayred together to our Ladyes Chapell and there ſong evyn ſong as ſolemply and devoutely as we cowde. and there accompanyed with Mr. *Stephyns* Dr. *Lee* and Mr. *Crumwell* with Mr. *Humfrey Wyngfylde* (to whom all we of your graces college byn moche boundyn unto for his loving and kynde maner ſhewed unto us) the bayliffs of the towne with the portmen And the Priour of Chriſts chirche. All the whiche accompanyed us that ſame nyght home agayne to your graces college with as lovyng and kynde maner as I have ſene. And at theyr commyng theder they dranke with me bothe wyne and biere and ſo that nyght departed On the next day whiche was our ladyes day. the 8 day of *September* a day of very fowle wedder and rayned ſore contynewally. ſo that we cowde not go in proceſſion thrugh the towne to our Ladys chapell accordyng to our ſtatute by your grace made but we made as ſolempne a proceſſion in your graces College Chirche as cowde be devyſed. Inſomoche there were 40 of your Coopes worne there and aſmoche people as cowde ſtande in the Chirche and in the chirche yarde. Alſo all the honourable gentilmen of the Shyre were there. As Maiſter *Wenteforde.* Sir *John Willowghbye.* Sir *Phelip Tylney* Mr. *Bowth* Sir *Thomas Tey.* with Mr. *Benefylde.* Mr. *Pyrton.* Mr. *Jermeyn.* Mr. *Humfrey Wyngfylde* with many other to the Nomber of 24. gentilmen of the contrey. beſides the bayliffs. Portemen of the towne. the Priour of Chriſts Chirche the Priour of *Butley.* Doctor *Grene* Vicar of *Alborowth* as Comyſſaries bothe to your grace and to the Biſhop of *Norwiche* and the Duke of *Norfolks* Almoner Mr. *Hege.* All the whiche were there. with as good wille and diligence as they cowde to do your grace honour that day. And they all toke repaſt at dynner in your graces College And as I truſt wele enterteyned with good fare and ſuche faſſyon as we cowde deviſe. where with they were right well contented and pleaſed. as I ſuppoſed Fardermore as for your ſyngyng men byn well choſen. very well breſted with ſufficient Cunnyng for theyr Rowmes. and ſom of theym very excellent whiche will not ſerve here with theyr good wills for that wages alleging ſor theyr ſelſs how they had moche better wages there. from whenſe they came fro, Moreover they will have brekefaſts every day in as ample and large maner as they have had in other places, I feare that theyr commons allowed by your grace will not ſuffice theym as yet (for we can make no provyſions neyther for beeffs ne for Muttons for want of paſture nere unto us) As for *Bourne* brige ys very bareyne, the ſubdeane and I with Mr. *Ruſhe* have vewed every part and parcell therof and they ſaye it is not mete nor convenyent for fatte ware, neyther for beeffs nor Muttons, I have enterteyned theym according to your graces commaundment. with good wordis and plentye of mete and drynke promiſyng to ſom of theym that be Excellent more wagis for they gruge ſore at theyr wagis. As Mr. Doctor *Stephyns* and Mr. *Crumwell* can ſhewe to your grace more at lengthe. Fardermore as for your graces College Chirche oon man ys not able both to attende and kepe the reveſtry and do all things in the Churche As to ryng the bells. kepe the Churche clene. prepayre the Aulters lights and other neceſſaries. And to ſe all the Ornaments wele and ſufficiently repayred and kepte withowte eny enpayring. and to ſet forth every day all ſuch things as is to be occupyed abowte godds ſervice. Therfor by the advyce of Mr. *Stephyns* Mr. *Lee* and Mr. *Crumwell* I have put in to the Churche an other man to helpe the Yoman off the Reveſtry and named hym Sexten unto the tyme I knowe farder of your graces pleaſure in that behalf Alſo here byn but fyve preſtis beſides your ſubdeane whiche is to litle a nomber to kepe in Maſſys every day according to your graces ſtatutes. and the ſubdeane Cannot attende upon his charge for ſurveyeng of the works and bieldyngs of your graces College wherefore we mooſt humbly deſyer and pray your grace to have moo prieſts to perfourme your graces Ordynance in your ſayd College. Or ells to dyſpence with us for oon of your Maſſes eyther the requiem Maſſe or ells our Ladyes Maſſe unto the tyme we be better furniſhed with prieſtis to accompliſh and perfourme your graces Ordynance and ſtatutes therein And but for Mr. *Kentall* we cowde in a maner do nothing in oure quere. he taketh very great paynes and is alwaye preſent att Mattens and all Maſſes with evyn ſong and ſettith the quere in good ordre fro tyme to tyme and fayleth not at eny tyme. he is very ſober and diſcrete and bringeth up your Choreſters very wele. Aſſuring your grace there ſhall be no better Children in no place of *England* then we ſhall have here and that in ſhort tyme. I have alſo made 15 Albis of the new cloth whiche I had of your grace delyvered by thandis of Mr. *Alvarde* your graces Servaunt And yet there is 14. albis more to be made to the ſutes now lately ſent by your grace to us by Mr. *Crumwell*. beſides albis for 14. tunycles and 7 payer of odde parrers for childern. Fardermore there hath byn ſent unto your graces College agaynſt the day of the nativitie of our Ladye 9. bukks. that is to wete. 2. from the Duke of *Norfolke*. 2. from the Duke of *Suffolke*. oon from my lady of *Oxford*. the yonger oon fro Sir *Philip Bowth*. oon fro Mr. *Pyrton*. oon fro Mr. *Sentcler* your graces ſervaunt. and oon fro *Richard Cavendiſh* your graces ſervaunt. whiche bukks were ſpent on our ſayd Ladyes day in your graces College and in the towne of *Gipſwiche*. wherof oon buk was delyvered to the Chamberleyns of the towne for the 24. hedmen of the ſame towne and in money 10*s*. to make mery with all by the advyce of Mr. *Stephyns* Mr. *Lee* and Mr. *Crumwell*. and in lykewiſe to the bayliffs wyves and the portemennes wives to make mery with a buk and 10*s*. And to the Curatts of the ſame towne a buk with 6 *s.* 8 *d.* in money. For theyr paynes and labours takyn in our proceſſion Alſo Mr. *Ruſhe* to whom all your graces College is moche beholdyn unto, ever redy to do pleaſures and alſo to take paynes for us in all our cauſes. and at the ſayd day he gave to us 6 cowple of conyes 2. feſaunts and oon doſſeyn of quayles Alſo the Priour of *Butley* he gave to us 2. feſaunts and a Fatte Crane.

Alſo we have receyved of Mr. *Dawndy* 171. Tonnes of cane ſtone and within a fortenyght next after *Mighelmes* now next comyng we ſhall have oon 100. Tonnes more. So that your workemen ſhall not be unoccupyed for wante of ſtone, And the ſayd Mr. *Dawndy* hath promiſed to me. that bifore *Eſter* next comyng we ſhall have here redy. 1000. tonnes more of the ſayd cane ſtone. And thus the holy trinitie preſerve your grace. From your graces college in *Gipſwiche* the 26. Day of *September* By your mooſt boundyn ſervaunt and humble Chapleyn

To my lord Legate
his good grace.

Willyam Capon.

Writ with another Hand

The Dean of Cardynallis *college in* Ipſwiche *the 26th Day of* September.

Maſter.

Rudimenta Grammatices & docendi methodus, non tam ſcholæ Gypſuychianæ per Reverendiſſimum D. Thomam Cardinalem Ebor. *feliciter inſtitutæ, quam omnibus aliis totius Angliæ ſcholis præſcripta* 1537.

Thomas Cardinalis Eboracen. *&c. Gypſuichianæ ſcholæ præceptoribus.* S. D.

NEminem latere putamus, quanto animi conatu, ſtudio, induſtria, huc ſemper labores noſtros deſtinaverimus, non ut noſtris privatim commodis, ſed uti patriæ, civibuſq; noſtris omnibus quamplurimum conſuleremus. Qua una in re, ampliſſimum pietatis fructum nos aſſecuturos eſſe arbitramur, ſi divino aliquo munere popularium noſtrorum animos exornaremus. Proinde maximo, incredibiliq; pietatis ardore erga patriam affecti, quæ nos veluti jure quodam ſibi vendicat, ludum literarium non omnino inelegantem velut amoris ſummi erga eandem noſtri clariſſimum teſtimonium dedicavimus. Verum quoniam parum viſum eſt ludum quantumvis magnificum extruxiſſe, niſi etiam acceſſerit præceptorum peritia, modis omnibus dedimus operam, ut nos duos præceptores electos, probatoſq; huic præficeremus, ſub quibus Britannica pubes, ſtatim à primis annis & mores & literas imbiberet: nimirum intelligentes, in hâc ætate, velut herbâ, ſpem reip. poſitam eſſe. Id quod ut felicius maturiuſq; conſequeretur, libellum puerilis inſtitutionis methodumq; ac rationem docendi, apprime huic pubi neceſſariam, omni noſtra cura, ſtudio, diligentia, ut haberetis curavimus. Veſtræ partes erunt nunc viciſſim, qui huic novæ ſcholæ noſtræ præceptores eſtis, hìc rudimentis, ac docendi ratione diligenter exercere hos pueros, deinceps cum elegantiſſima literatura, tum optimis moribus ad majora profecturos. Ad quod, ſi pari cura enitimini, atq; nos ad oculum commonſtraturi ſumus, nos non tam vobis veſtro ſtudio impenſe faventes jam demerebimini, quàm plane apud poſteros, felices reddideritis. Bene valete. Ex ædibus noſtris. Anno domini Milleſimo Quingenteſimo Vigeſimo octavo Calend. Septembris.

Cardinal Wolſey *his letter to Mr.* Samſon *and Mr.* Jermeingham *reſidents with the Emperor.*

Coll. Nº 68. B. II. c. 26.

THE ſixth of *November* written unto Mr. *Samſon* and Mr. *Jarmeingham* as it ſeemeth in the time when the Cardinalls were in Conclave to chooſe Pope *Clement*, and is an anſweare to former letters of theirs by which the King had been deſired to continue his Army all the Winter then being under the Conduct of the Duke of *Suffolke* in *France* unto which his Grace agreeth and further ſignifieth what ends Sir *John Ruſſell* had made with the Duke of *Burbon* and what order he deſireth by the Emperor to be taken for the Payment of the County *Buren* and his Bands who had ſerved with the Duke of *Suffolke* in *France*.

Mr. *Sampſon* and Mr. *Farmeingham* I commend me unto you in my right hartye manner, The laſt of *October* arrived here a Poſt of the Emperors with letters to his Ambaſſador here reſident having alſo your letters to the Kings highneſs and me directed of the Eight and three and twentye days of *September* with him alſo arrived A Gentleman of the Emperors ſent by this way to the Duke of *Burbon* who brought ſeveral letters of much freſher date adreſs'd to the ſaid Ambaſſador, And two daies following a ſervant of yours Mr. *Deane* arrived at *Woodſtoke* with the Kings Grace to whom he delivered all ſuch letters, as yee by him ſent unto the Kings Grace and me, Aſwell thoſe that concern'd the Kings affairs as myne which letters his Grace receiv'd and remitted unto me with diligence like as I alſo ſent unto the Kings Highneſs with like manner all your ſaid former writings coming to my hands. By the which and alſo by the Coppyes of the Emperor's ſaid letters written to his Ambaſſadour together with the relation of the ſaid Gentleman, the Kings highneſs and I perceive in what readineſs, ſtate, and diſpoſition the Emperor's affairs were att the dates of the ſaid letters with his intent to proceed with his ſaid Armye in his own perſon and to ſupplye by the longer contynuaunce the tardity and ſlackneſs which has bene uſed in the ſetting forth of the ſame haveing alſo made proviſion for the payment of 100000 Crownes for his portion unto the Duke of *Burbon* towards the entertaynment of 10000 Lance Knyghts And deſireing that the Kings Grace would doe the ſemblable for his parte And to give order that his Army leaveing ſeiges and ſtrong places and paſſing into the bowells of *France* may continue all this winter with a convenient reinforcement affermyng and promiſſing that the Count of *Buren* with the Burgomans horſemen and footmen being under him ſhould ſemblablye contynue, And finally his Majeſty ſhewing the good Newes of arrivall of certaine Gould from the Iſles deſires the priſoners of *Haniour* taken in the Kings Armye may be reſerved for the redeeming of the Duke of *Burbons* freinds which the *French* King has taken and atcheived, beſides other Good and diſcreet advertiſement compriſed in your ſaid letters as might there come to your knowledge, like as in the ſame is conteyned more at large, And here unto albeit that the lacke of Advertiſement from thence hath not been a little to the

Kings marvell and diſcomfort and the no leſs hinderance of the Common Affairs if by the great foreſight dilligence and pollicie uſed on this ſide thyngs had not beene prevented remedied and foreſeene yet ne'rtheleſs it appeareth by the dates of the letters that the ſame hath by reaſon of contrarye and unſeaſonable windes and weather which muſt be ſuffer'd and taken in patience. And to the intent that the Emperor may be by you perfectly advertis'd howe great diligence hath been uſed for the furtherance of the Common Enterpriſes as well by ſending and advancing the Kings Army with all effect The order given unto them at the Emperors former requeſt to ſerve anye Seidges of ſtrong places and to proceed into the Bowells of *France* the help Succour and releiſe by the Kings Grace to the Duke of *Burbon* in extream Neceſſitie by ſending and advancing unto him the Kings whole portion that is to ſay 100000 Crowns towards the Entertainment of the ſaid Lance Knights without which (lacking then proviſion for the Emperors parte) they had been ſcattered and retyred, and the ſaid Duke utterly loſt and deſtroy'd, the benevolent and conformable mind of the Kings Highneſs att the Emperor's inſtance, and for the weale of the Common affairs, not only to contynue the ſaid Army this winter but alſo to reinforce the ſame with a number of 4000 men which yee ſhall name 7000 men. And finally the Succeſſes and matter of proceedings of the Duke of *Suffolke* and the County *Buren* with the Kinges and Emperors folks being under their leading I (for your ſaid advertiſement) doe ſend unto you herewith the Coppyes of certayne letters lately come at ſundry tymes from the Duke of *Suffolke*, with the anſweare made unto the ſame And ſemblably with ſuch letters as upon the arrivall of your ſaid letters bee now written both unto the ſaid Duke of *Suffolke* and unto Doctor *Knight* by tenor of which Coppye you ſhall now plainlie ſee and underſtand not only what hath been done, and what trayne the matters on this ſide ſtand in but alſo bee ſufficientlie and amplie inſtructed of ſuch thinges as ſhall be needfull and requiſite to bee by you ſhewed and declared, on the Kings and my behalfe to the ſaid Emperor to whom yee may ſhew that before the arrivall of theſe new letters the Kings Grace had reſolved his contynuance and inforcement of his Army, ready to bee ſett forth as ſoone as the Kinge muſt have word that the Emperors Army was really and actually ſett forwards and in ſurety that the Burgomans ſhould be entertayn'd and contynue with his Armye, and the Emperors portion for the Entertaynement of the Duke of *Burbon* furniſhed as well for the ſuretie of the Emperors ſaid Armye, wherein the King underſtandeth that his Majeſtie paſſeth perſonallie as alſo for the furtherance of the common affaires conſidering by foreſight and high providence that the ſame ſhall be requiſite and expedient And now much the rather becauſe the Emperor doth inſtance the King ſo to doe though ſoe bee by the Capitulations as yee know his Grace is not bounden to contynue his Army longer then the moneth of *October*, truſt mee that ſince his Grace hath done this of ſpeciall foreſight and benevolent mynde att the Emperors inſtance and contemplation his Majeſtie will (according to his writeinge) ſupply the tardity of ſetting forth by contynuance, And alſo take ſuch aſſured order that the ſaide Count *De Buren* and Burgomans without whome it ſhall not be poſſible for the Kings Armye not furniſhed with horſemen to continue, may remayne ſtill with the ſame this winter, and have from tyme to tyme ſubſtantiall Proviſion of payment wherein (as by ſome of the ſaid Coppyes you ſhall perceive) there is great lacke and default, referring you to the reaſons introductions and perſuaſions compriſed in the Coppies for inforcing and agreeing of that and all other matters therein neceſſarie to bee knowne ſhewed and declared or ſollicited unto the Emperor which yee ſhall by your wiſedomes and diſcrecions uſe as yee ſhall ſee the caſe and ſucceſſes of the Affaires neceſſarily to require, noteinge eſpeciallie foure materiall and notable thinges which in no wiſe may be omitted. The one is the contynuance of the Emperors Army on that ſide ſo longe as ſhall be poſſible.

The Second is ſubſtantiall order to bee given for the contynuance of the ſaid Count *de Buren* and *Burgonians* with aſſured payment to be made from tyme to tyme for the which yee have Grounds and conſiderations enough compriſed in the ſaid Coppies neceſſarie to bee highlie pondered and regarded.

Thirdly that noe default bee in the advancement of the 100000 crownes for the Emperors portion to the Duke of *Bourbon* without which not onely the enterpriſe ſhould bee ſubverted but alſo loſt and totallye caſt away.

And fourthlie if the *French* King whoſe armye was long agoe paſſed into *Italie* and hee himſelf remeyneing att *Lions* doe revoke the ſame for his owne ſtrength as it is thought and bruted abroad order may bee given unto *proſpero Colonna* and others of the Armies of *Italie* to follow them in the tayle, by meanes wherof the enemies preſſed thus now att one tyme on all ſides ſhall (God willing) with leſſe charge and buiſnes bee brought to right baſe and lowe eſtate, And the matters beinge in ſoe good trayne, a finall end much the rather putt unto the Warrs of *Chriſtendome* then this thing in any point ſlacked ſhall be poſſible to bee again brought about in many yeares, for the performance whereof yee may ſay the Kinges Grace for his parte ſpareth neither labour ſtudy travell danger or expences, And that withall effect and travell on every ſide both by ſea and land to the ineſtimable charge of his Highneſs; for beſides the Army by ſea and in *France* and the great Garriſons laid alſo all this ſummer on the Borders towards *Scotlande* who have done the greateſt deſtructions in *Scotland* that hath been ſeene this 200 years his highneſs hath there attending now hourely the Battaile (if it bee not ſtrucken before this, or the Duke of *Albany* and *Scots* fled) 50000 Soldiers largelie and plentifullye furniſhed eskipped and trymed of Ordnance Artillery and Munition Carriages and Victualls and other Neceſſaries, beſides 3000 Lords Noblemen and Gentlemen, which manner of earneſt proceedings on all ſides with effect att once yee ſhall ſaie to the Emperour it is and ſhall bee more beneficiall to the common affaires then by little and little to contynue and prolonge the enterpriſes many yeares whereof enſeweth ſmall annoyance or impeachment of the enemy and to the Emperour and the King noe profitt but loſſe Expences and charges, wherefore his Majeſtie purſueing the matter withall effect (as the Kings intire confidence is hee will) yee may ſay that neither by the Duke of *Savoy* nor ſuch indirect meanes the *French* King ſhall ſeeke his peace, wherein the Emperor hath ſubſtantiall order in reteyneing the Meſſengers (ſuppoſed rather to come for exploration then otherwiſe) and of his advertiſement the Kings highneſs moſt cordially thanketh him but God willing ſhall bee at the laſt in breife tyme inforced and compelled to ſend unto ſuch princes great and honorable Ambaſſadors with other manner of Overtures and offers then hee hath yet done not doubting but the Emperor of his great wiſedome and prudence for manifold and noteable effects that thereof may enſue as well to the particular cauſes of his Majeſtie and the Kings Grace as for the univerſal repoſe quiett and tranquillity of *Chriſtendome* dependeing thereupon will ſubſtantially and profoundly conſider and regard theſe matters accordingly. Over this yee ſhall ſignifie unto the Emperor that Sir *John Ruſſell* concluded and agreed with the Duke of *Bourbon*, and mutual Oathes were made for performance of Articles betweene the Kings Grace and him to the ſame effect as was conteyned in a Bill thereof, which I heretofore ſent unto you (except every Article touching the ſaid Dukes recognition of the Kings grace as his Soverayne Lord) was touched to bee referred unto the Emperor which the Kings Highneſs and I take to bee as well for the Kings purpoſe as can be deviſed. And by the next poſt I ſhall with all diligence ſend unto you a commiſſion for concluſion capitulation and perfecting the treaty betweene the Emperour, the Kinges grace, the Infant, Archduke, and the Duke of *Bourbon* with inſtructions how to order your ſelves accordinglie. Finally the Kings Grace giveing you greate thanks for your good endeavours uſed in his cauſes there, willeth you to have eſpeciall reſpect and regard that his highneſs and I may have more often knowledge and advertiſements from you of the ſucceſſes in thoſe parts, for ſurely the loſſe thereof is as great an impeachment prejudice and hinderance to the common enterpriſes as may bee imagined or deviſed, And therefore his highneſs truſteth that yee will ſubſtantially looke thereunto according to the ſpeciall truſt and confidence that his Grace hath in you, And fare you heartily well att my place beſides *Weſtminſter* the ſixth day of *November*.

POSTSCRIPT.

HERE arrived letters from Dr. *Knight* the Kings Embaſſadour with the Lady *Margrett*, that by reaſon of the Mariner ſent unto them by the Arch-Dutches he was advertis'd the *French* Army in *Italy* had had an overthrow with the loſſe of 22000 Men which newes (if they bee true) are of right good conſequence; And alſo the *Swiſſers* had condiſcended to give unto the *French* King 6000 of them to attend upon him for the ſafegard of his perſon, beſides that how the Duke of *Bourbon* (not mynding to violate the nutralitye of the *French* Count) was departed from *Bezanzon* unto *Lure* in the Countie of *Ferebre*, and that the *Lance Knights* being not paſſed with the *Counte Felix* 7000 paces were at poſt *Suſleſance* with whom the ſaid Duke well provided of a goodlye band of horſmen intending with diligence to joyne and ſo march towards the Enemyes. Over that, as well by the relation of the ſaid Mariner as by letters from *Rome* it appeareth that the Cardinalls entred the Conclave the Firſte daie of *October* and that the ſixth daie of the ſame arrived there the Cardinalls of *Aux*, *Lorraine* and *Vandoſme* who (booted and ſpurred without tarryeinge) entred the ſaid Conclave, whoſe comeing is like to make ſomewhat longer tract in the election.

I therefore truſting, that his Majeſty hath by your good Sollicitation, ſett forth that Affair with Effect long before this tyme ſhall make no newer Rehearſall thereof unto you. And fare ye heartily well; at *Weſtminſter* the vith of *November*.

To my verie lovinge frend Mr. Richard Sampſon *Deane of the kinges Chappell and Sir* Richard Farmingham *the kinges Ambaſſadors to the Emperour.*

MR. *Sampſon* and Mr. *Jerningham* I recommend me unto you, in my right hartye manner, I have not only receiv'd your letters, to me directed dated att *Vuliodoled* the third daie of *July*, but alſoe have ſeene your letters of the ſame date Addreſſed to the kinges highnes together with the orriginall Treaty by you lately paſſed there with the Emperours Commiſſions for ſuch enterpriſes as are to be made this Summer againſte *Fraunce* perceivinge alſoe by your ſaid letters the diſcourſe order and forme which hath bine uſed and obſerved ſince the arrivinge off Sir *Richard Jerningham* to the Courte, and the manner of the Declaration of your Charge unto the Emperour the anſwers debateinge and finall reſolutions made had and taken upon the ſame; The Circumſtance whereof the kings grace and I like very well, and aſwell for your good endeavour uſed therein as for ſpeedy advertiſements of the ſame (though your ſervant by contrary of Wind and other impediments was very long in his Journey) the kings highnes and I give unto you harty thanks, And albeit that by my other letters lately to you directed I truſt be come unto your hands longe before this tyme, I did advertiſe you of the matters here att that tyme occurrent, namely of the arrivall here of the Lord *Beaver* dance with the ſpecialties of his Charge of his departure towards No 69. l. 2. c. 26. Bibl. Yelvert. v. 50.

And of the anſwer had from him of ſuch Articles and Conventions as he had Concluded with the ſaid Duke the Coppie whereof I ſend unto you att this tyme with the Coppies alſoe of Inſtructions and Articles given unto Sir *John Ruſſell* to be Concluded with the ſaid Duke, [The Coppy whereof I ſend unto you att this tyme, with the Coppies of Inſtructions given unto Sir *John Ruſſell* to be Concluded with the ſaid Duke] on the kings behaulfe. Who is contented to contribute the Some off 100000 Crownes for entertaynemente of 10000 *Allmanes*, Who ſhall be ſent by *Don Ferdinando* unto the Duke Sheweing unto you furthermore the Conſideration and weightie importance of that matter, with the good opportunity and Comodity now given unto the kinge and the Emperour the ſemblable whereof is like never to enſue againe if the ſame be pretermitted albeit his grace hath no manner of knowledge att this tyme of the Treaty by you paſſed with the Emperours Commiſſioners, yet for the ſinguler and tender mind which his highnes alwaies beareth towards the furtherance and advancemente of the Common affaires his grace abidinge noe anſwer from you of your ſaid Charge, did with all dilligence poſſible ſett forth, a mighty and Puiſſant Armye, by the Two and twentieth daie of this Moneth ſhould be att *Callis* to Joyne neere unto the Marſhes of the ſame with 4000 horſemen and 4000 Footmen to be appointed by the Ladie *Margarett*, on the Emperours behaulff, and from thence to paſs unto the Seige of *Bulloyne*, as in my former letters and Coppies was mentioned more att large, Yet nevertheleſs to the intent that the Emperour may from tyme to tyme be advertiſed of the ſucceſſe off his graet and Weighty affaires whereby his Majeſtie havinge knowledge thereof may the better knowe how to order his matters on that ſide. For his parte, I aſſerten you that enſueing the Deliberation and determination taken as before the kinges grace hath leavied a Puiſſant Army as of Actuall, and puiſſante perſons, with as expert and good Captaines as have paſſed out off this Realme att any tyme this hundred yeres, which Armye largely furniſhed and provided of Ordnance and Artillery and other Abiliments of Warr and ſemblably of Victualls in ſufficient quantity is committed unto the Kinges entirely beloved Cozen and Councellor the Duke of *Suffolke* beinge his graces Livetenante Generall of the ſame, in whoſe Company be alſoe divers Lords and other Councellours and diſcreete Captaines as namely the Lord *Mountioy*, *Mountague*, *Ferrers*, *Sands*, *Berkeley*, *Harbert*, *Courſon*, Sir *Richard Wingfeild*, Sir *Andrew Windſor*; Sir *John Veare*; Sir *William Stenington*, Sir *Richard Weſton*, Sir *Edward Gilford*, Sir *William Kingſton*, The Lord *Cobhams* Sonne, Sir *Anthony Wingfeild*, Sir *William Siddney*, Sir *Jeffery Oates*, Sir *Richard Cornwall*, Sir *William Courlen*, Sir *Gyles Strange*, with Sir *Edw. Digbye*; Sir *Edw. Nevill*, Sir *John Willoughby* Brother to the Lord *Willoughby*, Sir *Henry Owen*, Sir *Arthur Browne*, Sir *Griffin Dormer*, and many other beſides other good Captaines beinge in the kinges Crewes att *Callice* and *Guiſen* which with there Nombers ſhall Joyne alſoe with the kings Army, and accordinge to former letters, ſuch extreame dilligence with greate ſtudey labour travell and paine hath beene made, that not only the ſaid Duke of *Suffolke* was tranſported and arrived att *Callis* the xxiijth daie of this inſtant moneth, but alſoe the ſaid Captaines and whole Armye, with the Ordnance Victualls and Baggages with other requiſites which ſhould be ſent from thence, were before him and ſince his departure traunſported and paſſed; and remayne now att *Callis*, only for horſemen that ſhould come from the Ladie *Margarett*, and for the Carriages and draughts as att the kings Coſtes be provided in the Emperours lowe Contries which godwilling ſhall be att *Callis* wholly and entirely the laſte daie of this Moneth, on which day the Duke intendeth to ſett forward on his Jorney, truſtinge by the grace of Allmighty god and the good harty inclynacion of his people, is in, with all Actuall proviſion to be made, there ſhall be a longe Aſſaye made to attaine their purpoſe. Wherein I praiſe god to ſend them good ſpeed, Wherefore in aſmuch as this matter is ſoe farr ſett forth with effecte on the kinges partie, his grace doubteth not but aſwell enſueinge the tenour of the ſaid new Treaty as for the takinge the occaſion of the ſaid Duke, The Emperour hath alſoe really ſent and advanced his puiſſant Army on that ſide unto *Gyen* the dilligent proceedinge whereof to the moſt damaginge and annoyance of the enemy, yee muſt inſtantly procure ſolicite and Call upon ſoe as the ſaid enemy now earneſtlie preſſed on both parts, maie thereby be compelled to divide his power, which by that meane ſhall be of leſs ability to make reſiſtance on either ſide. And Conſequently the affaires off the ſaid Duke well ſett forth as the kinges grace truſteth it ſhall be, there ſhall god willinge appeare in breiſe tyme high and notable effecte to enſue of this enterpriſe to the Emperour and kings great honour and reputacion the ſinguler benefitt and advantage of their Comon Cauſes, and repreſſinge of the ſaid Enemye beinge the Diſturber of the quiett in *Chriſtendome* And much the rather this matter ought to be effectually followed for that Allmighty god hath after the long warrs diſcords and deſentions which hath bine in *Italy* to the great danger of the ſame putting into the harts and minds aſwell of the Popes holines, as of the *Venetians* and all other Princes and Potentates to unite and knitt themſelves together in one Conformity like as I doubte not but that the Emperour is largely and ſpecially advertiſed from his Ambaſſadours before this, aſwell of the Treaty Concluded att *Venice*, as of the other paſſed att *Roome*, which thinges Concurringe ſoe well together muſt needs give the more occaſion to the Emperour not to ſlacke any tyme that may be taken for advancemente, but ſoe to reinforce his ſaid Army that ſome honourable exployte may be done there, For the Furtherance whereof, it is the kings pleaſure that the ſaid Sir *Richard Jerningham* in any wiſe proceed with the ſaid Army to the intente that he not only may ſee and knowe their manner of doeinge, but alſoe exhorte incourage and ſtill the Leaders and Captaines of the ſame Valliantly to advance themſelves and loſe noe tyme. And for ſuch other cauſes as are mentioned in your inſtructions of which ſucceſſe I pray you from tyme to tyme advertiſe me; And to the intent you maie be participant of ſuch newes and occurrents as have beene here ſince the departure of Sir *Richard Jerningham* I adviſe you that upon ſuch knowledge had by eſpeciall Order or otherwiſe that the *French* kinge of his Malicious mind continually made greate preparations to ſend the Duke of *Albany* in *Scotland* with a good Army to doe annoyance unto the Realme; The kings grace hath not only prepared and putt in readines the North parts to a great Nomber, which under the leadynge of the Earle of *Surry* may att all tymes either invade or defend us as ſhall be commanded, and Victuall ordered in *Staples* for that purpoſe, but alſoe hath greatly enforced his Army upon the Seas. Soe as beſides the Navie under Sir *Anthony Poyn* on the Weaſt Seas to whome alſoe are ſent one of 400 and the other of 300 And beſides thoſe that keepe the North Seas under *Chriſtopher Doe*, with his Army, Shipp, and one other, Sir *Henry Sherborne* amongſt others aſſaulted a ſhipp of 400, ſent two Monthes paſt out of *France* into *Scotland* laden with men of which men the Captaine and 300 of his men, were in a long and ſore fight, ſome ſlayne, divers taken Priſoners, and the ſhipp ſore bruiſed with the loſſe of few *Engliſhmen* excepte the ſaid Sir *Henry Sherborne* who alſoe was ſlayne with a Gunne And beſides ſuch men of Warr as guide the paſſage betweene *Dover* and *Callis*, And ſuch other as Conducte the Kinges Merchants to and from *Zeland*. Sir *William* is and hath bin upon the Seas with 36 great Shippes, who though the Wether hath bine to him ſomwhat Stormy and Contrarious hath not only given the Chaſe unto Twelve ſhippes of *France* ſent to Convoy the Arch-Biſhopp of *Glaſcoe* and other Ambaſſadours from the Duke of *Albany* into *Scotland*, enforced them to take the Havens of *Deepe*, and *Bulloyne* in either of which haven two of the *French* ſhipps periſhed att their entry, but alſoe by ſome off his Shippes lefte for that purpoſe doth yet continually keepe them in the ſaid Havens without ſufferinge them to paſſe on their Ambaſſage, And moreover p . . . . . himſelf a long Coaſts takinge ſhippes and boats landing in divers places where he hath burned and done much hurt in ſuch wiſe that the *Frenchmen* of the Contreyes further in be all diſcended unto the Sea ſide which they have fortified in all places, and doe keepe continuall Watch for feare of the kings ſaid Army, Nevertheleſſe the   of this moneth the ſaid Sir *William Fitzwilliams* decended att *Treaport* where the Towne is ſcittuate upon a high Cliffe and to the ſame one only waie of ſmall bredth, which waie was ſtrongly fortified with Bullwarks and the Towne garriſoned with a band of 3000 men, And albeit that fierce ſhott of Gunnes and quarries was made by the *Frenchmen* att the Landinge of Sir *William Fitzwilliams*, yet he with Sir *Francis Bryan*, Sir *John Hopton*, *Cary*, and divers others Captaines with the nomber of 15000 men landed in the ſight of the enemyes, and ſhortly after Wonn the ſaid Bullworks from whence the *Frenchmen* fledd into the Towne which the *Engliſhmen* thrice aſſaulted, and the *Frenchmen* thrice yſſued giveinge battaile, nevertheleſſe they were allwaies putt back But foraſmuch as the Towne was ſoe ſtrongly fortified and manned and the Tide being ſpent the kings ſaid Folks might not with their Boats come againe on Board, if they had made longer demurr, they burnt the Fauxburgs of the Towne wherein 300 howſes and above were, deſtroyed the Bullwarks and tooke away all the Ordnance of the ſame which was much and good, burnt alſoe Twelve Shippes of Warr and Twelve other Shippes in the Haven takinge all the Ordnance of the ſame Shipps with them And in the Conflicts aforeſaid ſlew above 600 men, with the loſs of noe more then Twelve *Engliſhmen*, Whereupon they departed to *Finhead* ſheweing themſelves before the Havens Mouth, where the ſaid Duke prepaireth his Shippinge, and perceivinge he Could not nor durſt not yſſue albeit by A Meſſenger they offered them Battayle; with as many Shipps and men equall to his, as he would appointe, knoweinge alſoe both the Wind to be the contrary to the ſaid Duke, either to paſs by the Weſt Seas, or the Narrow Seas, and for that alſoe a great Storm compelled them to leave the Coaſt retorned to the *Downes* not only to receive Freſh Victualles but alſoe to lodge themſelves in the Narrow Seas, there to lye in Waite for the ſaid Duke, Soe as by theſe meanes the ſaid Duke hath bin diſappointed of that daie on which he made faithfull promiſe to retorne into *Scotland* which was the Feaſte of the Aſſumption of our Ladie, and with gods helpe ſhall not yet very eaſily find Commoditie to paſſe by, one waie or other thether, by meanes whereof the *Scotts* beinge in diſpaire of his Cominge began to abandon him, and the *Frenchmen*, cleavinge to the Queene of *Scotts* and have accorded that if the ſaid Duke arrive not att the laſt daie off this Moneth (as I truſt he ſhall not) they will not only take unto them another king, forſake the *French* Faction and Conſtitute Governours about him, but alſoe ſue unto the kings grace for Peace; On the other parte, If this ſaid Duke ſhould or might arrive, the ſaid Earle of *Surrey* is in perfecte readines to encounter with him, And hath what with the Roades before the departure of Sir *Richard Jerningham* and ſince ſoe devaſted and deſtroyed All *Twedale* and *March*, that there is lefte neither Howſe, Fortreſs, Village, Tree, Cattell, Corne, or other Succor for man in ſoe much that ſome of the people that fledd from the ſame, afterwards retorninge and findinge noe ſuſtenance weare compelled to come unto *England* begginge bread, which oftentymes when they doe eate they dye incontinently for the hunger paſſed, And with noe Impriſonemente Cuttinge off their Eares, burninge them in the Faces or otherwiſe can be kepte awaie, Such is the Puniſhmente of Allmightie god to thoſe that be diſturbers of good peace reſt and quiett in *Chriſtendome*.

Finally the kings grace Committeth unto your perfecte Wiſdomes diſcretions and dilligence the due ſolicitation and furtherance of all ſuch things as may be to the Advancemente of the Common affaires, accordinge unto ſuch inſtructions as have bine given unto you before tyme and as you ſhall knowe to ſtand with the minde and pleaſure of his Grace, prayeinge you allwaies to be dilligent in Advertiſementes of the Succeſſes which is the thinge ſhall greatly further proffitt and prevaile thoſe urgent and weighty affaires the farr diſtance betweene the kings grace hath prooved much incomodious, their Common buiſnes Conſidered, And hartily farewell, Att *Hampton Courte* this laſt of *Auguſt* 1523.

Your lovinge frend

Tho. Card'lis Ebor.

A Letter from the Cardinal.

To my verie lovinge friend Mr. Richard Sampſon *Deane of the Kinges Chappell and Sir* Richard Jerningham *the Kinges Ambaſſadors to the Emperour.*

No 70. l. 2. c. 26. Bibl. Yelvert. Vol. 50.

MR. *Sampſon*, and Mr. *Jerningham* I commend me unto you in my right harty manner by *Lucye* ſervante to the Duke of *Bourbon*, I writt unto you my laſt letters and in the ſame advertiſed you the Cauſe manner and forme why the common Army which was under the leadinge of the Duke of *Suffolk* and the Count *de Burren* in *France*, came and repaired into *Valentia*, with the Intention and mind that the kings grace was of to cauſe the ſaid Army for his parte to retorne, and remayne for this winter in the Emperours Contreyes in Caſe the Count of *Buren* with the Emperours folkes would doe the ſemblable, nevertheleſſe for as much as the ſeaſon of the yere was ſoe Frequent with extreame Could and other ſore wethers, that neither Men nor Beaſts could longer endure Marchinge in the Feild, but dyed daily and mightily on both parts in a greate number for Could; and divers loſt their Fingers, hands, and Feete, being Frozen and Dead, upon their bedds, And ſome daily Cutt offe, being alſoe noe manner of poſſibility to or likelyhood that new Lymoneers and horſes for draught and Carriage ſhould be recovered in leſſe ſpace then ſix weekes att the leaſt without which it was impoſſible to March or drawe forthe Artillery and yett after the ſame draught recovered the Army being ſoe farr out of the hart of the enemyes Contrey when wett wether ſhould Come, the great Ordnance ſhould in noe wiſe be Carried, Remembringe alſoe that the Duke of *Bourbons* Army was then totally ſcattered without hope of any fruite to enſue of his enterpriſes att this tyme. For theſe reſpectes and Conſiderations, by common conſent of the ſaid Duke of *Suffolke* and the Count *de Burren* who by reaſon of impediments were of neceſſity forced ſoe to doe the ſaid Common Army was Cleerely diſſolved and diſcharged, and before knowledge given to the kinges grace of the ſame not only the *Burgonians* and *Launce Knights* retorned home to their dwellinge places but alſoe the Pyoners and Carriages were likewiſe diſcharged and paid, The kinges Folke alſoe by little and little paſſinge from *Valentia* to *Burgis* and there wholly kept themſelves till advertiſemente hereof was given to the kings highnes and his pleaſure knowne upon the ſame, which matter

ter att the beginninge, foraſmuch as the kings grace was not then ſoe plainly advertiſed of the impediments and incommodities as ſince, was to his graces by pleaſure and miſcontentation a goodly reinforſement being then ready to be ſent out of *England* to the ſame Army As in my laſt letter I wrott to you att length, whereupon Commandemente was given by the kings highnes to the Duke off *Suffolke*, that in caſe the ſaid Count *de Buren*, and *Burgonians* and *Launce Knights* would retorne into the Enimies Contreyes Contrivinge their Warr evaſive, For all this Winter or a good parte thereof, he with the kings Army proceeding and doublinge the Lymoneeres ſhould doe the ſemblable, how be it in Concluſion it was doubled both by the Ladie *Margarett* and Count *de Burren* which their anſwere undoubtedly prooveth it to be true, that it was not proffitable for this tyme to redouble the Lymmoneeres, and gather againe the ſaid *Burgonians* and *Launce Knights* under the ſpace off Sixe monethes, nor that any exployte, Invaſion, or marchinge otherwiſe then lyeing in Garriſons Could further be done this tyme of the yere with many large reaſons and demonſtrations Juſtifyinge confirminge and approovinge the ſame, ſoe as the kings grace was found to accepte and take the ſame diſſolvinge in ſome ſorte the better parte, tractinge nevertheleſſe the tyme ſoe longe as to experimente whether anie good exployte might be ſtuddied or adviſed and for other cauſes hereafter mentioned.

Part of Another Letter from the Cardinal. Fourth Jan.

No 71. Bibl. Yelv. Vol. 50.

THIS Letter conteyneth ſpeciall inſtructions to perſwade the Emperour to cauſe the Duke of *Bourbon* to come into *England* and ſpeake with the kinge, and to the intent that the Duke might afterwards from the Lowe Contreyes make an entry into *France* with an Army.

That this daie the whole Army is not retorned aſwell a greate parte of them as alſoe the Duke of *Suffolke* and principall Lords Councellours and Captaines yee ſhall find in the ſaid Duke of *Bourbon* with all other things worthy knowledge So as the kings highnes being with you before the Springe and Covenable tyme of the yere advertiſed of the premiſſes, may in tyme trayne and order his matters and affaires accordingly, in declaration of the premiſſes unto the Emperour you muſt uſe good Circumſpection to the intent you muſt firſt perceive and underſtand the mind and diſpoſition of him and his Councell aſwell towards the Continuance or not continuance of the Warrs As alſoe to doe ſome effectuall and notable thinge for the kings benefitt and advantage wherein Caſe it ſhalbe expedient that this Overture made unto his Majeſtie he take ſome cauſe to deliberate with his Councel before he can make unto you a perfecte and directe anſwer upon the ſame though it is not to be thought but that before the receipte of theſe letters they have there adviſed or ſpoken of ſome enterpriſe or ſome further annoyance to be done this yere againſt the Common enemy, unleſſe they ſaw other appearance of an honorable and beneficiall appointemente both for the kinge and the Emperour then is here yet, wherefore the kings pleaſure is that yee diſcreetly and ſubſtantially, note marke and enſearch what Deviſe or overture ſhall be ſett forth to the intent that ſuch matters as you ſhall prove them with beinge hereafter may Come percaſe rather

ther to their owne motion and deſire or peradventure ſome other thinge may be by the Emperour offered to be done att this tyme to the annoyance of the Enemy and benefitt of the kings grace; that which his highnes will demand; wherfore you muſt publiqly and diſcreetly handle your ſelves in the diſcloſinge hereof, accordingly aſſerteyninge you that when the kinges highnes and I have groundly noted and Conſidered the contents of your laſt letter, makinge mention of the ſmall apparance which you ſee that the Emperour ſhall be furniſhed with money and treaſure to doe any noteable acte, And havinge regard on the other ſide how farr the enemyes overtures be from any honorable or proffitable ymployment thinkinge furthermore that it ſhall be noe ſmall danger and perill to the kings and Emperours affaires in caſe either for lack of money on the Emperours parte, or otherwiſe to continew the warrs they ſhould ſeeme and appeare to be of force and neceſſity over much deſirous of Peace or truce, whereby the Enemy perceivinge the ſame ſhould be greatly incouraged and perchance be more obſtinate then before havinge Commodity given unto them to gather treaſure puiſſance and frends, for theſe Cauſes the king and I for good deliberation have had ſundry deviſes and Communications together to ſtuddy and find way how the enemy without the Emperours exceſſive charge may be continually annoyed and Compelled to ſpend his money, kepte in buiſnes, terror and feare, and peradventure ſome good portion adquired and gotten for the kings grace, Whereby in the end the *French* kinge may alſoe be compelled to offer Conditions of another ſorte then he yet hath done, And in the meane tyme emolumente and profitt may arriſe to the Emperour, and, Finally the Duke of *Bourbon* with other the kings and his Frends Conſidered holpen maintained and defended, which Adviſe if it may take effecte the Emperour maie ſaie, he is not a little bound unto the kings highnes for that Conſervation of his Charge who thus continewally takes unto him the greater Waight and burthen of the Common Cauſes and affaires.

Firſt it is not unknowne to the Emperour that as longe as the Warrs ſhall continew with *France* the king's grace aſwell for the paſſage into the Channell as alſoe for the ſuerty and defence of his Merchants and ſubjects, And for annoyance of the enemy muſt keepe a puiſſant Army on the Sea, which arriſeth to noe ſmall yerely Charge and expences, beſides that his Grace muſt alſoe maintaine great Garriſons and Armies aſwell for defence of his borders againſt *Scotland* and for withſtandinge *Scottiſh* Invaſions as to infeſt annoye and Invade them att all tymes requiſite, beſides continewall Enemies to be laid att *Callice*, *Guyon Zands* and other places of the kings Marches there for Conſervation ſuerty and defence of the ſame, All which Charges arriſinge to right great and notable ſumms the kings highnes for the Emperours ſake is contented ſtill to ſupport and beare, rather then to be driven to any peace or truce that ſhould not be to both the Princes honorable and proffitable; And to the intente the good effects before ſpecified may be brought to paſſe his grace is alſoe contented if ſuch honorable and profitable Condicions of peace be offered as may Comodiouſly be accepted, over this, to Charge himſelf ſomwhat further towards an honorable enterpriſe or exploit to be attempted againſt the ſaid Enemy ſoe that the Emperour for his parte furniſhinge to his Warrs att *Italy* as apperteyneth, will be Contributary to the ſaid enterpriſe in manner and forme followinge, *viz.* If the Duke of *Bourbon* may with dilligence tranſport himſelf by this waie into *Flanders* and the Emperours lowe Contreyes, And that order be given by the Emperour with all ſpeed poſſible for an Army of 3000 *Burgonian* horſemen, att the Emperours Charge only and 1000 *Launce Knights* to be prepared att the Common Charges of the Emperour and the kings grace to whome his highnes will be Contented to ſend 1000 Archers att his owne Charge with a Convenient Captaine havinge his Artillery and ordnance in ſufficient readines att *Valentia* And that his Army furniſhed of Carriages and other requiſits out of *Flanders* may paſſe with the ſaid Duke of *Bourbon* the waie of *Arer* or otherwiſe as there is ſufficient apparance of *Normandy* the ſaid Duke of *Bourbon* hath right great love, Intelligence and acquaintance here to recover ſome townes and places to the kings uſe which ſhall be more facile for the Duke of *Bourbon* to doe then any other perſon, and the waie once open, and entry had; the kings grace finding it ſoe may percaſe either in perſon or by Livetenance advance thether an Army which ſhall deſcend unto *Normandie*, for the better attayninge of the Countrey, It is thought by the kings highnes and his Councell that theſe effectes followeinge maie thereof enſue.

Firſt the *French* ſhall by this meanes Continually be putt unto buiſnes Charges and expences, The Frends and lovers of the Duke of *Bourbon* ſeeinge him entered with ſuch puiſſance ſhall therefore take Courage and be the boulder to declare themſelves on his parte, divers Townes and ſtrong places ſhall facile be rendred and revolt unto him, the reſt of the 200000 Crownes promiſed by the Emperour and the kings grace to the Duke of *Bourbon*, may be converted towards the Charge of that enterpriſe, the ſame Duke ſhall thus be Countenanced and ayded without putting the Emperour and kinge to dooble Charges, The Emperour for that yere ſhall not need to Charge himſelf with any other puiſſant Army to enter into *France* but only with the Contribution towards the Charges of the ſaid Army as aforeſaid which beſides the reſt of 200000 Crownes be noe ſuch exceſſive ſomme as ſhall much greive him, more Diſpleaſure and Terrour ſhall enſue thereof to the *French* kinge having not only ſtrangers entered into his Dominions but alſoe his owne ſubiects againſt him whereby he ſhall be in continuall feare, to exacte money or doeinge other Feats for gatheringe thereof, then if ſundry Puiſſant Armies of ſtrange Princes only ſhould enter his Contries whoſe parts non of the Lords or Commons would ſoe facile inclyne unto as to the ſaid Duke of *Burboyne*, the *French* kinge ſhall ſoe extreamly be extinuate and his Realme brought to ſuch diminution that ſhall not be able to conteyne his Conqueſts,or Continew his Army in *Italy* but of neceſſity muſt abandon the ſame for ſafeguard of his owne eſtate and Perſon, whereby the Dutchy of *Millayne* ſhall be truly delivered from all dangers of the *Frenchmen* and eſtabliſhed in good ſuerty for the tyme to come, The Duke of *Bourbon* thus notably ayded and being ſoe much eſteemed and beloved in *France* ſhalbe in apparance to make a greate revolution through all that Realme to the king's, the Emperours and his great honor and profitt, the Emperours lowe Contreyes on this ſide ſhalbe in good ſuerty by reaſon that the *French* kinge ſoe occaſioned by his ſubiects with the helpe of the ſaid Army ſhall not be of hoſtillity to attempte any thinge againſt the ſame lowe Contreyes, the enemy ſhall be Content to ſubmitt himſelfe unto reaſonable proffitable and honorable Conditions

tions For the kinge, the Emperour and the ſaid Duke, and finally both their Majeſties not highly Charged thereby with money and expences, may gather money and treaſure, which ſhalbe an increaſe off Terrour to the *French* kinge. And havinge ſuch treaſure, they may then be able (the enemy exhauſt of money) to doe further as the Caſe ſhall require, this device if it be duely and ſpeedily executed ſeemeth to be of ſoe great Conſequence both for the Conſervation of the Emperours honor and reputation the avoydinge of ſuperfluous charges earneſt preſſinge of the enemy the Aſſiſtance and releiſe of the Duke of *Bourbon*, and the demonſtration of gratitude, on the Emperours parte towards the king's Majeſtie, And that with ſuch other ſmall annoiances as may be done without great Charge aſwell by the Emperour, by the parts towards *Spaine*, as alſoe by the king's grace, with ſome enterpriſe or bravery to be made alſoe in *Brittaine* by Mounſeir *de Pontner* who is here with the king's grace, Noe other better or beneficiall a thinge can now be deviſed ſtudied or imagined for advance of the Common affaires whereby ye ſhall deſire the Emperour on the king's behaulf not only to Condeſcend unto the premiſſes for his parte, but alſoe to exert money, and perſwade the Duke of *Bourbon*, (whether he be in *Italy* or in *Spain*) incontinently and with all dilligence to traunſport himſelſe into this Realme to the intent that upon Commiſſion given unto the Emperours Ambaſſadours here reſident or other Command, to Treate and conclude the premiſſes, ſuch deviſe communication and reſolution may be taken with the Duke of *Bourbon* for attayninge of this enterpriſe as on all parts ſhall be thought requiſite and Convenient, And order to be given to the Emperour for the due execution thereof and faithfull performance of the ſame, by his folks on this ſide without uſinge ſuch remiſſe manner difficulty and ſtaie therein, by cullorable exſcuſes and for lacke of furniture or money as hath bin done afore tyme; For doubtleſs the kinges grace is not minded further to Charg himſelf for aſſiſtance of the ſaid Duke of *Bourbon* then he hath done unles he will attempt his enterpriſe on this ſide where is more apparance that he ſhall doe good in revenginge of himſelf againſt the *French*, and recovering of his eſtate the better then in any place like, As alſoe yee may ſhew unto the ſaid Duke if he be there havinge alſoe Communication with him att length in this matter for he may ſaie *ſua Res Agitur*, And for the Emperours ſake; the kinge doth moove theſe affaires mindinge effectually to aſſiſt him if he will enter by theſe parts as is aforeſaid and come and ſpeake with the king's grace, for deliberation and perfecte knowledge what ſubſtantiall waie, and direction are to be taken in the preſent buiſnes, which his highnes would not only be ioyous and glad to ſee within his Realme, but alſoe he may be well aſſured in frendly and loving manner to be accepted uſed and enterteyned duringe his aboad in the ſame, thus yee ſhall inſtantly and effectually ſolicite procure and advance the ſpeedy cominge hether off the Duke with Commiſſion and inſtructions to be ſent by the Emperour aſwell to his Ambaſſadors here reſident for Concluſion off the ſaid Matters with the kinge and the Duke of *Bourbon* as to the Lady *Margarett* and others to whome it ſhall apperteyne for preparation of horſemen and footemen and other things requiſite as is aforeſaid, ſoe as noe tyme be loſt but the Spring of this yere taken whereby in a Comodious ſeaſon may be attcheived and performed the enterpriſes intended with honor and proffitt deſiring the Emperour in any wiſe to give ſubſtantiall orders for furniture of money on his parte, and that the *Burgonians* leaving their accuſtomed delayes and Cullours to be allwaies neere unto their borders, and proceede with effecte to the execution of the enterpriſes as the ſame ſhalbe intended Concluded and deviſed, Thus hartily fare you well Att my Mannour at *Hampton-Courte* this 15th daie of *Januarie*.

Your lovinge frend

Card'lis Ebor.

A Letter from the Cardinal to Secretary Pace, *and to Sir* John Ruſſell.

Nº 72. l. 11. c. 29. Bib. Lamb.

THIS is to advertiſe you onlye Mr. Secretary and Sir *John Ruſſell* with hearty commendations, that finding nor here nor at *Antwerpe* to ſend mony to that Armye by exchange at Convenable tyme, knowing that Mr. *Weſton Turcupleer* of the Order of St. *Johns*, with divers others of their brethren, doe now depart towards the Court of *Rome*, for matters concerning that Religion, I have taken order with the ſame *Turcupleer*, who ſhall have in his Companye above 40 perſons *Engliſhmen*, to convey unto ſuch convenient place as ſhalbee meete, in or not far out of his way towards *Rome*, and meete for you and Sir *John Ruſſell* to pay to him the ſome of Tenne thouſand ſterling in Crownes of the ſame which being ſecretlie carryed ſhall not bee knowne but to bee ſente by the Prior of St. *Johns* in this Realme, to the greate Maiſter of that Religion, for the neceſſarye affairs of the ſame. And it is deviſed that the *Turcupleer* att his coming unto *Antwerp* ſhall have communication with Dr. *Knight* who is commanded to repayre hither unto him, from the Ladye *Margaretts* Court, to the intent by his adviſe and conſent hee may underſtand what place may bee moſt conveniente whereunto Sir *John Ruſſell* may come to receyve the ſaid monye, and thereunto to advertiſe ſome ſpeciall man that ſhall ſhew unto you the ſaid place, and if that of likelyhood yee may bee there, Nevertheles in ſoe much as it is not here knowne whether betweene you and Dr. *Knight* bee a Cipher, and that there may peril and danger enſue, in caſe the letters ſhould chance to bee intercepted, making mention of the premiſſes, yee and Dr. *Knight* will, and bee ordered to call the name of the ſaid *Turcupleer Chriſtopher Barker*, and by the name of *Chriſtopher Barker*, yee ſhall alwaye underſtand the ſaid *Turcupleer* And when Sir *John Ruſſell* ſhall diſpoſe you to repayre to the ſaid place where the ſaid *Turcupleer* and Dr. *Knight* ſhall appoint you, there to hearken of his comeing, Att which tyme yee ſhall receyve of him the ſaid 10000 *l.* and the ſame ye ſhall convey with you by ſome ſure and ſafe meanes unto ſuch place as yee ſhall thinke convenyent to have it in good ſuretye and readyneſs for the Duke of *Bourbon* when the caſe ſhall require. Nevertheleſs if you would uſe ſuch diligence that the ſaid *Turcupleer* in his owne way towards *Trent*, which hee is moſt mynded to take, maye know by your letters att what place hee ſhall repayre unto you, and beinge convenient for you and Sir *John Ruſſell* to meete him it ſhould much prevaile to the common benefitt, The politique ordering whereof the king comitteth to your wiſdome and diſcreet management, And as touching the beſtowing of the 10000 *l.* you ſhall underſtand that the king not knowing how the ſaid Affaires of the ſaid Duke of *Burbon* ſhall proceed, and (willing rather to have mony there in redynes, then to lacke, when need ſhall bee) doth ſend the ſaid 10000 *l.* to bee reſerved for your ſelfe in ſome ſure place, and not bee imployed but as you ſhall ſee the cauſe to require of neceſſitye, That is to ſay, if the ſaid Duke proceeding forward and the Emperour contributeing for his parte as the kinge doth Yee ſhall as yee ſee cauſe imploie it upon the enterteynement of the ſaid Duke and his Armye, and if any other adverſe chaunce happen (as god forbid) that the ſame ſhould not bee well beſtowed and to the direct purpoſe Then the king and I truſt verilye Yee will not ſee it ſcattered and ſpent in vayne, but to bee reſerved and kept or otherwiſe as the tyme and comodity ſhall by your good diſcretion lead you, whereof I will be loath to give over muche inſtructions for as much as it is doubtfull what thinges ſhall chance in that Art But by ſuche confirmation as you have heretofore of the kings mynde and intent. And by the Capitulations which yee knowe bee paſſed betweene the kinge and the Emperour and by the manner of his doeings and the ſaid Dukes proceedings, you ſhall know how to governe the matter to the kinges honor ſuretie and profitt, and to the beſte advancement of his graces affaires, aſſureing yee that it is not a little to the kings mervaile and myne to heare and underſtand by your letters of the 27th of *June* and others ſent by *Curſon* (who ſhall bee diſpatched withall diligence with the anſweares of the ſame) that the payment of the Emperours mony for the enterteynement of the Duke of *Bourbon*, is thus retarded and ſlacked, whereby the proceeding forth of that Armye hath bene greatly hindered The coming alſoe of the *Lance Knights* to them letted and impeached beſides the danger that enſeweth by the long demurre of the Emperours ordinary horſemen contrary to the tenor of the capitulation paſſed betweene the king and him. All which thinges bee greatlie to the hurte and danger of the common enterpriſes ſounding alſoe to the great diſhonour of them, and to the comfort of the enemye, like as in all other proceedings the Emperours folkes make great avaunts and promiſes for payment of monies but when it cometh to the poynte nothing is obſerved. For which cauſe yee muſt have ſpeciall regarde hereunto cauſeing the Duke of *Bourbon* to call for the Emperours money, that the king be not driven off thus alwayes with fayre words, and the moſt burden layd upon hym, In which tymes makeing computation from the firſt day of *Auguſt* which I underſtand was the firſte daye of your entrye into the *French* grounds att St. *Lawrence* and being then to accompt Firſt of the Emperours two hundred thouſand Crownes, and after of the kings albeit the whole Armye had bene then aſſembled, yet it ſhould have bene the 30th day of *July* before any parte of the Kinges mony ſhould have begunn to runne in payment. The 27th of this inſtant moneth before the 20000 *l.* ſent by Sir *John Ruſſell* ſhould bee expired and ſpente though every thing were attempted to the uttermoſt according to the eſtimate which wee ſent mentioning the rate of theis thinges After which 27th day, the Emperor then begynning anewe, to contribute 100000 Crownes for his part, it ſhould bee the 24th of *September* before you ſhoulde occupye any parte of the monye now ſent by the *Turcupleer* which with the ten thouſand pound that the king intendeth to ſend by ſome other meanes with dilligence ſhould ſerve though there were no other fardells towards the ſame enterteynmente till the 27th of *October* next enſewing ſoe that the Emperour obſerveing his promiſſe for the ſaid contribution, as the king doth, the Duke of *Burbon* may (God willing) make a great alteration in *France*, haveing many notable ſucceſſes and victoryes before that tyme, eſpetially finding ſoe ſmall reſiſtance as hee is like to find.

Letter of the Cardinal to Secretary Pace.

N°73. B. II. c. 29. Bib. Lamb.

MR. Secretary I commend me unto you in my right harty manner, The kings highneſs and I received your letters dated att *Venice* the 17th of this laſt moneth perceiving by the contents of the ſame Not onely the diſpoſition wherein you have found the Duke and Senate with the anſweares by them made unto your charge, but alſoe the expectation may be hadd of their intents and purpoſes declareinge finally ſuch newes from the Campe and other as then were come to your knowlege for which your good endeavour and dilligente advertiſement the kings highneſs and I give you moſt hearty thanks abideinge with great deſire to knowe and underſtand the further ſucceſſes of theis matters, and whether upon ſuch new thinges chanced in the Campe, you can by good pollicye and induſtrye profitt any better with them for the furtherance of the common affaires, wherein the kings highneſs and I bee well aſſured that yee will pretermitt noe good occaſion that may bee taken to induce them to all ſuch things as may conferre to the intended end and purpoſe, ſignifieing unto you by certayn letters received from ſundrie parts of *Italie* the kings highnes and I have bene advertiſed that Albeit two Armys of the imperialls and *Frenchmen* were within half a Mile the one from the other the 7th day of the ſame laſt moneth ſoe remeyneing and contynueing till the 17th of the ſame alſoe, which is the date of thoſe letters wee had from thoſe parts, yet Nevertheles there was at that tyme noe battaile ſtrucken, but rather ſmal appearance thereof for ſo much as the *French* King ſtronglie incamped in his feild would not iſſue out, nor they might without their great diſadvantage, aſſaile him and enter upon his fortifications, ſoe that it was thought that the *French* kings intent was onely to wearye and confine the Imperialls for lacke of monye to mantayne and kepe their Armye together, And foraſmuch as the kings grace underſtandeth that 20000 Duckatts ſent by the Emperour into *Italie* were not then arrived and that a great parte of the 50000 Crownes that were in Sir *John Ruſſells* hands, which the kings grace ordeyned to have bene given to the Emperours Armye in reward is retorned hither by exchange and not poſſible to bee recovered att *Rome* whereby without other proviſion ſpeedilye made the kings and Emperours affaires might bee in greate danger, and the *French* king proſecute his purpoſe in one thing of the ſaid Imperialls The kings highneſs mynded moſt like a loveing Father Uncle and loveing Brother to put ſuccour unto the lacke which their may bee on the Imperialls ſide, hath cauſed conventions to bee made with *Anthony Vivald* Merchant of *Seane*, and *Anthony Dodo* Merchant of *Venice* in ſuch gold and monyes had at ſuch tyme price and rate as you knowing the valuation thereof can beſt rate and agree with their Agents in the Cittie to whome promiſe and aſſurance is made, that upon Exhibition thereof yours and my lord of *Bathes* Acquietance ſpecefieing the receipte thereof, the ſame price and value aforeſaid ſhall bee here paid and contented for the ſame

Whereupon they write at this tyme not onelie unto you, But alſoe to their ſaid Agents, that is to ſaye *Vivald* to his Brother, and unto *Dodo* to his Father ſhowing themſelves right glad and comfortable to doe unto the kings grace ſervice and pleaſure herein without any lucre or gayne but onelie as they may ſave themſelves harmeles with theire goods if they performe the ſame, the kings highnes will not faile to have the ſame in remembrance accordinglie Whereof the kings pleaſure is that incontynentlye upon receipt hereof yee ſhall practiſe with the ſaid Agents and Bankers haveinge communication with them upon the certayne price rate and value of the ſaid monye, and to knowe how much they will bee contented to bargayne with you for upon the commiſſion of the ſaid *Anthony Dodo* and *Anthony Vivald* after the manner and forme as is aforeſaid makeing your bargayne aſſured with them for that purpoſe ſoe the monye upon requiſition may bee had and receyved accordinglye without byndeing your ſelf to take more or leſſe, but as the caſe and neceſſitye doth require which thing well perfected and done if then my Lord of *Bath* ſhall write unto you to ſend away part of the monye unto him or other place to bee beſtowed according to ſuch inſtructions as ſhall bee now given unto him in that behalfe which is to performe and make upp the Fiftie thouſand Crownes which was at *Rome*, by this and other meanes, and rather then faile to imploy alſo more in caſe of extreame neceſſitie upon the ſaid Emperours Armye before they ſhould bee compelled to breake for lacke of a competent ſomme of monye Yee ſhall in this caſe cauſe ſuch monye to bee delivered giveing accquitance unto the Marchant for the ſame as my ſaid Lord of *Bathe* ſhall appoynte, Wherein the kinges mynde is that yee ſhall give unto the Buſhopp of *Bathe* from tyme to tyme your good Councell That is to ſaye how hee were beſt to order himſelfe in departeing with more or leſſe of the ſaid monye as is neceſſarye in the Emperors Armye and commodious with the knowledge of the ſucceſſes as there ſhall require to the intent his and your good wiſedome and diſcretion may the better concurre together in that behalf, And hee haveing Councell of the kings truſtye freindes and ſervants there, as all wiſe men bee deſirous to have, may with confidence proceed in his doeings as ſhall apperteyne, not for that hee ſhould not doe any thing herein without your councell for therein by Tracts of tyme might bee perill, but that hee haveing your opinion might conferre the ſame with his owne, and then doe as hee ſhall thinke moſt convenyent for in effect this is the kinges mynde.

Firſt to obſerve his promiſe made in theis and my former letters for advancement of the Fiftye thouſand Crownes to the Emperours Armye, And ſecondlie disburſeing noe mony in waiſte for Five or Tenne thouſand more rather then faile if the ſame may bee thought ſoe conveniente And that lacking other proviſion they ſhould bee elſe compelled to faile and looſe their enterpriſes or that the haveing thereof maye ſave and conſerve the ſame. Wherefore now yee bee advertiſed of the kings full mynde herein knowing alſoe the ſtate of the matters there, better then can bee done here, the kings highneſs and I doe require you to order your ſelfe doeing diligence herein accordinglie ſoe as his grace may, by your good endeavours there conduce theis matters to the deſired ende to the honor of his highnes and to the benefitt of his affaires, as is the

kinges and my ſpeciall truſt in you. And fare yee well att the kinges Mannor att *Bridewell* the 5th *March* 1549.

Your loveing freind

T. Car'lis Ebor.

Andreas Gritti Dux Venetiarum ad Cardinalem Eborum.

Reverendiſſimo in Chriſto Patri Domino Tho. Miſeratione Divinâ, Tituli Sanctæ Ceciliæ Sanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ Presbytero Cardinali Eboracenſi & Legato de Latere Digniſſimo.

Coll. N° 74.
Rym. Conv.
T. 14. p. 96.
B. II. c.

REverendiſſime in Chriſto Pater,

Reverendus Dominus Ricardus Paceus, iſtius Regiæ Majeſtatis Conſiliarius Primariùſque ſecretarius, cùm jam aliquot Menſibus functurus ejuſdem Majeſtatis Nomine apud Nos Oratoris Officio huc acceſſiſſet, nobiſque a Reverendiſſimâ Dominatione veſtrâ in ejus Commendationem Litteras accuratiſſimè ſcriptas attuliſſet, viſum eſt Nobis idcirco Officio noſtro maximè convenire, Eum, in ſuo a Nobis in Patriam Diſceſſu, non ſine Litteris noſtris ad eam redire.

Quibus Reverendiſſimam Dominationem veſtram intelligere atque adeò perſuaſam eſſe cupimus nihil ejuſdem Reverendi Oratoris ſaluti ſatius nec conducibilius evenire potuiſſe quàm Facultatem ſibi à Regiâ iſtâ Majeſtate dari, quâ hinc diſcedere, & in Patriam remigrare poſſit.

Nam cùm, per id temporis ſpatium, quo apud Nos degit, ferè ſemper aliquo Morbi Genere laborâſſet, in id poſtmodùm Ægritudinis Genus incurrit, quâ nunc maximopere affligitur, ut cogatur integros Dies ac Noctes inſomnes ducere.

Ex quo quidem indigno Morbo cùm nihil non fecerimus ut is demùm eximeretur, à Medicis iſtius Urbis noſtræ primariis in eam ſententiam communi omnium conſenſu Deventum eſt: Eum, cùm hic Aer viſus ſit non parùm ejus ſaluti adverſari, nullo alio magis præſentaneo Remedio quàm ſuo hinc Diſceſſu ſanari poſſe. Quare, cùm Sereniſſimi iſtius Regis, Dominationiſque veſtræ Reverendiſſimæ Cauſa, tum etiam quòd eidem Reverendo Oratori ob Excellentes ejus Virtutes benè cupiamus, omne ſtudium Diligentiamque noſtras promptè impenderimus, ac debitum à Nobis Officium pro recuperandâ ejus Salute præſtiterimus.

Reliquum eſt ut Reverendiſſimæ Dominationi veſtræ affirmemus Nos eundem Reverendum Dominum Oratorem in Regiis Muniis exequendis iſti Regiæ Majeſtati Fideliſſimum, in omni re Diligentiſſimum, ac Reverendiſſimæ Dominationis veſtræ obſervantiſſimum ſtudioſiſſimumque ſemper cognoviſſe.

Dat. in noſtro Ducali Palatio, Die Primo Octobris, Indictione Decimâ quartâ, Milleſimo Quingenteſimo Viceſimo Quinto.

Andreas Gritti, Dei Gratiâ, Dux Venetiarum, *&c.*

Nicolaus Sagundinus.

Juramenti

Juramenti Regis Francorum Abſolutio Papalis. B. III.

CLemens *Epiſcopus Servus Servorum Dei*, Cariſſimo in Chriſto Filio noſtro *Franciſco Francorum Regi Chriſtianiſſimo*, Salutem & Apoſtolicam Benedictionem.

Coll. No 74. b.

Votis tuis, illis præſertim per quæ Paci & Quieti Chriſtianæ Reipublicæ conſulitur, libenter annuimus, eaq; Favoribus proſequimur opportunis.

Sanè, pro Parte tua, Nobis nuper exhibita Petitio continebat quòd,

Licet aliàs *Majeſtas tua* juraverit Res ac Bona ac Jura a Corona Regni Franciæ nunquam alienare diſmembrare aut ſeparare, & ad id vinculo Juramenti Te adſtrinxiſti,

Quia tamen in *Civitate Cameracenſi* (*Die*, videlicet, *Quintâ Menſis Auguſti præſentis Anni*) inter *Majeſtatem tuam* & Cariſſimum in Chriſto Filium noſtrum *Carolum Romanorum & Hiſpaniarum Regem Catholicum in Imperatorem Electum* Sororium tuum Cariſſimum perpetuum Fœdus formatum percuſſúmque fuit, in eóque nonnullæ hinc inde Alienationes, ſine quibus Reſpublica Chriſtiana Tranquilla eſſe non poterat, factæ fuerunt;

Viſum fuit *eidem Majeſtati tuæ* prò publica Salute Pace ac Quiete ac Tranquillitate hujuſmodi expedire per Te præſtito Juramento hujuſmodi contravenire, volénſque tuæ Conſcientiæ ac Chriſtianæ Reipublicæ hujuſmodi Saluti providere, Venerabilem Fratrem noſtrum *Philibertum Epiſcopum Eporedienſem* Eleemoſinarium & Dilectum Filium *Nicolaum Raince* Secretarium tuos, & eorum quemlibet in ſolidum; abſentes Procuratores tuos tanquam præſentes ſpecialiter ad petendum a Nobis Abſolutionem & Relaxationem quorumcúmque Juramentorum, de non Alienandis nec Diſmembrandis aut Separandis quibuſcúmq; Rebus ac Juribus a Corona Regni Franciæ hujuſmodi per Te eatenus præſtitorum, necnon ſuper hujuſmodi Abſolutione & Juramenti Relaxatione Literas neceſſarias etiam petendum impetrandum & expediendum,

Quare idem *Philibertus Epiſcopus*, ejuſdem *Majeſtatis tuæ* Procuratorio Nomine, factâ prius Nobis Fide de ſufficienti Mandato, Nobis humiliter ſupplicavit ut *Majeſtatem tuam* a Juramenti Violatione abſolvere, ipſúmq; Juramentum ac Defectum Validitatis Alienationis Bonorum & Jurium a Corona Regni Franciæ factæ hujuſmodi relaxare, aliáſq; in Præmiſſis opportunè providere de Benignitate Apoſtolicâ dignaremur;

Nos igitur,

Attendentes ex hujuſmodi Alienatione totius Reipublicæ Chriſtianæ Paci conſuli, hujuſmodi Supplicationibus inclinati,

Majeſtatem tuam a Juramenti Violatione, Autoritate Apoſtolicâ, Tenore Præſentium Abſolvimus, ac Juramentum ſeu Juramenta, aliàs per Te de non Alienandis Bonis aut Juribus Coronæ Regni Franciæ hujuſmodi præſtitum, ad effectum prædictum, ex certa Scientia noſtra ac Poteſtatis plenetudine, Relaxamus, ac Alienationem Bonorum & Jurium Coronæ Regni Franciæ factam hujuſmodi valuiſſe ac valere ac inviolabiliter obſervari debere decernimus;

Non obſtantibus Præmiſſis, ac Conſtitutionibus & Ordinationibus dicti Regni & illius Parliamentorum Confirmatione Apoſtolicâ vel quavis Firmitate aliâ roboratis, necnon Privilegiis & Indultis ac Literis Apoſtolicis dicto Regno forſan conceſſis, quibus illorum Tenores pro expreſſis habentes, illis aliàs in ſuo robore manſuris, hâc vice duntaxat ſpecialiter & expreſsè Derogamus, ceteriſque contrariis quibuſcùmque;

Nulli ergo omninò Hominum liceat hanc Paginam noſtræ Abſolutionis Relaxationis Decreti & Derogationis infringere vel ea auſu temerario contraire, ſi quis autem hoc attentare preſumpſerit Indignationem Omnipotentis Dei & Beatorum Petri & Pauli Apoſtolorum ejus ſe noverit incurſurum.

Dat. *Bononiæ* Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ 1529. iii. Kal. Decembris, Pontificatûs noſtri Anno Septimo.

Signat. ſubter Plicam,

B. Motta.

Sub. Plumbo.

Dorſ. *Regiſtrata in Cancellariâ Apoſtolicâ.*

De Cesis.

De Monaſteriis Suppreſſis & Collegio Cardinalis Eborum conceſſis.

Coll. N° 75. a.

REX omnibus, ad quos, *&c.* Salutem.

Ineſtimabile illud & immenſum Bonum, quod ex Collegio, Per Reverendiſſimum in Chriſto Patrem *Thomam*, Miſeratione Divinâ, *Tituli Sanctæ Ceciliæ trans Tiberim Sacroſanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ Presbyterum Cardinalem Eboracenſem Archiepiſcopum Apoſtolicæ Sedis Legatum*, necnon, Felicis Recordationis, *Leonis nuper Papæ Decimi & Adriani Papæ Sexti*, ac etiam Sanctiſſimi Domini noſtri *Clementis*, Divinâ Providentiâ, hujus Nominis *Papæ Septimi Moderni* dictæque Sedis ad Nos Regnúmque noſtrum Angliæ ac omnes & ſingulos ipſius Regni Provincias, Civitates, Terras, atque Loca illi ſubjecta & alia illi adjacentia ad *Vitam ſuam etiam de Latere Legatum Epiſcopum Dunelmenſem* Exemptique *Monaſterii Sancti Albani Commendatarium perpetuum* ipſiúſque Regni noſtri *Angliæ Primatem & Cancellarium* noſtrum,

In Alma Academia Oxonienſi, de Licentia & Auctoritate noſtris, per Nomen *Collegii Thomæ Wolſey Cardinalis Eboracenſis*, vulgo vocati The Cardinall College, Erecto & Fundato, in Regnum hoc noſtrum Orbémque Chriſtianum proceſſurum indies & ubertim manaturum, ex Inſtitutis ejuſdem cernimus & providemus, vehementi & ardenti affectione Nos provocat ut, quoad quidem Humanitùs liceat, noſtráque poterit & valeat Auctoritas, perpetuæ ejuſdem Conſtitutioni ſtudeamus.

Cùm itaque animi id noſtri intentioniſque ſit ut Conceſſiones noſtræ omnes & ſingulæ, tàm prædicto Reverendiſſimo in Chriſto Patri quàm etiam Collegio prædicto per eundem erecto, a Nobis factæ & conceſſæ, adverſus Inſidiantium, Calumniantium, Tergiverſantium, & Repugnantium Conatus, Aſtutias, & Calliditates, omnéſque Objectiones, Allegationes, & Exceptiones, quacúmque ex cauſa competentes, per quemcúmque deinceps proponendas objiciendas aut allegandas, firmæ ſemper maneant & inconcuſſæ, ſuámque vim integram conſervent, & illibatam, in Jure Judiciiſque omninò obtineant & admittantur, pleniſſimum denique & validiſſimum conſequantur effectum, ex mero Motu noſtro certa Scientia & Gratia ſpeciali, *Volumus & Concedimus* quòd, ſi præſentes Literæ noſtræ, & aliæ Literæ Patentes, prædicto *Reverendiſſimo in Chriſto Patri* conceſſæ; videlicet,

Literæ noſtræ Patentes de Licentia Erigendi Collegium prædictum de Data Decimo tertio Die Julii, *Anno Regni noſtri Decimo ſeptimo*,

Et aliæ Literæ noſtræ Patentes, quibus noſtrum Regium Aſſenſum Suppreſſioni & Extinctioni Monaſterii Sanctæ Fridiſwidæ, de Data Decimo Die Maii, Anno Regni noſtri ſextodecimo,

Et aliæ Literæ noſtræ Patentes, quibus noſtrum Regium Aſſenſum Suppreſſioni & Extinctioni quorumdam aliorum Monaſteriorum *præbuimus,* de Data Primo Die Octobris, *Anno Regni noſtri Decimo ſexto,*

Et aliæ quatuor Literæ noſtræ Patentes, de Licentia Appropriandi Beneficia dicto Collegio, *in eiſdem nominata, ut plenius in eiſdem continetur,* de Data Decimo quarto Die Maii, *Anno Regni noſtri Decimo octavo.*

Et aliæ Literæ noſtræ Patentes, quibus prædicto Reverendiſſimo in Chriſto Patri Maneria, Terras, Poſſeſſiones, & Tenementa Monaſteriorum, nuper Suppreſſorum, de Daventre, Raverſton, Tykeford, Sandwell, Eanwell, Lytlemore, & Poghley, *Dedimus & Conceſſimus, ut in eiſdem continetur,* de Data Octavo Die Februarii, *Anno Regni noſtri Decimo ſeptimo,*

Et aliæ Literæ noſtræ Patentes quibus prædicto Reverendiſſimo in Chriſto Patri *Maneria, Terras, Poſſeſſiones, & Tenementa* Monaſteriorum, nuper Suppreſſorum, de Thobye, Blackamore, Staneſgate, Typtre, Wykes, Dodneſh, & Snape *Dedimus & Conceſſimus, ut in eiſdem continetur,* de Data Viceſimo Primo Die Decembris, *Anno Regni noſtri* Decimo Septimo,

Et aliæ Literæ noſtræ Patentes, quibus prædicto Reverendiſſimo in Chriſto Patri *Maneria, Terras, Poſſeſſiones, & Tenementa* Monaſteriorum, nuper Suppreſſorum, de Lyeſnes, Tonbridg, Begham, & Calicete, *Dedimus & Conceſſimus, ut in eiſdem continetur,* de Data Octavo Die Februarii, *Anno Regni noſtri* Decimo Septimo.

Et aliæ Literæ noſtræ Patentes, quibus Bullæ Unionis Eccleſiarum Parochialium in dicta Bulla ſpecificatarum præfato Collegio *facta noſtrum Regium præbuimus Aſſenſum,* de Data xxviii. Die Martii, *Anno Regni noſtri* Decimo Septimo,

Aliæque quæcumque, tam præfato Reverendiſſimo in Chriſto Patri, *quàm* Decano & Canonicis Collegii prædicti,

Per Nos, de quacumque Re factæ & conceſſæ, aut deinceps fiendæ & concedendæ, in aliqua parte earumdem, ratione Additionis, Tranſpoſitionis, aut Immutationis quarumcúmque Clauſularum, Sententiarum, Verborum, Literarum, diverſáve aut indebita Nominum aut Locorum appellatione nominatione aut aliàs quomodocúmque, minus validæ efficaces & inſufficientes in Lege exiſtunt, aut aliquos Defectus in eiſdem aut earum aliqua aliquo unquam tempore invenire contigerit in futurum, ſic quod Literæ illæ aut earum aliqua in Materia, Forma, Modo, Ordine, Scriptura, Data, aut aliquo modo quocúmque immutari corrigi & reformari déque novo conſcribi & ſigillari neceſſe habeant aut habeat, extunc *Cancellarius noſter Angliæ,* Hæredum & Succeſſorum noſtrorum qui pro tempore fuerit, harum Literarum Patentium virtute Mandato & Waranto, Poteſtatem habeat & Auctoritatem, ad Petitionem Requiſitionem & Proſecutionem prædicti *Reverendiſſimi in Chriſto Patris* Hæredum aut Succeſſorum ſuorum, aut prædicti *Collegii Decani & Canonicorum,* & eorum Succeſſorum, eaſdem Literas Reformare, Corrigere, Addere, Diminuere, Detrahere, in meliorémque efficaciorem & validiorem Modum & Formam, prout caſus exigit, qui pro parte dicti *Reverendiſſimi in Chriſto Patris* necnon *Decani & Canonicorum Collegii prædicti* facere videbuntur, Immutare, aliáſque Literas Patentes, correctas & reformatas, Magno Sigillo noſtro Hæredum & Succeſſorum noſtrorum ſigillare, ſigillataſque Literas hujuſmodi prædicto *Reverendiſſimo in Chriſto Patri,* Hæredibus & Succeſſoribus aut Aſſignatis ſuis, ac *Decano & Canonicis Collegii prædicti,* eorúmque Succeſſoribus tradere & diliberare, abſque aliqua alia Proſecutione Mandato ſive Waranto inde a Nobis Hæredibus aut Succeſſoribus noſtris pro Reformatione, Correctione, Additione, Detractione, Immutatione ut præfertur dictarum Literarum ex Cauſis hujuſmodi quoviſmodo petendo impetrando & obtinendo, abſque aliquo Fine aut Feodo magno vel parvo nobis in Cancellaria noſtra Hannaperio aut alibi ſolvendo ſive faciendo,

Et quòd Literæ noſtræ, ſic Reformatæ Correctæ & Immutatæ ac per Cancellarium Sigillatæ & Deliberatæ, ſint perindè Validæ Sufficientes & Efficaces, ac ſi Warantum indè a Nobis Hæredibus & Succeſſoribus noſtris ſpecialiter impetratum obtentum & exhibitum fuiſſet,

Et quòd in omnibus Curiis noſtris Hæredum aut Succeſſorum noſtrorum legantur intelligantur judicentur & Determinentur pro Parte dicti *Reverendiſſimi in Chriſto Patris*, Hæredum & Succeſſorum ſuorum, *ac Decani & Canonicorum Collegii prædicti*, erga & contra Nos, Hæredes, & Succeſſores noſtros, noſtróſque Hæredum & Succeſſorum noſtrorum Miniſtros & Officiarios quoſcúmque, prout meliùs fieri poterit & intelligi; non obſtantibus aliquâ Omiſſione Defectu Necligentiâ Repugnantiâ ſive Contrarietate in eiſdem.

Et insuper, de uberiori Gratia noſtra & Liberalitate ac Munificentia ſingulari Affectione propenſóque animo, quem erga dictum *Reverendiſſimum in Chriſto Patrem* ac etiam *præfati Collegii Erectionem* Fundationem & Stabilimentum idemque Collegium gerimus, necnon ob egregia prædicti *Reverendiſſimi in Chriſto Patris* in Nos Regnúmque noſtrum præſtita Officia, ac alias juſtas & rationabiles Cauſas nos animumque noſtrum in hac parte moventes, prædicto *Reverendiſſimo in Chriſto Patri* necnon *Decano & Canonicis Collegii prædicti* omnia & ſingula Feoda Fines & Pecuniarum Summas quaſcúmque, pro prædictis Conceſſionibus noſtris, aut earum aliquâ, aliiſve Conceſſionibus prædicto Reverendiſſimo *in Chriſto Patri* aut *Decano & Canonicis Collegii prædicti* in futurum per Nos fiendis, alióve prætextu & occaſione quacúmque, Nobis Hæredibus aut Succeſſoribus noſtris debitis ſive debendis; videlicet,

Fines & Feoda pro Licentia Concordandi, tàm in Cancellaria noſtra, quàm coram Juſticiariis de Communi Banco,

Ac Fines & Feoda, in Cancellaria noſtra, *pro Brevibus de Ingreſſu ſuper Diſſeiſinam in le poſt*, ſecundùm Ratam & Valorem Terrarum & Tenementorum in Brevibus prædictis ſpecificatorum,

Necnon Fines & Feoda, pro Licentia Regis obtinenda ad Alienandum Terras & Tenementa tenta de Nobis in Capite,

Ac Fines & Feoda exigenda pro Alienatione Terrarum & Tenementorum de Nobis in Capite ſine Licentia noſtra,

Ac Fines & Feoda pro Licentia habenda pro Alienatione Terrarum & Tenementorum *in Manum Mortuam*, contra formam Statuti, tàm de Nobis quàm de aliis quoquomodo tentorum,

Ac Fines & Feoda, pro Pardonatione obtinenda, pro Terris & Tenementis Alienatis in *Manum Mortuam*, abſque Licentia noſtra,

Necnon Fines & Feoda in Hanaperio noſtro vel alibi, Nobis debita ſive exacta, aut impoſterùm debenda aut exigenda, pro Perquiſitione quarumcúmque Literarum Patentium, tàm ad Erigendum Fundandum & Incorporandum quæcúmque *Collegia Cantarias* vel aliquod aliud Corpus Incorporandum ſive Corpora Incorporanda,

Ac omnes & omnimodos Fines & Feoda, debita ſive debenda pro Licentia Appropriandi *Abbatias*, *Prioratus*, *Monaſteria*, *Advocationes*, *Rectorias*, *Vicarias*, *Cantarias*, *Hoſpitalia*, & quæcúmque alia Beneficia Eccleſiaſtica alicui ſive aliquibus Corpori ſive Corporibus Incorporatis ſive Incorporandis,

Alia quoque Feoda & Fines, quotcúmque & qualiacúmque ſint, & quæcúmque a Nobis Hæredibus aut Succeſſoribus noſtris ab eodem *Reverendiſſimo in Chriſto Patre*, Hæredibus & Succeſſoribus ſuis, *Decanove & Canonicis Collegii prædicti*, aut eorum Succeſſoribus, Præmiſſorum aut alicujus eorum prætextu, in Cancellaria noſtra, Hanaperio, Scaccario, aut alibi peti requiri demandari aut exigi poterant, liberè plenè & integrè Dedimus & Conceſſimus, Damus & Concedimus per præſentes, indèque prædictum *Reverendiſſimum in Chriſto Patrem*, Hæredes & Succeſſores ſuos, *Decanum & Canonicos Collegii prædicti*, & Succeſſores ſuos, imperpetuum Acquietamus & Liberamus, Quietos & Liberos dimittimus per Præſentes:

Conceſſius etiam & Concedimus præfato *Reverendiſſimo in Chriſto Patri*, Hæredibus & Succeſſoribus ſuis, *Decano & Canonicis Collegii prædicti*, eorúmque Succeſſoribus, quòd Ipſi, & eorum quilibet, ad uſum Collegii prædicti, habeant & habeat tot talia & totidem Brevia originalia vel judicialia, & alia Brevia quæcúmque, tàm in Cancellaria noſtra, quàm in quibuſcúmque Curiis noſtris & Hæredum noſtrorum, quot & qualia eis fore viderint neceſſaria vel oportuna proſequenda Nomine ſuo tàm in Cancellaria noſtra Hæredum & Succeſſorum noſtrorum quàm coram nobis Hæredibus & Succeſſoribus noſtris, ac in quibuſcúmque Curiis & Placeis noſtris Hæredum & Succeſſorum noſtrorum, abſque aliquo Feodo Sigilli ſeu pro Sigillatione eorumdem, Nobis Hæredibus & Succeſſoribus noſtris, ad Uſum noſtrum Hæredum ſeu Succeſſorum noſtrorum, ſolvendo.

Et quòd ipſi & eorum quilibet omnia & ſingula Brevia, Cartas, Literas Patentes, Mandata, & Warranta quæcúmque, ſub Magno Sigillo noſtro, ſeu quocúmque alio Sigillo noſtro Hæredum & Succeſſorum noſtrorum, in Cancellaria noſtra ac Hæredum & Succeſſorum noſtrorum, & in quacúmque alia Curia noſtra ac Hæredum & Succeſſorum noſtrorum, ſeu aliquo quocúmq; Loco, ad Uſum *Collegii prædicti* confecta & impoſterùm conficienda ſigillata & ſigillanda, abſque Fine & Feodo, ad Uſum ſeu Opus Noſtrum vel Hæredum & Succeſſorum noſtrorum, pro eiſdem ſeu aliquo eorumdem capiendo vel ſolvendo proſequi poſſint & realiter proſequantur, habeant & obtineant; aliquo Statuto Ordinatione ſive Actu in contrarium editis ſive edendis non obſtantibus,

Nolentes quòd prædictus *Reverendiſſimus in Chriſto Pater* Hæredes & Succeſſores ſui *Decanus & Canonici Collegii prædicti* aut ſui Succeſſores ea de Cauſa moleſtentur inquietentur aut in aliquo graventur; ſed quòd tàm *Cancellarius noſter*, *Angliæ Theſaurarius*, *& Barones Scaccarii* noſtri, *Clericus Hanaperii*, ac cæteri Officiarii & Miniſtri noſtri quicúmque a prædictorum Feodorum Finium & aliorum, pro Literis Patentibus aliiſve Brevibus obtentis & obtinendis, ut præfertur, ſolvi debitorum aut conſuetorum, pro Præmiſſis aut aliquo Præmiſſorum Petitione Exactione Levatione & Solutione, quàm etiam prædictus *Reverendiſſimus in Chriſto Pater*, Hæredes & Succeſſores ſui, necnon *Decanus & Canonici Collegii prædicti* & Succeſſores ſui, ſint apud Nos Hæredes & Succeſſores noſtros, per has Literas noſtras, penitùs & totaliter exonerati & imperpetuum acquietati, abſque aliquo alio Brevi Mandato ſive Warranto noſtro Hæredum vel Succeſſorum noſtrorum pro Præmiſſis vel aliquo Præmiſſorum proſequendo fiendo habendo in Hanaperio ſive Cancellaria noſtra aut in aliquibus Curiis noſtris aut alibi oſtendendo aut exhibendo:

Volumuſque & Mandamus quòd ſuper hujuſmodi noſtris Conceſſionibus præſentes Literæ noſtræ Patentes, aliæque deinceps Corrigendæ & Reformandæ, ſi quas tales fieri contigerit, fiant expediantur ſigillentur & tradantur dicto *Reverendiſſimo in Chriſto Patri*, Hæredibus & Succeſſoribus Executoribus & Aſſignatis ſuis, necnon *Decano & Canonicis Collegii prædicti*, & eorum Succeſſoribus, abſque alioquo Fine Feodo magno vel parvo Nobis in Cancellaria noſtra ſive in Hanaperio noſtro ſeu alibi ſolvendo aut faciendo; Eo quòd expreſſa mentio de vero Valore vel Certitudine Præmiſſorum, aut de aliis Donis ſive Conceſſionibus, præfato *Reverendiſſimo in Chriſto Patri* aut *Decano & Canonicis Collegii* prædicti per Nos ante hæc tempora factis, in Præſentibus minimè facta exiſtit, aut aliquo Actu Reſtrictione, Proviſione, Ordinatione, ſive Mandato Clerico Hanaperii aut quibuſcúmque aliis ante hæc tempora factis, Statutóve aliquo in contrarium facto ſive edito fiendo vel edendo, aut alia Re Cauſâ aut Materiâ quacúmque in aliquo non obſtantibus.

In cujus, *&c.*

Teſte Rege apud *Weſtmonaſterium* Primo Die Maii.

De Conceſſionibus pro Collegio memorato.

Coll. Nº 76. b.

REX Archiepiſcopis, Epiſcopis, *&c.* Salutem.

Illam de bonis Literis ſinceráque Scientiarum Eruditione Opinionem concepimus, quam etiam multa Nobis, tùm audita, tùm viſa, Exempla confirmant atque adaugent, ut Regno huic noſtro omnibus quidem egregiis Naturæ Dotibus præter cætera florentiſſimo, non aliud Ornamentum illuſtrius poſſe accedere arbitremur quàm ut optima Ingenia, agreſti Juventutis Ruditate deterſâ, ſanis Doctrinis perpoliantur, & a Teneris imbuantur, Artéſque illas a Primordiis deguſtent, in illiſque diutiùs enutriantur, quæ Virtutis & Probitatis ſint effectrices.

Cùm itaque Reverendiſſimus in Chriſto Pater *Thomas*, Miſeratione Divinâ, *Tituli Sanctæ Ceciliæ trans Tiberim Sacroſanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ Preſbyter Cardinalis Eborum Archiepiſcopus Apoſtolicæ Sedis Legatus*, necnon, Felicis Recordationis, *Leonis nuper Papæ Decimi & Adriani Papæ Sexti*, ac etiam Sanctiſſimi Domini noſtri *Clementis*, Divinâ Providentiâ, hujus nominis *Papæ Septimi moderni*, dictæque Sedis ad Nos Regnúmque noſtrum Angliæ ac omnes & ſingulas ipſius Regni noſtri Provincias, Civitates, Terras atque Loca illi ſubjecta & alia illi adjacentia ad Vitam ſuam etiam *de Latere Legatus*, *Epiſcopus Dunelmenſis*, *Exemptique Monaſterii Sancti Albani Commendatarius perpetuus*, ipſiúſq; Regni noſtri *Angliæ Primas* & *Cancellarius noſter*, qui Commiſſam ſibi a Nobis Rerum omnium Summam fideliſſimè diligentiſſimè & prudentiſſimè maximè Reipublicæ Bono & Noſtro, incredibiles interim Labores perpeſſus, adminiſtravit, qua eſt in Patriam Charitate & Pietate non minoribus ſumptibus etiam *Collegium* Auctoritate & Conſenſu noſtris in *Alma Achademia Oxoniæ*, vulgò vocat' THE CARDINALL COLLEGE, Literarum Eruditionis & Virtutum Aſylum, morum optimorum & Chriſtianæ Religionis propagandæ Seminarium Regno huic noſtro ubere proculdubio futurum & fœcundum, Erexerit Fundaverit & Dotaverit, commodiſſimam occaſionem oblatam arbitramur, quam etiam negligere nullo pacto poſſumus, in qua animum noſtrum tàm in dictum Collegium ob Literarum Amorem quàm etiam in dictum *Reverendiſſimum Patrem*, ob tàm egregia ejuſdem in Nos Regnúmque noſtrum præſtita Officia, præter alias Conceſſiones noſtras antehac eidem *Reverendiſſimo in Chriſto*

Patri dictóque *Collegio* factas ampliſſimâ etiam Privilegiorum Libertatum & Immunitatum Conceſſione, veluti clariſſimo quodam Teſtimonio poſteris declaremus & atteſtemur;

Sciatis igitur quòd Nos, de Gratia noſtra ſpeciali, Dedimus & Conceſſimus, & hac noſtrâ Cartâ pro Nobis & Hæredibus noſtris Confirmavimus, Dilectis, Nobis in Chriſto, *Decano & Canonicis Collegii Thomæ Wolſey Cardinalis Eborum* in Alma Achademia ſive Univerſitate Oxonienſi, vulgariter nuncupato THE CARDINALL COLLEGE, & Succeſſoribus ſuis quòd Ipſi & Succeſſores ſui, ac Firmarii Homines Servientes & Tenentes ſui, integrè Tenentes & non integrè Tenentes, Reſidentes & non Reſidentes, ac alii Reſidentes quicúmque, infra quæcúmque Dominia, Terras, Tenementa, Feda, & Poſſeſſiones eis jam collata & de cætero conferenda, ſint Quieti & Exonerati IMPERPETUUM de omnimodis Auxiliis ad Primogenitos Filios noſtros Hæredum & Succeſſorum noſtrorum Milites faciendum & ad Primogenitas Filias noſtras Hæredum & Succeſſorum noſtrorum maritandum:

DEDIMUS etiam & Conceſſimus præfatis *Decano & Canonicis* & Succeſſoribus ſuis quòd nec Ipſi, nec Succeſſores ſui, ullo modo per Nos Hæredes & Succeſſores noſtros, ſeu per Metropolitanos Regni noſtri Angliæ, vel alios Epiſcopos Diœceſ. ſeu ordinarios ejuſdem Regni noſtri, aut alios quoſcúmque, fiant ſeu deputentur Collectores alicujus Decimæ ſive Partis Decimæ ſeu Contributionis cujuſcúmque Nobis Hæredibus vel Succeſſoribus noſtris a Domino Summo Pontifice per Clerum Regni noſtri concedendarum; ſed inde totaliter exonerentur; & quòd nec ipſi, nec Succeſſores ſui, Firmarii, Homines, Servientes, & Tenentes ſui, Reſidentes & Nonreſidentes, nec alii Reſidentes prædicti, de cætero deputentur Taxatores Aſſeſſores ſive Collectores aliquorum Auxiliorum Subſidiorum Contributionum Tallagiorum aut Quintarum Decimarum, vel cujuſcúmque Quotæ ſeu Tallagii, aut aliquorum Auxiliorum, ad Primogenitos Filios noſtros Hæredum & Succeſſorum noſtrorum Milites faciendum, ſeu ad Primogenitas Filias noſtras Hæredum vel Succeſſorum noſtrorum Maritandum, aut alterius Taxæ ſeu Impoſitionis cujuſcúmque per Communitatem Regni noſtri prædicti concedendæ; ſed quòd Ipſi inde totaliter ſint Quieti & Exonerati imperpetuum; & quòd ſtatim poſt exhibitionem ſive demonſtrationem præſentis Cartæ noſtræ, ſuperinde factæ, ſive Irrotulamenti ejuſdem, in quibuſcúmque Curiis noſtris Hæredum & Succeſſorum noſtrorum iidem *Decanus & Canonici* & Succeſſores ſui Firmarii Homines Servientes & Tenentes ſui Reſidentes & Nonreſidentes & alii Reſidentes prædicti occaſionibus prædictis ſeu aliqua earumdem ulterius minimè diſtringantur; ſed ab eiſdem Curiis eâ occaſione Quieti & Exonerati dimittantur; & quòd ipſi de hujuſmodi Collectionibus Taxationibus & Aſſeſſationibus & qualibet earum omnino exonerentur, & Proceſſus quicúmque in hac parte fiendus omninò ceſſet, abſque aliquo Brevi Hæredum ſeu Succeſſorum noſtrorum vel aliquo alio Proceſſu ſuperinde proſequendo,

Ac etiam quòd prædicti *Decanus & Canonici* & Succeſſores ſui Furcas in Solo ſuo Dominiorum, Terrarum, Tenementorum, Feodorum, & Poſſeſſionum prædictorum erigere, & Judicium de Malefactoribus quos ibidem Deprehendi contigerit, juxta *Libertatem de Infangthef*, fieri facere poſſint, ſine occaſione vel impedimento Noſtri vel Hæredum ſeu Succeſſorum noſtrorum Juſticiariorum Eſcaetorum Vicecomitum aut aliorum Ballivorum ſeu Miniſtrorum noſtrorum quorumcúmque:

Et quòd præfati *Decanus & Canonici* & Succeſſores ſui, in omnibus & ſingulis Dominiis, Maneriis, Terris, Tenementis, Feodis, &

Poſſeſſionibus ſuis prædictis, habeant & faciant, per Seneſcallos & Ballivos ſuos proprios, Aſſiſam & Aſſiſam Panis Vini & Servitiæ & omnimodorum aliorum Victualium Menſurarum & Ponderum quorumcúmque, & omnium aliorum ad Officium Clerici Mercati Hoſpitii noſtri & Hæredum & Succeſſorum noſtrorum pertinentium, cum Punitione eorumdem & quicquid ad Officium illud pertinet faciendum & exercendum quotiens & quandocúmque opus fuerit & neceſſe, adeò plenè ſicut idem Clericus Mercati Hoſpitii noſtri & Hæredum noſtrorum aut Succeſſorum noſtrorum faceret vel facere deberet in Præſentia noſtra Hæredum ſeu Succeſſorum noſtrorum, ſi præſens Conceſſio noſtra præfatis *Decano & Canonicis* & Succeſſoribus ſuis minimè facta fuiſſent:

Et quòd idem *Decanus & Canonici* & Succeſſores ſui habeant omnimoda Amerciamenta Fines & alia Proficua inde provenientia percipienda levanda per Ipſos & Miniſtros ſuos, abſque impetitione Noſtri Hæredum vel Succeſſorum noſtrorum Clerici Mercati aut aliorum Miniſtrorum noſtrorum Hæredum ſeu Succeſſorum noſtrorum quorumcúmque;

Ita quòd prædictus Clericus Mercati Hoſpitii noſtri Hæredum vel Succeſſorum noſtrorum non ingrediatur Dominia, Maneria, Terras, Tenementa, Feoda, ſeu Poſſeſſiones prædicta, ad aliquid ibidem faciendum ſeu excercendum quod ad Officium ſuum pertinet quoviſmodo:

Et quòd præfati *Decanus & Canonici* & Succeſſores ſui, ac Firmarii Homines & Tenentes ſui Reſidentes & Nonreſidentes & alii Reſidentes, infra Dominia, Maneria, Terras, Tenementa, Feoda, & Poſſeſſiones prædictas, habeant Communiam Paſturæ ad omnia Animalia ſua (exceptis Capris) in quibuſcúmque Foreſtis noſtris Hæredum & Succeſſorum noſtrorum eiſdem Dominiis, Maneriis, Terris, Tenementis, Feodis, & Poſſeſſionibus viciniùs adjacentibus, tàm in Coopertis quàm in Diſcoopertis, tàm in Menſe prohibito quàm in quolibet alio tempore anni, cum libero Ingreſſu & libero Egreſſu, abſque aliquo inde Nobis Hæredibus ſeu Succeſſoribus noſtris reddendo, & abſque Calumpnia ſive Impedimento Noſtri Hæredum vel Succeſſorum noſtrorum, ac ſine Impedimento vel Perturbatione Juſticiariorum, Cuſtodum, Foreſtariorum, Viridariorum, Seneſcallorum, & Regardorum aut aliorum Miniſtrorum noſtrorum Hæredum vel Succeſſorum noſtrorum quorumcúmque;

Et, ſi fortè (quod nolumus) dicti *Decanus ſeu Canonici*, eorum Succeſſores, aut hujuſmodi Firmarii Homines vel Tenentes ſui Reſidentes & Nonreſidentes ac alii Reſidentes quicúmque ſupradicti infra aliquam Foreſtarum noſtrarum & Hæredum vel Succeſſorum noſtrorum ſive infra aliquam Chaſearum noſtrarum Hæredum vel Succeſſorum noſtrorum ſeu aliorum quorumcúmque extra dicta Dominia, Maneria, Terras, Tenementa, Feoda, & Poſſeſſiones prædictorum *Decani & Canonicorum* aut Succeſſorum ſuorum aliquam Tranſgreſſionem de Viridi ſive Venatione fecerint vel eorum aliquis fecerit, tunc volumus quòd hujuſmodi Tranſgreſſio coram Capitali Juſticiario de Banco noſtro Hæredum & Succeſſorum noſtrorum & non alibi audiatur terminetur & punietur:

Et quòd dicti *Decanus & Canonici* & eorum Succeſſores, ac quivis alius vice & Nomine ſuis, in omnibus & ſingulis Dominiis Maneriis Terris & Boſcis ſuis, venari & Stabilias facere, ac omnimodam Venationem inhibi exercere, & quaſcúmque Feras capere & aſportare licitè valeant & impunè *imperpetuum*; licet eadem Dominia Maneria Terræ & Boſca fuerint aliquæ Parcellæ ſeu Parcella aliquarum Foreſtarum ſive Chaſearum noſtrarum Hæredum vel Succeſſorum noſtrorum, aut aliquorum Progenitorum noſtrorum, vel aliorum quorumcúmque; licet etiam dicta Dominia Maneria Terræ & Boſca ſint vel fuerint infra Metas aliquarum Foreſtarum noſtrarum Hæredum vel Succeſſorum noſtrorum vel infra Metas aliquarum Chaſearum Noſtri Hæredum vel Succeſſorum noſtrorum quorumcúmque;

Dedimus inſuper & Conceſſimus præfatis *Decano & Canonicis*, & Succeſſoribus ſuis, quòd, ſi aliquis Nativus alicujus infra Dominia, Maneria, Terras, Tenementa, Feoda, ſeu Poſſeſſiones eis ad tunc collata vel exnunc eis qualitercúmque conferenda vel aſſignanda, manſerit & Terram ipſorum aliquam ibidem tenuerit, & fuerit infra prædicta Dominia, Terras, Tenementa, Feoda, & Poſſeſſiones cum Hominibus & Tenentibus ipſorum *Decani & Canonicorum* vel Succeſſorum ſuorum per unum Annum & unum Diem, abſque Calumpnia Domini ſui ibidem notificata, deinceps hujuſmodi Nativus non poſſit repeti nec repetatur a Domino ſuo ullo modo, ſed in eiſdem Dominiis, Maneriis, Terris, Tenementis, Feodis, & Poſſeſſionibus, cum tota Sequela ſua, quamdiu voluerint, permaneat, & eandem Libertatem & Privilegium habeat quæ haberet ſi in antiquo Dominico noſtro Hæredum ſeu Succeſſorum noſtrorum vel in Civitate noſtra Londoniæ per unum Annum & unum Diem abſque Calumpnia Domini ſui permanſiſſet:

Et ulterius de uberiori Gratia noſtra, Conceſſimus, pro Nobis Hæredibus & Succeſſoribus noſtris, præfatis *Decano & Canonicis* & Succeſſoribus ſuis quòd Ipſi habeant & teneant imperpetuum omnia Placita Sectas Querelas & Demanda necnon Actiones reales perſonales & mixtas quaſcúmque infra Dominia, Maneria, Terras, Tenementa, Feoda, & Poſſeſſiones eis nunc collata vel ſibi & Succeſſoribus exnunc conferenda; & quod habeant Cognitionem omnium Placitorum de Tranſgreſſionibus, Conventionibus, Debitis, & Contractibus quibuſcúmque infra eadem Dominia, Maneria, Terras, Tenementa, Feoda, & Poſſeſſiones qualitercúmque factis ſive emergentibus, tàm in Præſentia noſtra Hæredum & Succeſſorum noſtrorum, quàm in Abſentia noſtra Hæredum & Succeſſorum noſtrorum, cum omnibus Proficuis de hujuſmodi Placitis Sectis Querelis & Demandis provenientibus, ſine occaſione vel impedimento Noſtri vel Hæredum ſeu Succeſſorum aut Juſticiariorum noſtrorum, vel Hæredum ſeu Succeſſorum noſtrorum quorumcúmque, aut Seneſcallorum vel Mareſcallorum Hoſpitii noſtri vel Succeſſorum ſeu Eſcaetorum Vicecomitum aut aliorum Ballivorum ſeu Miniſtrorum noſtrorum quorumcúmque;

Et quòd iidem Seneſcalli & Mareſcalli de aliquibus Cognitionibus Placitorum de hujuſmodi Tranſgreſſionibus, Conventionibus, Debitis, aut Contractibus, infra Dominia, Maneria, Terras, Tenementa, Feoda, & Poſſeſſiones prædicta vel eorum aliquam Parcellam factis ſeu emergentibus, ſe nullatenus intromittant, nec eorum aliquis intromittat;

Et quòd iidem *Decanus & Canonici* & Succeſſores ſui imperpetuum habeant Cognitionem omnimodorum Placitorum Aſſiſarum novæ Diſſeiſinæ & Mortis Anteceſſorum de omnibus Terris & Tenementis infra Dominia, Maneria, Terras, Tenementa, Feoda, & Poſſeſſiones, quæ dicti *Decanus & Canonici* jam habent vel ipſi ſeu Succeſſores ſui exnunc ſunt habituri, tàm coram Juſticiariis noſtris de utroque Banco, Juſticiariis ad Aſſiſas capiendas aſſignatis, ac Juſticiariis Itinerantibus, quàm coram quibuſcúmque aliis Juſticiariis & Militibus

tibus noſtris Hæredum & Succeſſorum noſtrorum ad hujuſmodi Aſſiſas capiendas arraiand. ſeu arraiand. coram eorum Ballivo pro tempore exiſtente, in Curiis ſuis tenendis & capiendis, unà cum omnibus Proficuis de hujuſmodi Aſſiſis qualitercúmque provenientibus, abſque impetitione vel impedimento Noſtri Hæredum vel Succeſſorum noſtrorum aut Juſticiariorum, Eſcaetorum, Vicecomitum, Ballivorum aut aliorum Miniſtrorum Noſtri Hæredum vel Succeſſorum noſtrorum:

Conceſſimus inſuper præfatis nunc *Decano & Canonicis*, quòd Ipſi & Succeſſores ſui habeant Poteſtatem & plenariam Auctoritatem Aſſignandi & Conſtituendi, per Commiſſiones ſuas ſeparatim fiendas, in omnibus & ſingulis Maneriis, Terris, Tenementis, Feodis, & Poſſeſſionibus ſuis ſibi jam collatis, & de cætero conferendis, de tempore in tempus, quotiens opus viderit & neceſſe, Juſticiarios ſuos Pacis, ac Servientes Artificum & Laborantium, ad omnia & ſingula in dictis Dominiis, Maneriis, Terris, Tenementis, Feodis, & Poſſeſſionibus ſuis Excercendi, Faciendi, Audiendi, & Determinandi, quæ ad hujuſmodi Juſticiarios quoviſmodo pertinent exercenda, facienda, audienda, & terminanda:

Et quòd iidem Juſticiarii, ſic conſtituendi, vigore Commiſſionum illarum, plenariam habeant Poteſtatem Faciendi, Excercendi, & Exequendi omnia & ſingula quæ ad hujuſmodi Juſticiarios pertinent facienda exercenda & exequenda: Et quòd nullus Juſticiarius Noſtri Hæredum vel Succeſſorum noſtrorum ad Pacem infra Dominia, Maneria, Terras, Tenementa, Feoda, Poſſeſſiones, vel aliquam Parcellam eorumdem quovis modo ingrediatur, ad aliquod Officium ibidem faciendum vel capiendum, nec in aliquibus Negotiis, Rebus, Materiis, vel Cauſis emergentibus infra eadem ſeu aliquam Parcellam eorumdem aliquam Cognitionem vel Juriſdictionem habeant, nec aliqualiter ſe inde intromittant:

Et quòd iidem *Decanus & Canonici* & Succeſſores ſui habeant omnia & ſingula Fines, Exitus, & Amerciamenta coram præfatis Juſticiariis ipſorum *Decani & Canonicorum* & Succeſſorum ſuorum, per eoſdem *Decanum & Canonicos* & Succeſſores ſuos ut prædicitur aſſignandis & conſtituendis, facienda, aſſidenda, foriſfienda, & adjudicanda:

Et quòd benè liceat eiſdem *Decano & Canonicis* & Succeſſoribus ſuis omnia hujuſmodi Fines Exitus & Amercimenta, eis prætextu præſentis Conceſſionis noſtræ exnunc pertinentia, per Ballivos & Miniſtros ſuos colligere levare percipere & ſe de Seiſina in eiſdem ponere, prout Officiarii Ballivi & Miniſtri noſtri Hæredum vel Succeſſorum noſtrorum ea in Manus noſtras Hæredum & Succeſſorum noſtrorum ſeiſire poſſent vel deberent ad opus noſtrum Hæredum vel Succeſſorum noſtrorum, ſi ea præfatis *Decano & Canonicis* & Succeſſoribus ſuis prædictis per Nos conceſſa non fuiſſent:

Et quòd *Cancellarius noſter Angliæ*, nec Theſaurarius, nec Barones de Scaccario noſtro Hæredum ſeu Succeſſorum noſtrorum, nec eorum aliqui vel aliquis faciant vel faciat aliquem Proceſſum verſus hujuſmodi Juſticiarios Pacis, per præfatos nunc *Decanum & Canonicos* vel Succeſſores ſuos prædictos aſſignatos pro aliquibus Extractibus de Ceſſionibus ſuis in Scaccarium prædictum liberandis:

Dedimus etiam & Concedimus præfatis *Decano & Canonicis* & Succeſſoribus ſuis, quòd nullus Clericorum, Scolarium, Coriſtarum, ſeu Servientium ipſorum *Decani & Canonicorum*, ſeu Succeſſorum ſuorum, aut quorumcúmque Artificum ſeu Operariorum infra idem Collegium jam exiſtentium & operantium, vel de cætero ibi exiſtere &

& operare contingentium, ad aliquod Opus ſeu Servitium noſtri ſeu Hæredum vel Succeſſorum noſtrorum pro ſeu in Hoſpitio vel Operationibus noſtris, Hæredum ſeu Succeſſorum noſtrorum, aut alibi, nec alicujus Procerum vel Magnatum Regni noſtri prædicti, aut aliunde per Nos, Hæredes ſeu Succeſſores noſtros, aut aliquos Miniſtros & Officiarios noſtros, Hæredum ſeu Succeſſorum noſtrorum aut aliorum quorumcúmque, contra Aſſenſum & Voluntatem ipſorum *Decani & Canonicorum* vel Succeſſorum ſuorum, unquam de cætero capiatur ſeu compellatur quovis modo; ſed quòd iidem *Decanus & Canonici* & Succeſſores ſui, Capellani, Clerici, Scolares, Choriſtæ, Servientes, Artifices, & Operarii inde totaliter ſint Quieti, & quilibet eorum ſit Quietus imperpetuúm:

Volumus inſuper & Conceſſimus, pro Nobis, Hæredibus & Succeſſoribus noſtris, quòd præſens Carta noſtra necnon Irrotulamentum & quælibet Particula ejuſdem Cartæ noſtræ per præfatos *Decanum & Canonicos* & Succeſſores ſuos ſeu alium quemcúmque, vice ac nomine eorum coram quibuſcúmque Juſticiariis noſtris, vel Hæredum ſeu Succeſſorum noſtrorum, ac coram Theſaurario & Baronibus Scaccarii noſtri, Hæredum ſeu Succeſſorum noſtrorum, & coram Baronibus ejuſdem Scaccarii noſtri, Hæredum ſeu Succeſſorum noſtrorum, ac coram quibuſcúmque aliis Juſticiariis noſtris, Hæredum & Succeſſorum noſtrorum in quibuſcúmque Curiis noſtris & Locis de Recordo, ac etiam in quibuſcúmque aliis Curiis & Locis & eorum quolibet per totum Regnum noſtrum prædictum exhibita ſeu demonſtrata ſtatim & immediatè ſuper exhibitione ſeu demonſtratione Cartæ illius ſive Irrotulamenti omninò valeat & allocetur præfatis *Decano & Canonicis* & Succeſſoribus ſuis, ut præmittitur, per Nos conceſſæ,

Et Nos, uberiorem Gratiam præfatis *Decano & Canonicis* & Succeſſoribus ſuis fieri volentes, nè Bona & Catalla eorumdem *Decani & Canonicorum* Firmariorum Hominum & Tenentium ſuorum integrè Tenentium & non integrè Tenentium, Reſidentium & non Reſidentium, & aliorum Reſidentium quorumcúmque tàm de & in Terris & Tenementis quàm de & in Feodis & in Poſſeſſionibus eiſdem *Decano & Canonicis* tàm ad nunc collatis quàm exnunc eis & Succeſſoribus ſuis quibuſcúmque ullo modo conferendis per Proviſores Emptores ſeu Captores Victualium aut aliarum Rerum pro Hoſpitio Uſu vel Opere Reginæ Conſortis noſtræ, ſive pro Hoſpitio aut pro Hoſpitiis aliquorum Filiorum noſtrorum, Hæredum vel Succeſſorum noſtrorum, ſeu aliquorum Magnatum Regni noſtri Angliæ, vel aliunde ſive aliarum quarumcúmque Perſonarum, cujuſcúmque Præeminentiæ Statûs ſeu Conditionis fuerint, capiantur ſeu diſſipentur, dictos *Decanum & Canonicos* & Succeſſores ſuos, ac Firmarios Homines Tenentes ſuos integrè & non integrè Tenentes Reſidentes & non Reſidentes, & alios Reſidentes prædictos, necnon eorum Terras, Tenementa, Feoda, & Poſſeſſiones ſupradictas eiſdem *Decano & Canonicis* jam collata & impoſterùm eis vel Succeſſoribus ſuis conferenda danda vel aſſignanda, ac Bona & Catalla Collegii illius ſeu prædictorum *Decani & Canonicorum* Firmariorum Hominum & Tenentium ſuorum integrè Tenentium & non integrè Tenentium, Reſidentium & non Reſidentium & aliorum Reſidentium prædictorum, ubicúmque infra dictum Regnum noſtrum Angliæ exiſtentium, in noſtram Protectionem ſuſcepimus ſpecialem; Volentes Dantes & Concedentes quòd de Bladis, Fœnis, Equis, Bobus, Vaccis, Ovibus, Agnellis, Porcellis, Pullettis, aut aliis Victualibus quibuſcúmque, Carectis, Bigis, Navibus, Batellis, Cariagiis, aut aliis Bonis, Catallis, ſeu Rebus *ipſius Collegii* ſeu prædictorum *Decani & Canonicorum* vel Succeſſorum ſuorum ſeu Firmariorum Hominum & Tenentium ſuorum integrè Tenentium & non integrè Tenentium, Reſidentium & non Reſidentium & aliorum Reſidentium prædictorum, per Proviſores, Emptores, ſeu Captores hujuſmodi, aut alios Miniſtros ſeu Ballivos noſtros, Hæredum vel Succeſſorum noſtrorum, aut *Reginæ Conſortis noſtræ*, ſeu *Reginarum*, Hæredum vel Succeſſorum, ſive Filiorum noſtrorum, Hæredum vel Succeſſorum noſtrorum, ſive aliquorum Magnatum vel Perſonarum prædictarum, contra Voluntatem eorumdem *Decani & Canonicorum* ſeu Succeſſorum ſuorum aut Firmariorum Hominum ſeu Tenentium ſuorum integrè Tenentium & non integrè Tenentium, Reſidentium & non Reſidentium & aliorum Reſidentium prædictorum ſeu alicujus eorum, quicquam minimè capiatur abducatur vel aliqualiter aſportetur:

Et Volumus ulterius & Conceſſimus præfatis *Decano & Canonicis* & Succeſſoribus ſuis quòd, ſi hujuſmodi Emptores ſeu Captores vel eorum aliquis infra dicta Terras, Tenementa, Feoda, & Poſſeſſiones ipſorum *Decani & Canonicorum* ſive Succeſſorum ſuorum, aut Firmariorum Hominum vel Tenentium ſuorum integrè Tenentium & non integrè Tenentium, Reſidentium & non Reſidentium & aliorum Reſidentium prædictorum, aut alibi infra quæcúmque Loca ſive Locum quemcúmque infra dictum Regnum noſtrum Angliæ, tàm infra Libertates quàm extra, ad aliquas Providentiam ſeu Providentias hujuſmodi faciendas de Bonis Catallis ipſorum *Decani & Canonicor.* vel Succeſſorum ſuorum aut Firmariorum Hominum vel Tenentium ſuorum integrè Tenentium & non integrè Tenentium, Reſidentium & non Reſidentium & aliorum Reſidentium prædictorum, ingreſſi fuerint vel ingreſſus fuerit, & hujuſmodi Res contra Voluntatem prædictorum *Decani & Canonicorum* vel Succeſſorum ſuorum aut alicujus Firmariorum Hominum ſeu Tenentium ſuorum integrè Tenentium & non integrè Tenentium, Reſidentium & non Reſidentium ſeu aliorum Reſidentium prædictorum in Terris, Tenementis, Feodis, & Poſſeſſionibus, aut in aliquibus aliis Locis vel alio Loco quocúmque in Regnum noſtrum prædictum ceperint abduxerint vel aſportaverint, ceperit abduxerit vel aſportaverit, quòd tunc iidem Proviſores Emptores ſive Captores, & eorum quilibet, pro hujuſmodi Ingreſſu, Captione, Abductione, ſeu Aſportatione Victualium Rerum & cæterorum Præmiſſorum, & eorum alicujus Parcellæ, coram Nobis in Banco noſtro vel coram Juſticiariis de Communi Banco noſtro, Hæredum vel Succeſſorum noſtrorum, ad Sectam & Electionem prædictorum *Decani & Canonicorum*, ſeu Succeſſorum ſuorum, Firmariorum Hominum vel Tenentium ſuorum integrè Tenentium & non integrè Tenentium, Reſidentium & non Reſidentium & aliorum Reſidentium prædictorum, vel eorum alicujus, a quo vel à quibus victualia Res ſeu cætera Præmiſſa aut eorum aliqua Parcella ſic Capta Abducta vel Aſportata fuerint vel fuerit, puniantur & puniatur: Et quòd Proceſſus in hac parte fiat verſus ipſos Proviſores Emptores & Captores, & eorum quemlibet, per Breve *de Tranſgreſſione Vi & Armis facta*;

Proviſo ſemper, quòd, poſt primum Breve de Captione Retornatum, ſi iidem Proviſores Emptores & Captores non comparuerint, vel eorum aliquis non comparuerit, in hujuſmodi Sect. ſtatim in Exigendum ponantur vel ponatur, & ſic pro non Apparentiis ſuis utlagentur: Et quòd Literæ noſtræ Hæredum ſeu Succeſſorum noſtrorum Patentes de Protectione, cum Clauſula *Volumus*, aut cum Clauſula *Nolumus*, hujuſmodi Proviſoribus Emptoribus ſeu Captoribus,

bus, aut eorum alicui in hujuſmodi Secta vel Occaſionibus minimè valeant nec allocentur quovis modo, nec aliquod Auxilium a Nobis Hæredibus ſeu Succeſſoribus noſtris aut Eſſoin. de ſervitio noſtro, Hæredum vel Succeſſorum noſtrorum, aut aliquod aliud Eſſoin. in hac parte habeant gaudeant ſeu optineant, licet hujuſmodi Literæ ſibi per Nos Hæredes vel Succeſſores noſtros conceſſæ & factæ fuerint, aut hujuſmodi Auxilium aut Eſſoin. a Nobis Hæredibus ſeu Succeſſoribus noſtris per ipſos calumpnietur petatur & impetretur;

Et ſi hujuſmodi Proviſores Emptores & Captores, vel eorum aliquis, ad hujuſmodi Sectam & Proſecutionem prædictorum *Decani & Canonicorum* ſeu Succeſſorum ſuorum aut Firmariorum Hominum ſeu Tenentium ſuorum integrè Tenentium & non integrè Tenentium, Reſidentium & non Reſidentium & aliorum Reſidentium prædictorum, vel eorum aliquis, debitè Convicti fuerint vel Convictus fuerit, tunc reddant iidem Proviſores Emptores & Captores, & eorum quilibet reddat Parti gravatæ Dampna ſua in Triplo:

Etiam ulterius Volumus Damus & Concedimus præfatis *Decano & Canonicis* quòd Ipſi, & Succeſſores ſui, ac Firmarii, Homines & Tenentes ſui, integrè Tenentes & non integrè Tenentes, Reſidentes & non Reſidentes, & alii Reſidentes prædicti quicúmque, habeant & teneant omnia & ſingula Domos Manſiones & Ædificia quæ infra dictum Regnum noſtrum Angliæ nunc habeant & exnunc eos habere contigerit quietè de Liberatione & Hoſpitatione Seneſcalli & Mareſcalli Hoſpitii noſtri, & Hoſtiarii, & aliorum Miniſtrorum tàm Noſtri, Hæredum ſeu Succeſſorum noſtrorum, quàm *Reginæ Conſortis noſtræ* aut *Reginarum*, vel aliquorum *Filiorum* noſtrorum, Hæredum ſeu Succeſſorum noſtrorum, necnon Mareſcallorum Proviſorum & Miniſtrorum Magnatum Regni noſtri Angliæ aut aliunde, & aliorum quorumcúmque, cujuſcúmque Præeminentiæ, Gradûs, Statûs, ſeu Conditionis fuerint; ita quòd Seneſcalli & Mareſcalli vel alii Miniſtri noſtri, Hæredum ſeu Succeſſorum noſtrorum, *Reginæ Conſortis noſtræ* aut *Reginarum*, vel aliquorum *Filiorum* noſtrorum, Hæredum ſeu Succeſſorum noſtrorum, vel hujuſmodi Magnatum, aut aliorum quorumcúmque, in eiſdem alicubi Hoſpitationem ſeu Liberationem aliquam ad Opus noſtrum ſive alicujus eorumdem non faciant contra Voluntatem dictorum *Decani & Canonicorum* & Succeſſorum ſuorum, ſeu Firmariorum Hominum aut Tenentium ſuorum integrè Tenentium & non integrè Tenentium, Reſidentium & non Reſidentium & aliorum Reſidentium prædictorum, vel eorum alicujus; Et quod nullus *Dux*, *Marchio*, *Comes*, *Baro*, ſeu *Magnas* dicti Regni noſtri Angliæ aut aliunde, nec Seneſcalli, Mareſcalli, ſeu Eſcaetores, Vicecomites, Coronatores, aut alii Ballivi ſeu Miniſtri noſtri, Hæredum ſeu Succeſſorum noſtrorum, ſeu Ballivi & Miniſtri eorumdem Eſcaetorum, Vicecomitum, Coronatorum, aut aliorum quorumcúmque, vel quivis alius cujuſcúmque ſtatûs vel conditionis fuerit vel fuerint, contra Voluntatem & Aſſenſum eorumdem *Decani & Canonicorum* & Succeſſorum ſuorum, ſeu Firmariorum Hominum & Tenentium ſuorum integrè Tenentium & non integrè Tenentium, Reſidentium & non Reſidentium & aliorum Reſidentium prædictorum, aut alicujus eorumdem, colore aliquo, in dictis Domibus, Manſionibus & Ædificiis hoſpitetur vel hoſpitentur, moretur vel morentur:

Conceſſimus inſuper & Dedimus, Damus & Concedimus per Præſentes præfatis *Decano & Canonicis*, quòd Ipſi & Succeſſores ſui imperpetuùm ſint Quieti de omnimodis Auxiliis Subſidiis & Contributionibus Tallagiis & Quotis quibuſcúmque, quæ ab ipſis ratione Dominiorum, Terrarum, Tenementorum, Reddituum, Feodorum, &

Poſſeſſionum ſuorum aut Bonorum & Catallorum ſuorum, quæ *dicti Decanus & Canonici* jam habent, ac Ipſi & Succeſſores ſui exnunc ſunt habituri, per Nos, Hæredes, ſeu Succeſſores noſtros, aut Ballivos ſeu Miniſtros noſtros, Hæredum ſeu Succeſſorum noſtrorum quoſcúmque, ad Opus noſtrum, Hæredum ſeu Succeſſorum noſtrorum exigi deberent ſeu poſſint in futurum, ſi prædicta Conceſſio Eis facta minimè extitiſſet:

Et quòd quandocúmque *Clerus* Regni noſtri Angliæ aut Cantuarienſis Provinciæ per ſe, vel Eborum Provinciæ per ſe, Decimam ſeu Partem Decimæ aut aliam Quotam quamcúmque ſive Subſidium de Bonis & Poſſeſſionibus ſuis Eccleſiaſticis Spiritualibus & Temporalibus, vel Temporalibus Spiritualibus ſuis annexis conceſſerint, vel Communitates Comitatuum dicti Regni noſtri, aut Cives aut Burgenſes Civitatum & Burgorum dictorum Comitatuum ipſius Regni Decimam Quintamdecimam ſeu aliam Quotam quamcúmq; de Bonis ſuis Temporalibus ſeu mobilibus aut Terris Tenementis ſeu Redditibus ſuis aut de Perſonis ſuis Nobis, Hæredibus, ſeu Succeſſoribus noſtris qualitercúmque conceſſerint, ſeu Nos, Hæredes, vel Succeſſores noſtri Dominia noſtra per Angliam fecimus talliari, ac Dominus *Summus Pontifex*, qui pro tempore fuerit, Decimam ſeu Quotam aliam vel Subſidium Clero Regni noſtri prædicti aut Cantuarienſi vel Eborum Provinciis prædictis impoſuerit, & ea vel aliquam Partem eorumdem Nobis vel Succeſſoribus noſtris conceſſerit, prædicta Dominia, Terras, Tenementa, Feoda, & Poſſeſſiones, ac dicta Bona & Catalla ipſorum *Decani & Canonicorum* & Succeſſorum ſuorum, necnon quæcúmque Bona & Catalla Firmariorum Hominum & Tenentium ſuorum infra eadem Dominia, Terras, Tenementa, Feoda, & Poſſeſſiones ipſorum *Decani & Canonicorum* & Succeſſorum ſuorum, exiſtentia ſive exiſtere contingentia, ac etiam tàm Perſonæ eorumdem *Decani & Canonicorum* & Succeſſorum ſuorum, quàm Firmariorum Hominum & Tenentium ſuorum prædictorum ad Opus noſtrum Hæredum ſeu Succeſſorum noſtrorum non taxentur, nec aliquid de Decimis Quintiſdecimis aut aliis Quotis Subſidiis ſeu Tallagiis prædictis quoquomodo ad Opus noſtrum, Hæredum ſeu Succeſſorum noſtrorum levetur, nec iidem *Decanus & Canonici*, nec eorum Succeſſores, in Terris, Tenementis, ſeu Bonis ſuis prædictis, nec Firmarii, Homines, ſeu Tenentes ſui prædicti, hiis Occaſionibus diſtringantur, moleſtentur in aliquo, ſeu graventur, ſed de omnimodis Decimis & Quintiſdecimis ac aliis Tallagiis & Quotis Subſidiis ſeu Taxis quibuſcúmque hujuſmodi, Nobis ante hæc tempora Conceſſis aut Nobis vel Hæredibus ſeu Succeſſoribus noſtris exnunc concedendis, ſint Quieti & Exonerati imperpetuum; licet ipſi *Decanus & Canonici* ſeu eorum Succeſſores aut dicti Firmarii Homines & Tenentes ſui prædicti ſeu eorum Hæredes & Succeſſores aut eorum aliquis hujuſmodi Conceſſionis fuerit vel fuerint Partes agentes conſentientes vel concedentes ſit vel fuerit Pars agens conſentiens vel concedens:

Et licet hujuſmodi Conceſſio ſive Conceſſiones ſint vel fuerint aut ſit vel fuerit facta vel factæ ſub iſtis Verbis & Terminis de Locis Exemptis & non Exemptis quibuſcúmque, modo formâ ſeu aliis Verbis ſive Terminis conſimilis vigoris ſeu effectûs hujuſmodi Conceſſiones ſive Conceſſio factæ fuerint vel facta fuerit, non obſtantibus:

Conceſſimus inſuper & Dedimus, Damus etiam & Concedimus per Præſentes eiſdem *Decano & Canonicis* & Succeſſoribus ſuis, quòd Ipſi imperpetuum habeant Catalla tàm Hominum ſuorum quàm omnium Tenentium ſuorum integrè Tenentium & non integrè Tenentium,

nentium, Reſidentium & non Reſidentium & aliorum Reſidentium quorumcúmque, tàm de Terris & Tenementis quàm de Feodis & Poſſeſſionibus eiſdem *Decano & Canonicis*, tàm adnunc per Nos collatis quàm exnunc eis aut eorum Succeſſoribus per Nos ſeu alios quoſcúmque ullo modo conferendis dandis ſeu aſſignandis, Felonum, Fugitivorum, Utlagatorum, Dampnatorum, Attinctorum, Convictorum, & cujuſlibet eorumdem; Ita quòd ſi quis Hominum vel Tenentium, Reſidentium & non Reſidentium, & aliorum Reſidentium hujuſmodi pro Delicto ſuo Vitam vel Membrum debeat amittere vel fugerit, & Judicio ſtare noluerit, vel aliud quodcúmque Delictum fecerit pro quo Bona & Catalla ſua debeat perdere, ubicùmque de eo Juſtitia fieri debeat, ſive in Curia noſtra, vel Hæredum aut Succeſſorum noſtrorum, ſive in alia Curia, ipſa Bona & Catalla ſint ipſorum *Decani & Canonicorum*, & Succeſſorum ſuorum;

Et quòd liceat Eis ſeu Miniſtris ſuis, ſine Impedimento Noſtri vel Hæredum ſeu Succeſſorum noſtrorum, Juſticiariorum, Eſcaetorum, Vicecomitum, Coronatorum, aut aliorum Ballivorum ſeu Miniſtrorum noſtrorum, vel Hæredum ſeu Succeſſorum noſtrorum quorumcúmque, ponere ſe in ſeiſinam de Catallis prædictis, & ea ad Opus & Uſum ipſorum *Decani & Canonicorum* & Succeſſorum ſuorum retinere, licet eadem Bona & Catalla per Nos ſeu Miniſtros noſtros, aut Hæredum ſeu Succeſſorum noſtrorum ante ſeiſita fuerint:

Et ulterius Damus & Concedimus præfatis *Decano & Canonicis*, quòd Ipſi & Succeſſores ſui, ac tàm omnes Homines quàm omnes Tenentes ſui, necnon quicúmque Reſidentes, tàm de Terris & Tenementis quàm de Feodis ſuis prædictis, Quieti ſint imperpetuùm de Theoloneo, Pannagio, Pontagio, Karagio, Muragio, Paſſagio, Pocagio, Leſtagio, Stallagio, Tallagio, Cariagio, Peſagio, Pigagio, Terragio, ac Scotto & Geldo, Hadagio, Scutagio, ac de Operationibus Caſtrorum, Parcorum, & Pontium, Clauſurarum & Domorum Regalium Ædificatione, necnon de Secta Communitatis Hundredorum & Wapentachiorum, & omnimodis Auxiliis Regni & Vicecomitis & Ballivorum ſuorum, de Vigiliis, Finibus, Circis, & Præſtationibus arrenatis Viſu Franciplegii & de ad Viſum Franciplegii pertinentibus, necnon de quibuſcumque Denariorum Summis Redditibus ſive Præſtationibus pro aliquo Præmiſſorum Nobis, Hæredibus, vel Succeſſoribus noſtris ſolvendis, ac de Murdro, & de quando contigerit Com. ſive Villat. coram Nobis, Hæredibus, ſeu Succeſſoribus noſtris in Cancellaria noſtra, Hæredum & Succeſſorum noſtrorum, vel aliquibus aliis Juſticiariis noſtris, Hæredum ſeu Succeſſorum noſtrorum de Banco, vel Itinerantibus, ſeu ad Placita Foreſtæ, ſeu coram Seneſcallo & Mareſcallo, ſeu Clerico Mercati Hoſpitii noſtri vel Hæredum ſeu Succeſſorum noſtrorum, ſeu coram quibuſcumque aliis Juſticiariis, Officiariis, ſeu Miniſtris noſtris, Hæredum ſeu Succeſſorum noſtrorum, in Manum noſtram ſeu Hæredum vel Succeſſorum noſtrorum incidere, & de omni alia hujuſmodi Conſuetudine per totum Regnum & Poteſtatem noſtra.

Et etiam Dedimus & Conceſſimus, Damuſque & Concedimus per Præſentes eiſdem *Decano & Canonicis* & Succeſſoribus ſuis, quòd ipſi imperpetuum habeant Viſum Franciplegii & quicquid ad hujuſmodi Viſum pertinet, ac omnia Bona & Catalla quæ dicuntur *Wayſs*, & etiam omnia Bona & Catalla quæ vocantur *Strays*, necnon Theſaurum inventum de & in Dominiis, Maneriis, Terris, Tenementis, & Feodis ſuis prædictis, quæ jam habent & exnunc ſint habituri, ac Bona & Catalla vocata Manu opera capta ſeu capienda, cum aliqua Perſona ubicumque infra Dominia, Maneria, Terras, Tenementa, & Feoda prædicta coram quocumque Judice per eandem Perſonam de Advocatis,

Et quòd iidem *Decanus & Canonici* & eorum Succeſſores habeant Catalla Felonum qualitercúmque dampnatorum ſeu convictorum, Felonum de ſe, Eſcapia Felonum, ac Fines quoſcúmque pro eiſdem Eſcapiis, in quibuſcúmque Curiis Noſtri, Hæredum vel Succeſſorum noſtrorum, tàm coram Nobis, Hæredibus, & Succeſſoribus noſtris, quàm aliis Juſticiariis noſtris, Hæredum & Succeſſorum noſtrorum quibuſcúmque aſſedend. vel faciend. ac etiam Catalla quarumcúmque Perſonarum in Exigendum pro Feloniis poſitarum, necnon Catalla Utlagatarum & Wauuatarum & Catalla qualitercumque confiſcata, tàm omnium hujuſmodi Felonum quàm omnium hujuſmodi ſuorum integrè Tenentium, & non integrè Tenentium, Reſidentium & non Reſidentium, & aliorum Reſidentium quorumcumque, tàm infra Dominia, Terras, Tenementa, & Poſſeſſiones, quàm Feoda prædicta, quamquam dicti Tenentes non ſunt integrè Tenentes ipſorum *Decani & Canonicorum*, aut Succeſſorùm ſuorum, ſeu iidem Tenentes aut dicti Homines ſive dicti Reſidentes Officiarii ſeu Miniſtri noſtri Heredum ſeu Succeſſorum noſtrorum exiſtant, ſeu aliquis eorum exiſtat,

Et quòd iidem *Decanus & Canonici*, & eorum Succeſſores habeant imperpetuùm Wreccum Maris in quibuſcúmque Coſteris & Brachiis Maris, Dominiis, Maneriis, Terris, & Poſſeſſionibus ſuis Spiritualibus & Temporalibus, tàm adnunc eis datis, quàm exnunc eis conferendis adjacentibus, qualitercúmque contingens, ac omnia & ſingula ad hujuſmodi Wreccum pertinentia ſive ſpectantia,

Et quòd iidem *Decanus & Canonici*, & eorum Succeſſores, per ſe, vel per Miniſtros ſuos, hujuſmodi Catalla vocata Wayf Stray Theſaurarium inventum, Catalla vocata Manuopera, Catalla Felonum qualitercumque dampnatorum ſeu convictorum, Catalla quarumque Perſonarum in Exigendum poſitarum pro Feloniis, Catalla Deodandarum Utlagatarum & Wauuatarum, & Catalla qualitercumque Confiſcàta, ac hujuſmodi Wreccum, & omnia ad hujuſmodi Wreccum pertinentia ſive ſpectantia, ſeiſire & capere poſſint, ad Opus eorum, abſque Perturbatione, Moleſtatione, ſeu Impedimento Noſtri, Hæredum ſeu Succeſſorum noſtrorum, Juſticiariorum, Eſcaetorum, Vicecomitum, Coronatorum, ſeu aliorum Ballivorum Noſtri, Hæredum ſeu Succeſſorum noſtrorum, Occaſione Elimoſinarii noſtri, Hæredum vel Succeſſorum noſtrorum, aut Admiralli Angliæ, aut aliorum quorumcumque, licet ea antea per Nos Hæredes vel Succeſſores noſtros, aut aliquos Ballivos, Officiarios, ſeu Miniſtros, Hæredum ſeu Succeſſorum noſtrorum ſeiſita fuerint:

Et inſuper quòd præfati *Decanus & Canonici* & Succeſſores ſui habeant Retornum omnium Brevium, Præceptorum, Mandatorum, & Billarum noſtrorum, & Executiones eorumdem per eorum Ballivum proprium tàm infra Dominia, Maneria, Terras, Tenementa, & Poſſeſſiones quàm Feoda prædicta, præfatis *Decano & Canonicis* & Succeſſoribus ſuis jam collata, ſeu impoſterùm per quoſcumque conferenda, licet Nos tangunt Hæredes vel Succeſſores noſtros, vel prædictos *Decanum & Canonicos* & eorum Succeſſores,

Et quòd nullus Vicecomes, Coronator, ſeu aliquis Miniſter noſter, Hæredum ſeu Succeſſorum noſtrorum, de hujuſmodi Retorno ſive Executione ullo modo ſe intromittat, ſeu dicta Dominia, Maneria, Terras, Tenementa, Poſſeſſiones, & Feoda, eâ Occaſione quovis modo ingrediatur ſub gravi Foriſfactura noſtra, nec Clericus Mercati Hoſpitii noſtri, Hæredum ſeu Succeſſorum noſtrorum, Dominia, Maneria, Terras, Tenementa, Poſſeſſiones, & Feoda illa ſeu aliquam Parcellam eorumdem, ad aliquod quod ad Officium ſuum pertinet inibi excercendum, quovis modo ingrediatur, nec de ſe aliquo infra eadem ſeu aliquam Parcellam eorumdem colore Officii ſui prædicti aliqualiter intromittat:

Ulterius, de Gratia noſtra ſpeciali, Pardonavimus Remiſimus & Relaxavimus, tàm Dilectis Nobis in Chriſto *Decano & Canonicis* prædictis, quàm aliis Perſonis quibuſcumque, omnimodas Tranſgreſſiones, Offenſas, Miſpriſiones, Impetitiones, & Contemptus, per ipſos ſeu eorum aliquos vel aliquem in ſeu pro Proſecutione, Receptione, Acceptatione, Lectione, Publicatione, Notificatione, ſeu quacumque Executione aliquarum Literarum quarumcumque Domini *Summi Pontificis* ad uſum vel quodcumque Intereſſe *Collegii* aut *Decani & Canonicorum* prædictorum, contra formam Statuti de Proviſoribus ante hæc tempora editi, aut aliqua alia Statuta, Conſtitutiones, ſive Proviſiones, aut Conſuetudines & Prærogativa Coronæ Regni noſtri vel Juris ejuſdem qualitercumque factis ſive perpetratis,

Et inſuper, Conceſſimus & Licentiam Dedimus, pro Nobis & Hæredibus noſtris, eiſdem *Decano & Canonicis* & Succeſſoribus ſuis, quòd ipſi omnes & omnimodas Literas Bullatas, ac alias Literas quaſcumque, eis juxta eorum ſeu Conſilii ſui Diſcretiones neceſſarias & oportunas, tàm per ſe quàm per alios, a *Summo Pontifice* moderno & Succeſſoribus ſuis proſequi, aut eas recipere, acceptare, legere, publicare, notificare, & exequi valeant, & quilibet eorum valeat licitè & impunè, abſque occaſione, impetitione, perturbatione, moleſtatione, impedimento, ſeu gravamine Noſtri, Hæredum ſeu Succeſſorum noſtrorum, Juſticiariorum, Vicecomitum, Coronatorum, aut aliorum Ballivorum ſeu Miniſtrorum noſtrorum, Hæredum ſeu Succeſſorum noſtrorum quorumcumque imperpetuùm,

Nolentes quòd iidem *Decanus & Canonici*, ſeu Succeſſores ſui, aut aliquæ aliæ Perſonæ, ſeu aliqua alia Perſona, pro ſeu in Proſecutione, Receptione, Acceptatione, Lectione, Publicatione, Notificatione, ſeu Executione Literarum illarum per Nos vel Hæredes noſtros aut alios quoſcúmque de cætero occaſionentur, impetantur, perturbentur, moleſtentur, impediantur in aliquo, ſeu graventur, occaſionetur, impetatur, perturbetur, moleſtetur, impediatur in aliquo, ſeu gravetur, aliquibus Statutis ſive Ordinationibus, ante hæc tempora ſuperinde editis ſive ordinatis, non obſtantibus:

Et ulterius Dedimus & Conceſſimus, ac Damus & Concedimus per Præſentes præfatis *Decano & Canonicis* quòd Ipſi & Succeſſores ſui imperpetuùm habeant & teneant omnia Terras, Tenementa, Feoda, & Poſſeſſiones ſuas eis jam collata & de cætero conferenda, tàm in Boſcò quàm in Plano, tàm de Feodis noſtris quàm de alienis, de aſſo & eſcat. & extra Poteſtatem omnium Juſticiariorum, Seneſcallorum, Cuſtodum, Foreſtariorum, Viridariorum, Regardorum, Ballivorum, & aliorum Officiariorum ſeu Miniſtrorum noſtrorum, Hæredum vel Succeſſorum noſtrorum, Foreſtarum ſive Chacearum noſtrarum, Hæredum vel Succeſſorum noſtrorum quorumcúmque,

Et quòd prædicti *Decanus & Canonici* & Succeſſores ſui, & eorum Miniſtri, necnon Tenentes ſui Reſidentes, infra Dominia, Terras, Tenementa, Feoda, & Poſſeſſiones ipſorum *Decani & Canonicorum* & Succeſſorum ſuorum coram quibuſcúmque Juſticiariis aut Cuſtodibus Foreſtarum noſtrarum, Hæredum vel Succeſſorum noſtrorum ſive Chacearum, aliorum quorumcúmque Foreſtariorum, Viridariorum, Seneſcallorum, & Regardorum, aut aliis Miniſtris, Hæredum ſeu Succeſſorum noſtrorum, Foreſtarum ſive Chacearum quarumcúmque, vel eorum aliquo, pro aliquibus infra dicta Dominia, Terras, Tenementa, Feoda, & Poſſeſſiones factis vel fiendis venire ſeu comparere nullo modo compellantur,

Nec quòd Ipſi nec Succeſſores ſui, Miniſtri, Tenentes & Reſidentes ſui prædicti, in aliquibus Juratis ſive Inquiſitionibus coram hujuſmodi Juſticiariis, Cuſtodibus Foreſtarum, Viridariis, Seneſcallis, Regardis, aut aliis Miniſtris noſtris, Hæredum ſeu Succeſſorum noſtrorum, Foreſtarum ſive Chacearum prædictarum capiendis, aut Summonitionibus ſuis quibuſcúmque ponantur ſeu eorum aliquis ponatur, nec eâ occaſione perturbentur moleſtentur in aliquo ſeu graventur, nec eorum aliquis moleſtetur perturbetur in aliquo ſeu gravetur, nec ea de Cauſa Dampnum aliquod ſeu Perditionem incurrant quovis modo nec incurrat,

Et quòd Ipſi & eorum quilibet inde totaliter ſint Quieti & Exonerati, Quietus & Exoneratus imperpetuùm,

Et quòd Ipſi & Succeſſores ſui & Miniſtri Tenentes & Reſidentes prædicti erga Nos & Hæredes & Succeſſores noſtros exonerati ſint imperpetuum & Quieti de Chiminagio Expeditatione Canum & de Suſtentatione & Puturâ Foreſtariorum & aliorum Miniſtrorum noſtrorum, Hæredum ſeu Succeſſorum noſtrorum, Foreſtarum noſtrarum ſive Chacearum quarumcúmque, ac de Uſu & Miniſterio, necnon de omnibus aliis Oneribus Feodis & Curialitatibus Gallinis Ovis & aliis quæ ad Foreſtarum ſive Chacearum Foreſtarios, Viridarios, & eorum Miniſtros, aliquo modo pertinent ſeu ipſis pertinere clamant quovis modo, & quæ hujuſmodi Foreſtarii ſeu alii Miniſtri Foreſtarum noſtrarum ſive Chacearum quarumcúmque ante hæc tempora exigere vel vendicare potuerint ſeu conſueverint aut impoſterùm poterint ullo modo,

Et quòd præfati *Decanus & Canonici* & Succeſſores ſui, Homines Tenentes ſui ac Reſidentes quicumque infra Dominia, Terras, Tenementa, Feoda, & Poſſeſſiones, quæ iidem nunc *Decanus & Canonici* jam habent, ſeu Ipſi & Succeſſores ſui de cætero ſint habituri, ad Intendendum ſive Obediendum aliquibus Præceptis ſive Mandatis Admiralli Angliæ, ſeu aliquorum Officiariorum ſeu Miniſtrorum ſuorum, ſeu coram eis aliqualiter comparere pro aliquibus Officium ſuum tangentibus aut Officio ſuo pertinentibus ſive ſpectantibus, in aliquo Loco non teneantur; ſed inde ſint omninò Quieti & Exonerati imperpetuum; Ita quòd *Admirallus* noſter Hæredum vel Succeſſorum noſtrorum pro tempore exiſtens, aut aliquis Officiariorum ſeu Miniſtrorum noſtrorum, Dominia, Terras, Tenementa, Feoda, & Poſſeſſiones prædictis *Decano & Canonicis* jam collata, ſeu ipſis & Succeſſoribus ſuis exnunc conferenda, aut aliquam Parcellam earumdem ad aliqua Placita ibidem tenenda, aut quicquid aliud quod ad Officium ſuum Admiralitatis pertinet ſeu pertinere poterit in futurum faciendum, nullatenus ingrediatur; ſed habeant & teneant præfati nunc *Decanus & Canonici* & Succeſſores ſui, omnia & omnimoda hujuſmodi Placita ac alia quæcúmque, quæ ad Officium & Curiam Admirallitatis qualitercúmque pertinent ſive ſpectant, de omnimodis & ſingulis Cauſis, Querelis, Actionibus, & Demandis, dictos nunc *Decanum & Canonicos* & Succeſſores ſuos Terras, Tenementa, Feoda, & Poſſeſſiones ſua, Homines & Tenentes ſuos Reſidentes, tangentibus & emergentibus, & ea adeò plenariè in eorum Curiis per Seneſcallos & Ballivos ſuos, unà cum Finibus Amerciamentis Exitibus & aliis Proficuis quibuſcúmque inde provenientibus ſive emergentibus, habeant percipiant & exequantur, prout *Admiralli* noſtri Hæredum Succeſſorum noſtrorum & Miniſtri ſui haberent

rent perciperent & exequerentur ſi præſens Conceſſio noſtra inde præſatis *Decano & Canonicis* per nos facta non fuiſſet:

Dedimus etiam & Conceſſimus ulteriùs eiſdem *Decano & Canonicis* quòd nec Ipſi nec Succeſſores ſui, Homines & Tenentes ſui, aut alii Reſidentes infra Dominia, Terras, Tenementa, Feoda, & Poſſeſſiones eiſdem *Decano & Canonicis* jam collata aut eis aut eorum Succeſſoribus de cætero conferenda, per Vicecomites Ballivos ſeu alios Miniſtros Noſtri Hæredum ſeu Succeſſorum noſtrorum quoſcumque vel eorum aliquem extra Dominia, Terras, Tenementa, Feoda, & Poſſeſſiones prædictas, virtute alicujus Brevis Præcepti Waranti ſeu Mandati Noſtri, Hæredum ſeu Succeſſorum noſtrorum, ſummoneantur diſtringantur attachientur nec capiantur, nec eorum aliquis ſummoneatur diſtringatur attachietur nec capiatur, nec aliqua Executio hujuſmodi Brevis prætextu Warranti ſive Mandati verſus prædictos *Decanum & Canonicos* ſeu Succeſſores ſuos Homines Tenentes ſeu alios Reſidentes prædictos vel eorum aliquem extra dicta Dominia, Terras, Tenementa, Feoda, & Poſſeſſiones fiat, dummodò alias Executio hujuſmodi Brevis Præcepti Warranti ſeu Mandati infra Dominia, Terras, Tenementa, Feoda, & Poſſeſſiones prædicta per proprios Ballivos eorumdem *Decani & Canonicorum* & Succeſſorum ſuorum fieri poterit, licet aliqui Vicecomites Ballivi ſeu alii Miniſtri prædicti præſatos *Decanum & Canonicos* ſeu Succeſſores ſuos aut Homines Tenentes ſeu alios Reſidentes extra Dominia, Terras, Tenementa, Feoda, & Poſſeſſiones prædicta inveniant infra Comitatum ubi ſic ſunt Reſidentes, ſed mandetur Ballivis dictorum *Decani & Canonicorum* & Succeſſorum ſuorum ad Executionem inde faciendam, ſi non fuerit in Defectu ipſorum *Decani & Canonicorum* ſeu Succeſſorum ſuorum aut Miniſtrorum eorum,

Et quòd præſati *Decanus & Canonici* & Succeſſores ſui habeant imperpetuum omnimoda Eſcapia Felonum & Murdrorum in Dominiis, Terris, Tenementis, Feodis, & Poſſeſſionibus eiſdem *Decano & Canonicis* jam collatis & exnunc Eis & eorum Succeſſoribus conferendis, & omnia alia quæ ad Nos Hæredes vel Succeſſores noſtros pertinere poſſent vel deberent, tàm de hujuſmodi Eſcapiis Felonum, Murdrorum quàm de omnibus & ſingulis Hominibus Tenentibus ſuis integrè Tenentibus & non integrè Tenentibus Reſidentibus & non Reſidentibus & aliis Reſidentibus quibuſcumque, tàm de & in Terris & Tenementis quàm de & in Feodis & Poſſeſſionibus ſuis prædictis, & tàm omnium Miniſtrorum & Officiariorum noſtrorum vel Hæredum & Succeſſorum noſtrorum quàm aliorum quorumcúmque, ac etiam Villatarum & Hundredorum de & in Villis, Dominiis, Terris, Tenementis, Feodis, & Poſſeſſionibus prædictis, licet tales Homines, Tenentes, Reſidentes & non Reſidentes & alii Reſidentes alibi teneant de Nobis vel Hæredibus noſtris ſeu de aliis quibuſcúmque;

Et quòd nec præſati *Decanus & Canonici* ſeu Succeſſores ſui nec Officiarii & Miniſtri Homines ſeu Tenentes ſui & alii Reſidentes infra Dominia, Terras, Tenementa, Feoda, & Poſſeſſiones ſua Eis jam collata & de cætero conferenda in Placitum quodcumque coram Seneſcallis & Mareſcallis Hoſpitii noſtri Hæredum ſeu Succeſſorum noſtrorum vel eorum alterum, licet Nos ſeu Perſonam noſtram Hæredes ſeu Succeſſores noſtros tangunt, ullo modo deducantur ſeu trahantur,

Nec quòd Ipſi ſeu eorum aliquis per præſatos Seneſcallos & Mareſcallos noſtros ſeu Miniſtros eorumdem arreſtetur attachietur moleſtetur in aliquo vel gravetur;

Et quòd prædicti *Decanus & Canonici* ſeu Succeſſores ſui aut Officiarii, Miniſtri, Homines, Tenentes, vel Reſidentes prædicti, ratione alicujus Præſentationis ſive Querelæ, coram dictis Seneſcallis & Mareſcallis factarum vel captarum ſeu impoſterùm fiendarum vel capiendarum, ad Comparendum coram eiſdem Seneſcallis & Mareſcallis, virtute alicujus Brevis Præcepti ſeu Mandati noſtri , comparere reſpondere vel quoviſmodo obedire minimè teneatur,

Et quòd prædicti *Decanus & Canonici* & Succeſſores ſui imperpetuùm conſtituant ſibi Coronatores in omnibus & ſingulis Dominiis, Terris, Feodis, & Poſſeſſionibus ſuis ſibi collatis & de cætero conferendis,

Et quòd iidem Coronatores & eorum quilibet habeant & habeat plenariam Poteſtatem & Auctoritatem Exercendi in dictis Dominiis, Terris, Tenementis, Feodis, & Poſſeſſionibus prædictorum *Decani & Canonicorum* & Succeſſorum ſuorum omnia & ſingula quæ ad Officium alicujus Coronatoris Noſtri Hæredum & Succeſſorum noſtrorum pertinent facienda & excercenda; Ita quòd nullus Coronator Noſtri Hæredum ſeu Succeſſorum noſtrorum ad aliquod quod ad hujuſmodi Officium Coronatoris pertinet faciendum in dicta Dominia, Terras, Tenementa, & Poſſeſſiones ſeu eorum aliquod aliqualiter ingrediatur vel Se in aliquo inde intromittat:

Et quòd prædicti nunc *Decanus & Canonici* & Succeſſores ſui imperpetuum habeant Warrennam in omnibus Dominiis & Terris ſuis Dominicalibus ſibi jam collatis & de cætero conferendis ubicùmque fuerint, ac etiam liberam Chaceam in omnibus Dominicis & Boſcis ſuis quæ Ipſi jam habeant aut Ipſi & Succeſſores ſui exnunc ſunt habituri, licet eadem Dominia, Terræ, Dominicalia, & Boſci ſint vel fuerint infra Metas Foreſtarum noſtrarum, Ita quòd nullus Foreſtarius Officiarius vel Miniſtri Noſtri Hæredum vel Succeſſorum noſtrorum nec aliquis alius intret Dominia & Terras ſeu Boſcos illa, ad Fugandum in eis vel ad aliquid Capiendum quod ad Warrennam vel Chaceam pertinet, ſeu aliquid quod ad Officium Foreſtarii vel alicujus alterius Officiarii ſeu Miniſtri noſtri Hæredum ſeu Succeſſorum noſtrorum Foreſtarum ſive Chacearum noſtrarum ſeu Hæredum vel Succeſſorum noſtrorum pertinet ſeu pertinere poterit ullo modo, ſine Licentia ipſorum *Decani & Canonicorum* & Succeſſorum ſuorum,

Et quòd præfati nunc *Decanus & Canonici* & Succeſſores ſui imperpetuùm habeant Wardas & Cuſtodiam Terrarum & Tenementorum omnium & ſingulorum Tenentium ſuorum, de Ipſis per Servitium Militare Tentorum, Hæredibus ſuis infra Ætatem exiſtentibus, ac cum Releviis, Eſcaetis, Foriſfacturis, & aliis Proficuis Exitibus & Emolumentis quibuſcùmque, licet iidem Tenentes de Nobis in Capite ut de Corona, vel de aliis alibi teneant quoquo modo:

Dedimus etiam & Conceſſimus pro Nobis & Hæredibus noſtris præfatis nunc *Decano & Canonicis* & Succeſſoribus ſuis quòd, ſiquis Canonicorum Primi aut Secundi Ordinis Preſbiterorum conductorum Miniſtrorum Sacelli Clericorum Scolarium Choriſtarum vel aliquis alius Serviens vel Miniſter ipſorum *Decani & Canonicorum* ſeu Succeſſorum ſeu alicujus eorumdem, infra Limites ſeu Sexta *dicti Collegii* vel Habitationis eorumdem *Decani & Canonicorum* & Succeſſorum ſuorum, Manus violentes in alterum ejuſdem Collegii Canonicum Primi & Secundi Ordinis Preſbiterorum conductorum Miniſtrorum Sacelli Clericorum Scholarium Choriſtarum Servientum ſeu Miniſtrorum prædictorum injecerit, Ita quòd non ſit Machemium, ipſe *Decanus Collegii prædicti* & Succeſſores ſui inde habeat & habeant plenariam Cognitionem Correctionem & Punitionem coram *eodem Decano* & Succeſſoribus ſuis vel eorum Locumtenente, ita quòd nullus Officiariorum ſeu Miniſtrorum noſtrorum Hæredum vel Succeſſorum noſtrorum ullo modo Se inde intromittat,

Et quòd iidem *Decanus & Canonici* & eorum Succeſſores de cætero habeant Proceſſus ſuos Recuperationes & Executiones ſuas verſus quoſcúmque *Abbates*, *Priores*, *Decanos*, *Rectores*, & *Vicarios* Abbatiarum, Prioratuum, Decanatuum, Eccleſiarum, Vicariorum, ac alias Perſonas quaſcúmque & eorum quemlibet, pro quibuſcúmque Annuitatibus, Penſionibus, Portionibus, & Opportubus & qualibet Parcella eorumdem *Decano & Canonicis* & eorum Succeſſoribus debitis ſolvendis pertinentibus ſive ſpectantibus, tàm per Brevia *de Debitis vel Annuitatibus* in quibuſcúmque Curiis noſtris Hæredum & Succeſſorum noſtrorum, quàm per Breve *de ſcire facias* vel *ſcire faciatis* in Scaccario noſtro Hæredum & Succeſſorum noſtrorum, ad libitum & electionem ipſorum *Decani & Canonicorum* & Succeſſorum ſuorum, quotiens & quandocúmque contigerit hujuſmodi Annuitates, Penſiones, Portiones, & Apportus aut eorum aliquam Parcellam a retro fore, in Parte vel in Toto, poſt aliquem Terminum quo ſolvi debeant aut debeat, non ſolutam vel non ſolutas,

Et habeant etiam iidem *Decanus & Canonici* & Succeſſores ſui ſuper hujuſmodi Recuperationes Dampna ſua, tàm pro injuſta Detentione annuitatum Penſionum Portionum & Apportuum prædictorum & cujuſlibet Parcellæ eorumdem, quàm pro Miſis Expenſis & Coſtagiis ſuis circa hujuſmodi Recuperationes factis habitis rationabiliter adjudicanda,

Et quòd iidem *Decanus & Canonici* & Succeſſores ſui ab omnibus & omnimodis Oneribus & Demandis, verſus Ipſos contra Libertates Francheſias Quietantias Immunitates prædictas in hujuſmodi Curiis & Locis exactis, ab eiſdem Curiis & Locis, virtute Exhibitionis ſive Demonſtrationis dictæ Cartæ, erga Nos Hæredes & Succeſſores noſtros & alios quoſcúmque, ſtatim & immediatè Exonerati, recedant abſque aliquo Brevi ſeu Mandato Noſtri Hæredum ſeu Succeſſorum noſtrorum aut aliquo Brevi Proceſſu ſuperinde ulteriùs proſequendo,

Et, pro majori Securitate & Stabilimento Libertatum, Francheſiarum, Quietantiarum, & Immunitatuum prædictarum dictis *Decano & Canonicis* & Succeſſoribus ſuis ut præmittitur per Nos conceſſarum,

Et ut iidem *Decanus & Canonici* & eorum Succeſſores, temporibus futuris, Libertatibus Francheſiis & Immunitatibus prædictis quietè & magis ſecurè uti valeant & gaudere, de Gratia noſtra uberiori, Conceſſimus pro Nobis Hæredibus & Succeſſoribus noſtris ac Cartâ noſtrâ Confirmavimus Eiſdem nunc *Decano & Canonicis* & Succeſſoribus ſuis quòd, licet Ipſi vel eorum Succeſſores aliquibus Libertatibus, Francheſiis, Quietantiis, & Immunitatibus prædictis de cætero aliquo Caſu emergente non Uſi vel Abuſi fuerint, benè tamen licebit eiſdem Libertatibus, Francheſiis, Quietantiis, & Immunitatibus poſtmodùm uti & gaudere, abſque impetitione, impedimento, perturbatione, moleſtatione, ſeu gravamine Noſtri vel Hæredum noſtrorum Juſticiariorum Eſcaetorum aut aliorum Ballivorum ſeu Miniſtrorum noſtrorum & Succeſſorum noſtrorum quorumcúmque, quare Volumus & firmiter Præcipimus, pro Nobis Hæredibus & Succeſſoribus noſtris, quòd præfati nunc *Decanus & Canonici* & Succeſſores ſui imperpetuum habeant & teneant omnes & ſingulas Donationes, Conceſſiones, Libertates, Quietantias, Francheſias, & Immunitates prædictas, & eis & earum qualibet plenè gaudeant & utantur, ſicut prædictum eſt, ſine impedimento Noſtri Hæredum ſeu Succeſſorum noſtrorum Juſticiariorum, Eſcaetorum, Vicecomitum, Seneſcallorum, Mareſcallorum, Coronatorum, aut aliorum Ballivorum ſeu Miniſtrorum noſtrorum Hæredum ſeu Succeſſorum noſtrorum, eo quod expreſſa mentio de vero valore annuo aut Certitudine Præmiſſorum ſeu alicujus eorumdem, aut de aliis Donis & Conceſſionibus præfatis *Decano & Canonicis* & Succeſſoribus ſuis ſeu alicui Prædeceſſorum ſuorum & Succeſſoribus ſuis ante hæc tempora factis in Præſentibus minimè facta exiſtit, juxta formam Statutorum inde editorum, aut quibuſcúmque aliis Statutis ſive Ordinationibus, ante hæc tempora factis ſeu impoſterùm fiendis non obſtantibus:

Et cùm, per alias Literas noſtras Patentes, de Data Tertiodecimo Die Julii, Anno Regni noſtri Decimo Septimo, prædictis *Decano & Canonicis* Licentiam Dedimus quòd Ipſi & Succeſſores ſui Maneria, Terras, Tenementa, Redditus, Reverſiones, Servitia, Patronatus Eccleſiarum, Abbatiarum, Prioratuum, Hoſpitalium, & aliorum Beneficiorum Eccleſiaſticorum quorumcúmque, Portiones, Apportus, Annuitates, Penſiones, & Advocationes Eccleſiarum, ac omnia & omnimoda alia Hæreditamenta & Poſſeſſiones quaſcúmque, tàm Spirituales quàm Temporales ad Annuum valorem *Duarum Millium Librarum Sterlingorum* ultra omnia Onera & Repriſas, tàm de Feodo noſtro proprio quàm alieno, licet de Nobis in Capitè vel aliter ſeu aliquo alio modo ſeu de aliquibus aliis Perſonis ſeu de aliqua alia Perſona teneantur, recipere habere & tenere poſſint, Statuto de Terris & Tenementis ad *Manum Mortuam* non ponendis, aut aliquo alio Statuto, Re, Cauſâ, aut Materiâ non obſtante, prout in eiſdem Literis noſtris de Data prædicta pleniùs continetur,

Nos autem, prædictis *Decano & Canonicis* Gratiam volentes facere uberiorem, ex certa Scientia & mero Motu noſtris Concedimus & per Præſentes Licentiam Damus quòd Ipſi & Succeſſores ſui Maneria, Terras, Tenementa, Redditus, Reverſiones, Servitia, Patronatus Eccleſiarum, Abbatiarum, Prioratuum, Hoſpitalium, & aliorum Beneficiorum Eccleſiaſticorum quorumcúmque, Portiones, Apportus, Annuitates, Penſiones, & Advocationes Eccleſiarum, ac omnia & omnimoda alia Hæreditamenta & Poſſeſſiones quaſcúmque tàm Spirituales quàm Temporales, ad Annuum Valorem *Treſcentarum Librarum Sterlingorum*, ultra omnia Onera & Repriſas, tàm de Feodo noſtro proprio quàm alieno, licet de Nobis in Capite vel aliter ſeu aliquo alio modo ſeu de aliquibus aliis Perſonis ſeu de aliqua alia Perſona teneantur, ac ultra Summam illam *Duarum Millium Librarum* in prædictis Literis ſpecificatarum de quacúmque Perſona vel quibuſcúmque Perſonis, ea Eis dare aſſignare vel concedere volenti vel volentibus, perquirere, & de eadem Perſona vel eiſdem Perſonis conjunctim vel diviſim recipere, & ea Sibi & Succeſſoribus ſuis tenere poſſint; Ita quòd in toto, virtute prædictarum Literarum noſtrarum & præſentis Conceſſionis noſtræ, prædicti *Decanus & Canonici* & Succeſſores ſui in Maneria, Terras, Tenementa, Redditus, Reverſiones, Servitia, Patronatus Eccleſiarum, Abbatiarum, Prioratuum, Hoſpitalium, & aliorum Beneficiorum Eccleſiaſticorum quorumcúmque, Portiones, Apportus, Annuitates, Penſiones, & Advocationes Eccleſiarum, ac omnia & omnimoda alia Hæreditamenta & Poſſeſſiones quaſcúmque tàm Spirituales quàm Temporales, ad Annuum Valorem *Duarum Millium & Treſcentarum Librarum*, ultra omnia Onera & Repriſas, tàm de Feodo noſtro proprio quàm alieno, licet de Nobis in Capite vel aliter aut aliquo alio modo, ſeu de aliquibus aliis Perſonis ſeu de aliqua alia Perſona teneantur,

Habenda & Tenenda dicta Maneria, Terras, Tenementa, Redditus, Reverſiones, Servitia, Patronatus Eccleſiarum, Abbatiarum, Prioratuum, Hoſpitalium, & aliorum Beneficiorum Eccleſiaſticorum quorumcúmque, Portiones, Apportus, Annuitates, Penſiones, & Advocationes Eccleſiarum, ac omnia & omnimoda alia Hæreditamenta Poſſeſſiones quaſcúmque tàm Spirituales quàm Temporales, ad Valorem Annuum *Duarum Millium & Treſcentarum Librarum* ultra omnia Onera & Repriſas, tàm de Feodo noſtro proprio quàm alieno, licet de nobis in Capitè vel aliter aut aliquo alio modo ſeu de aliquibus aliis Perſonis vel de aliqua alia Perſona ut præfertur teneantur, dictis *Decano & Canonicis Collegii prædicti* & eorum Succeſſoribus in liberam puram & perpetuam Elemoſinam imperpetuum; Statutis de Terris & Tenementis ad *Manum Mortuam* non ponendis editis, aut aliquo alio Statuto Ordinatione Proviſione ſeu Reſtrictione in contrarium inde factis editis ordinatis ſeu proviſis aut aliquâ aliâ Re Cauſâ vel Materiâ quacúmque, in aliquo non obſtantibus,

Et hoc abſque aliqua Inquiſitione ſive aliquibus Inquiſitionibus indè, prætextu alicujus Brevis ſeu Mandati noſtri vel aliquorum Brevium ſeu Mandatorum Hæredum vel Succeſſorum noſtrorum de *ad quod Dampnum*, ſeu alicujus alterius Brevis Commiſſionis Mandati ſeu Præcepti noſtri Hæredum vel Succeſſorum noſtrorum in hac parte faciendi, proſequendis ſeu capiendis, & in Cancellariam noſtram Hæredum vel Succeſſorum noſtrorum ſeu alibi retornandis, & abſque aliquibus aliis Literis Patentibus Hæredum vel Succeſſorum noſtrorum de & in, ſive pro Præmiſſis ſeu aliquo Præmiſſorum quoviſmodo Impetrandis habendis ſive faciendis, aliquibus Statutis ſive Ordinationibus, in contrarium inde factis editis ſeu ordinatis, non obſtantibus,

Nolentes quòd prædicti *Decanus & Canonici dicti Collegii* qui pro tempore fuerint, aut Succeſſores ſui, ratione ſeu occaſione Præmiſſorum vel eorum alicujus, per Nos Hæredes vel Succeſſores noſtros Juſticiarios, Eſcaetores, Vicecomites, ſeu alios Ballivos ſeu Miniſtros noſtros vel Hæredum ſeu Succeſſorum noſtrorum quoſcúmque impetantur, inquietentur, moleſtentur in aliquo, ſeu graventur; aliquâ aliâ Conceſſione præfatis *Decano & Canonicis* per Nos ſive alios Progenitores noſtros conceſsâ, ſeu aliquâ aliâ Re, Cauſâ, vel Materià non obſtante:

Et quoniam, per alias Literas noſtras Patentes omnia Feoda, Fines, magna & parva, tàm pro Conceſſionibus præteritis quàm etiam futuris, prædicto Collegio per Nos aut Succeſſores noſtros prædictis *Decano & Canonicis* faciendis, eiſdem plenè & integrè Remiſimus, ut in eiſdem Datis Primâ Die Maii, Anno Regni noſtri Decimo octavo continetur, volumus ut prædictis Feodis & Summæ Remiſſio noſtra ad præſentem Conceſſionem in omnibus & per omnia extendatur, ita etiam ut juxta vim Formam & effectum eorumdem præſentes Literæ noſtræ corrigi reformari déque novo conſcribi & ſigillari poſſint quotiens & quando opus videbitur, ut in præfatis Literis noſtris plenius expreſſimus & declaravimus; Eo quòd prædictarum Literarum noſtrarum integrè Tenor de Verbo ad Verbum non exprimatur, aut quòd expreſsâ mentio de aliqua certa Summa, Feodo & prædictorum aut de aliquo alio Valore ſive Conceſſione, per Nos aut Progenitores noſtros prædictis *Decano & Canonicis* ante hæc tempora factâ, in Præſentibus minimè facta exiſtit, aut aliquâ aliâ Re, Cauſâ, aut materià quacúmque in aliquo non obſtante.

Hiis Teſtibus,

Reverendiſſimis in Chriſto Patribus *T. Eboram Cardinale* Legato de Latere Cancellario noſtro,
Et,
W. Cantuarienſi,
Archiepiſcopis,
Ac Venerabilibus Patribus *C. London.* Cuſtode Privati Sigilli noſtri & *J. Bathon. & Wellen.*
Epiſcopis,
Necnon Cariſſimis Conſanguineis noſtris,
Henrico Richemondiæ & Somerſetiæ Cuſtode Marchiarum noſtrarum verſus Scotiam,
Thoma Norfolchiæ Theſaurario Angliæ,
Et *Carolo Suffolciæ*,
Ducibus,
Thoma Dorſetiæ,
Et *Henrico Exoniæ*,
Marchionibus,
Johanne Oxoniæ Camerario Angliæ,
Et *Georgio Salopiæ* Seneſcallo Hoſpitii noſtri,
Comitibus,
Ac Dilectis & Fidelibus noſtris,
Willielmo Sandys de Vyne Milite,
Et *Edwardo Devereux* de Ferrers Milite,
Baronibus,
Willielmo Fitz William Theſaurario Hoſpitii noſtri,
Et *Henrico Guldeford* Contrarotulatore ejuſdem Hoſpitii noſtri,
Et *Thoma More*,
Militibus,
Et aliis.
Dat. per Manum noſtram apud *Weſtm.* Quinto Die Maii.

Per Breve de Privato Sigillo.

Mſ. Dodſworth Vol. 75. Fol. 73.

In Cardinall Woolſeys *Bundells in the Rolles.*

Libat 30 April 19 H. 8. *per manus* Thome Cromwel.

Coll. N° 76. B. III. c. 2.

INq' capta Ap. Oxon 29 Martij 19 H. 8.

Jur' dic' quod monaſterium ſive prioratus s'ci Benedicti de Wallingford, eſt & fuit de fundacione D'ni Regis, & quod ſcitus monaſterij p'dici eſt in Com' Berks & infra dioc' Sarum & redditum in manus Thome Arc'pi Ebor' & Cardinalis, *&c.* in honore s'ce Trinitatis fundat'.

Monaſterium ſive Prioratum Canonicorum Regularium ordinis S'ci Auguſtini de Bromehill in Com' Norff', *&c.*

Prioratus monialium de praij aut Pratis in Com' Hertf'. ordinis S'ci Benedicti in honore s'ce marie per progenitores Regis fundat'.

Prioratus de Staneſgate in Com' Eſſex in honore S'ce marie magdalene ord'is s'ci Benedic'.

Prioratus monachorum Cluniacen' ordinis s'ci Benedicti in Herkeſley parva in Com' Eſſex.

Prioratus Canonicorum Regularium ord'is s'ci Auguſtini in Thoby in Com' Eſſex in honore dei & s'ci Leonardi fundat.

Prioratus Canonicorum Regularium in honore dei & s'ci Laurentij ordinis s'ci Auguſtini in Blakmore in Com' Eſſex.

Monaſterium Canonicorum Regularium ordinis s'ci Auguſtini in Leſnes in Kanc' vulgo vocat the Abbay of Leſnes per progenitores Regis fundat' in honore s'ci Thome Martyris. Abbas tenet Rectoriam de Walcomſted alias Godeſtowe in proprios uſus.

Prioratus monachorum ordinis s'ci Benedic' in Bradwell in com' Bucks in honore beate Marie virginis fundat.

Prioratus ordinis s'ci Benedicti in Rumburgh in Com' Suffolc in honore s'ci Felicis.

Prioratus monialium ordinis S'ci Auguſtini in Wyks in Com' Eſſex de fundacione Regis in honore virginis marie.

Prioratus monachorum ordinis s'ci Auguſtini de Fonbridge in Com' Kanc' per progenitores Regis, ſeu aliquem progenitorum Henrici Regis in Honore s'ce Marie Magdalene fundat' *&c.* Prior tenuit manerio de Holte al's Rowholte cum parte in Chelham in Com' Surr'.

Prioratus monialium ordinis s'ci Benedicti in Lytelmore in Com' Oxon' per progenitores Regis in honore s'ci Nicolai fundat.

Prioratus monachorum ordinis Cluniacen' ordinis S'ci Benedicti in Canwell in Com' Staff. fundat' in honore dei & S'ci Egidij.

Prioratus monachorum ordinis S'ci Benedicti in Snape in Com' Suff. in honore S'ce Marie per progenitores Regis fundat.

Prioratus monachorum ordinis S'ci Benedicti in villa de Walton in Com' Suffolc vulgò voc' The Priory of Felixſtowe al's Flycheſtowe in Walton per Anceſſores Thome nunc Ducis Norfolk in honore S'ci Felicis fundat.

Prioratus monachorum Cluniacenſium ordinis s'ci Benedicti in Sandwell in Com' Stafford in honore S'ce Marie Magdalene fundat.

Prior de Tonebridg ten' maner' de Bodeſham al's dict' The Pryory Hall of Tonebridge in the county of Cantebr'.

Prioratus Canonicorum regularium ordinis S'ci Auguſtini in Ravenſton in Com' Bucks per Anceſſores Regis in honore S'ci Auguſtini fundat.

Prioratus monachorum ordininis S'ci Benedicti in Daventre in Com' North' in honore dei & s'ce Marie de Caritate & S'ci Auguſtini fundat' per progenitores Regis.

Prioratus Canonicorum Regularium ordinis s'ci Auguſtini in Poghley in Com' Berks in honore s'ce margarete virginis fundat' in dioc' e'pi Sarum.

Prioratus monachorum ordinis s'ci Benedicti in Com' Bucks per progenitores Regis in honore dei & s'ci Benedicti fundat.

Prioratus Canonicorum Regularium ordinis S'ci Auguſtini in Dodneſs in Com' Suffolc' nup' vocat' The Pryory of Dodnes per Anceſſores Ducis Norfolc' in honore dei & s'ce marie fundat.

Prioratus Canonicorum Regularium ordinis S'ci Auguſtini in Tiptre in com' Eſſex in honore s'ci Nicolai fundat.

Prioratus Canonicorum Regularium ordinis S'ci Auguſtini in Calceto in Com' Suſſex per progenitores Regis in honore dei & S'ci Bartholomei fundat.

Abbathia Canonicorum Regularium ordinis præmonſtratenſis in Beghum vulgò vocat' The Abbey of Beghum in Com' Suſſex in honore beate marie fundat' & quod ſcitus monaſterij p'dci fuit & modo eſt in com' Kanc' & Suſſex.

Prioratus Canonicorum Regularium ordinis s'ci Auguſtini in villa de Gippewico in com' Suff. vulgo vocat' The Pryory of St. Peters in Gipeſwik per progenitores Regis in Honore Sanctorum Petri & Pauli fundat.

In the Rowles in tow Bundells indorſed.

Inquiſitiones poſt attincturam T. Wolſey *Cardinalis in diverſis Com' captis* Anno xxxi. *Regis Henrici Octavi.*

Sic in Mſ. BArtholomeus Prior S'ce marie Overey in Southwarke in Com' Surr'.

Rob'tus Conſtable miles, Rob'tus Aske miles, Marmaducus Conſtable Sen' Miles, Thomas Fairfax Serviens ad legem, & Rob'tus Chaloner Comiſſionarij conſtituti ad inquirend' per ſcrut' bonorum & legalium hominum de Com' Ebor' de quibus quot & quantis
manerijs d'nijs t'ris, *&c.* Thomas Presbiter Cardinalis Ebor' Arc'pus
Sic vid. for 2d *Seiſitus.* Anglie Primas 28 die Aug' vel 2 Dec' A°. 15 H. 8. fuit *ſeiſitus* quo
quidem ſc'do die Decembr' idem Cardinalis diverſos contemptus
tranſgreſſiones & offenſas contra coronam *regaliem* & dignitatem no-
Sic in Mſ. ſtras, &c. perpetravit, impetravit, *&c.* dat' ap. Weſt' 13 die Julij
22 H. 8.

Jacobus Boleyn miles, Franciſcus Lovel miles, Johannes Spelman ſerviens ad legem & Franciſcus Montford Commiſſionarij in com' Norff' ad inquirend' de p'miſſis.

Brianus Stapleton miles, Will'mus Perpoynt miles, Joh'es Beryn miles & Joh'es Markham miles, Commiſſionarij in com' Nott'.

Concerning the Election of the Prioreſſe of Wilton *to be Abbeſſe which the Cardinal made contrary to the kings pleaſure. He adviſeth the Cardinall alſo to looke that the Moneyes gotten out of religious houſes to the building of his Colledges be well gotten.*

Coll. N° 77. B. III. c. 2. THE great affection and love I beare you cauſeth me (enſuing the doctrine of my Maiſter, ſaying (*Quem diligo caſtigo*) thus plainly as now enſueth to breake to you my mind, enſuring you that neither ſiniſter report, affection to my owne pleaſure, intereſſe parts, nor mediation of any other body beareth place in this caſe; Wherfore whatſoever I doe ſay, I pray thinke it ſpoken of noe diſpleaſure, but of him that would you as much good both of body and ſoule, as you would your ſelfe; Methinke it is not the right trayne of a truſty loving frend and ſervaunt, when the matter is putt by the maſters conſent into his arbitree, and iudgment (ſpecially in a matter wherin his maſter hath both royalty and intereſt) to elect and chuſe a perſon which was by him defendid; And yet another thing which much diſpleaſeth me more, that is, to cloake your offence made by ignorance of my pleaſure, ſaying that you expreſly know not my determinate mind in that behalfe; Alas my lord what can be more evident, or plainer then theſe words (ſpecially to a wiſe man) his grace careth not who, but re-

ferreth it all to you; ſoe that none of thoſe who either be or have been att any time noted or ſpotted with incontinence (like as by report the Priores hath been in her youth) have it; And alſo in another place of the Letter which ſayth, and therfore his highnes thinketh her not, moſt meet for that purpoſe. Thirdly in another place of the ſayd letter by theſe words, And though his grace ſpeaketh it not ſoe openly, yet meſeemeth his pleaſure is, that in noe wiſe the Prioreſſe have yt, Nor yet *Dame Ellinor*'s eldeſt Siſter, for many conſiderations, the which your grace both can, and will beſt conſider. A my Lord it is a double offence both to doe ill, and colour it to, but with men that have witt, it can not be accepted ſoe, wherfore good my Lord, Uſe noe more that way with me for there is no man Livinge that more hateth it; Theſe things being thus committed either I muſt have reſerved them in pectore, wherby more diſpleaſure might happen to breed; or ells thus roundly and playnly to declare them to you. Becauſe that I doe thinke, that *Cum amico & familiari ſincerè ſemper eſt agendum.* And ſpecially the Maſter to his beſt beloved ſervaunt and frend, for in ſoe doing, the one ſhalbe the more circumſpect in his doeing, the other ſhall declare and ſhew the Loathnes that is in him to have any occaſion to be diſpleaſed with him. And as touching the redreſſe of religion (if it be obſerved and continued) undoubtedly it is a gratious act, notwithſtandinge if all reports be true, *ab imbecillis imbecilla expectantur*, howbeit Mr. *Ben* hath informed me that her age, perſonage, and manner *præ ſe fert gravitatem*, I pray god it be ſoe indeed, ſeyinge that ſhe is preferred to that roome. I underſtand furthermore (which is greatly to my Comfort) that you have ordered your ſelſe to godward as religiouſly, and vertuouſly as any prelate, or father of Chriſt's Church can doe; Wherin ſoe doinge, and perſeveringe there can nothinge more be acceptable to god, more honour to your ſelſe Nor more deſired of your frends Amongſt the which I reckon not my ſelſe the leaſt. Since hitherto I have playd both the part of a Maſter and frend methinketh, yet once more I muſt occupy the ſame deſiringe you to take yt in good part, for ſurely I doe yt upon noe other ground, but for the wealth of your ſoule, and mind; And bicauſe I dare be bolder with you then a great many that mumbell it abroad, and to the intent that I would that the foundation by you meant, and begunne, ſhould take felice, and proſperous ſucceſſe. Surely it is reckoned that much of the good that buildeth the ſame, ſhould not be the beſt acquiſite, and gotten, reckoninge it to come from many a religious houſe unlawfully, bearinge the cloake of kindnes toward the edifyinge of your Colledge; which kindnes cannot ſinke in many a mans heart, to be in them, ſince that thoſe ſame religious houſes would not grant to their Soveraigne in his neceſſity, not by a great deale ſoe much as they have to you for building of your Colledge, Theſe thinges beare ſhrewd apparance, for except they have accuſtomed to have ſome benefitt for it, They nor noe other that ever I heard of have uſed to ſhew that kindnes, *Tam enim eſt aliena ab eis ipſa humanitas*; But of this caſe your conſcience can be beſt iudge *ſemota affectione* And ſubſtantiall ſcruteny made of the indeavour of thoſe which you putt in truſt, in medling with the religious houſes, for I truſt verely that if any thinge be amiſſe, it is more longe of them then of you, Notwithſtanding I am ſure you know that in *talibus Ignorantia non excuſat peccatum*; Wherfore I doubt not but that you will make ſuch enſerch and reformation, and need be, that it ſhalbe to the exoneration of your conſcience before god. I pray you my Lord, thinke not that it is upon any diſpleaſure that I write this unto you. For ſurely, it is firſt for my diſcharge afore god, being in the roome that I am in; And ſecondly for the great zeale I beare unto you, not undeſerved of your behalfe, Wherfore I pray you take it ſoe; And I enſure you your fault acknowledged there ſhall remaine in me, noe ſparke of diſpleaſure, truſtinge heerafter you ſhall recompence that with a thinge much more acceptable to me, And thus fare you well advertiſing you that (thanked be god) both I and all my folke be, and have bene ever ſince we came to *Anthill*, which was on *Saterday* laſt in marvelous good health, and cleanes of ayre. Written with the hand of him that is, and ſhalbe your lovinge Soveraigne Lord and frend

Henry R.

Letter from the Biſhop of Bath *to the Cardinal.*

Coll. No 78. B. III. c. 4. March 24. 1527.

F*Rancis* is very deſirous to have the Princeſs Mary, and to have her delivered into his Hands, as ſoon as the Peace is concluded. Our King pretends her Non-Age, and will have all, Penſion, *&c.* concluded firſt. The Queen Regent is earneſt alſo for the preſent Marriage, Saying there is no Danger, for ſhe her ſelf was marryed at xi. And for this Match there might be a deviſe to ſatisfy both Sides, Saying that the Princeſs will be well towards xii. by *Auguſt*. At that time both Princes ſhould meet at *Calais* with ſmall Company and Charge, there her Son after the Marriage ſolemnized might abide himſelf for an Hour or leſs with my Lady Princeſs, She ſaid the King her Son was a Man of Honour and Diſcretion, and would uſe no Violence eſpecially, the Father and Mother being ſo nigh, meaning, that *Conatus ad Copulam cum illa, quæ eſt proxima pubertati, prudentia ſupplente Ætatem*, ſhould make every thing ſure, that neither Party ſhould now vary. So the King her Son might be aſſured of his Wife, and King *Henry* carry back his Daughter till ſhe ſhould be accounted more able, *&c.* this Overture our Ambaſſadors think very ſtrange, *&c.*

Forſter*'s Abjuration in the Cardinal's Court.*

Coll. No 79. B. III. c. 4.

‘ IN the Name of God, *Amen*. I *Richard Forſter*, of the Dioceſe and Juriſdiction of *London*, before yow, Reverend Father in God, Lord *Cuthbert*, Biſhop of *London*, my Ordinary, and Dioceſan, and Commiſſary to the moſt Reverend Father in God, Lord *Thomas*, of the Title of Saynct *Cecile*, Prieſt, Cardinal, *&c.* together with yow, Reverend Fathers in God, Lords *Nicholas*, Biſhop of *Ely*, *Henry*, Biſhop of Saynct *Aſſe*, *John*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and *John*, Biſhop of *Bathe* and *Wellys*, likewiſe Commiſſaryes lawfully deputed, opynly confeſſe and knowledge, that I dampnably have erred in the Holy Sacrament of the Aulter, ſaying, belevyng, and affirmyng, That a Prieſt could not Conſecrate the Body of Criſt. Alſo, that I, accompanyed with certayn of the maner of Levying of *Martyn Luther*, and his Sect, dyd eate Fleſh on the *Saturday*. The which myn Hereſy, Error, and dampnable Opinyon, in eſpecyal with all other Hereſies agenſt the Faith of

‘Criſt, and our Holy Moder the Churche in General, here before Almighty God, and you myne Ordinary in this Honorable Audience, I voluntary and gladly, as a true Penytent Perſon, utterly renounce, forſake and abjure. Promytting, and I promyſe faithfully unto Almighty God, our foreſaid Mother, the Holy Church, and to you my foreſaid Ordinary, and ſwere by theſe Holy Evangelies, and Contents of thies Book, here by me Bodyly touched, that from henceforth I ſhall never retorn agen to the ſaid Hereſies, and dampnable Opinions, or any other Hereſies, and dampnable Opinions: And never more reherſe, believe, or affirme the contrary to the Determination of our Holy Mother, the Churche: Nor hide, conceyl, or kepe cloſe, any ſuch Hereſies and dampnable Opinions, nor their Auctors, or Fawtors in Tyme to come: Nor be converſant, or famyliar wytyngly with any Perſon, or Perſons, ſuſpect of Hereſy. But as ſoon as I ſhall know any ſuch Perſons, or their Fautors, I ſhall truly and faithfully detect them, and their Opinions to their Ordinary, for the Tyme being, without any Delay. Submyttyng my ſelf mekely, lowly and penytently, to our Holy Mother, the Church, and your Correction: Beyng contrite and ſorry, and deſiryng Penance for my ſaid Offences, and Treſpaſſes in this Behalf, which I promyſe, by the Vertue of myne Othe ſurely to do, obſerve and fulfyl. In Witneſs whereof, to this my preſent Abjuration, I have ſubſcribed my Name with my Hand, and ſet to the Signe of the Croſs under the ſame.

per me Ricardum Forſter, *Supradict.*

✠

‘*Lecta per dictum* Richardum Forſter, *quinto die* Decembris, *Anno Dom.* 1527, *in domo Capituli Monaſt.* Weſtmonaſter. *coram Reverendo in Chriſto Patre* Cuthberto London. *Epiſcopo, ac alijs preſentibus, ut in actis, in preſentia mei*

Mathei Grafton.

William *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury *to Cardinal* Wolſey; *In behalf of his Juriſdiction of the* Prerogative Court; *which the Cardinals Officers aſſumed.*

Pleaſeth it your Grace to underſtond, that I am informyd by the frends of *Jane Roper*, wyff and executrice to her late husbond *John Roper*, that ſhe is called to appear afore certain of your Graces Commiſſaries in your Chappel at *Yorkplace*; for to take upon her as Executrice, or els to refuſe, or to be repellyd as none Executrice, & the Wyl of the ſaid *John Roper* to be taken as no Wyl, nor ſhe to be taken as Executrice. So it is as I am informyd, that this Teſtamentary cauſe was callyd afore ſuch Commiſſaries as were deputed to examine ſuche Teſtamentary cauſes, as concernyd the *Prerogative*. Wher by your Graces Commiſſaries & mine, the party thynketh that ſhe might have had indifferent juſtice. And now by ſpecial labour and ſiniſter meanys to be callyd before other Commiſſaries of the *Prerogative*, ſhe, and ſome other of her Counſel, wryteth to me, that ſhe is otherwys orderyd then according to good juſtice. Nº 80.

It is written to mee alſo, that in caſe your Grace ſhould call al Teſtamentary cauſes to ſpecial Commiſſaries, that finally the Juriſdiction of the *Prerogative* ſhould be extinctyd: And alſo al Teſtamentary cauſes ſhal only depend upon your Graces pleaſure, & no mannys Wil, to take any effect, but as it ſhal pleaſe your Grace.

I take God to be my Judge, I write none otherwyſe unto your Grace, then others have written or ſpoken to my face. Her frynds ſaith alſo, that ſhe deſireth nothing, but to be admitted as Executrice to her ſaid husbond. And in caſe there be any thing to be reformyd in the Will of the ſaid *John Roper*, ſhe is therwith contented as the Law & good Conſcience ſhal require.

I would your Grace knew what rumor & obloquy is both in theſe partys, & alſo in *London*, that no Teſtaments can take effect otherwiſe then your Grace is content. And it hath openly be ſhewyd me by divers men, that it is a great trouble, vexation & inquyetyng to be callyd afore your Graces Commiſſaries & mine: & alſo to be callyd afore your Graces ſpecial Commiſſaries in your ſaid Chappel, or otherwhere at your Graces pleaſure. And many ſaith, that it is a great overſight in me, that I would make ſoche a compoſition with your Grace, which ſhould turn ſo many men to trouble and vexation. I take God to my Judge, I write none otherwiſe unto your Grace, then it hath been ſhewyd to my face, or elſe written unto me by letters. For I find your G. ſo Loving to me and to mine, that I do hide nothing from your G.

Finally, I beſeech your G. as hartily as I can, that it may pleaſe you, that this matter may be deferryd tyl after *Eaſter*: at which tyme I ſhal wait upon your G. & I doubt not that by meanys of your G. and my waiting on your G. al inconvenience in this behalf may be eſchued, and the partys more ſhortly releved, then by the proceſs of the Law. I am, & alway ſhal be glad, that your G. uſe al thyng at your pleaſure: but I am ſure your G. wul do nothyng contrary to the Compoſition ſealed with your G^{s}. ſeal, and ſubſcribed with your G^{s}. hand concerning the Prerogative, which my Church tyme out of mind hath be in poſſeſſion of. I write plainly to your G. for I know right well your G. wyl be beſt content with truth & plain dealyng, or elſe I would not be ſo bold to write unto your G. in this maner, as God knowyth, who ever preſerve your G. From *Charing*, the xxiiiith day of *February*,

At your Graces Commandement,

Will^{m} Cantuar.

Another letter from the ſaid Archbiſhop to the Cardinal, of the ſame Import.

No 81. PLeaſyth it your good G. to underſtond, I am informyd that your G. intendyth to interrupt me in the uſe of the *Prerogative*, in the which my Predeceſſors & I, in the right of my Church of *Canterbury*, hath been poſſeſſed by privilege, cuſtome and preſcription, tyme out of mind. And for the interruption of the ſame, your G. is mindyd, as I am informyd, to depute Dr. *Alan*. Which if your G. ſhould ſo do, conſyderyng that not only al mine Officers of my Courts of the *Arches* & the *Audience*, but alſo the Commiſſaries of my Dioces of *Kent*, & I my ſelf, not only in matters of Suite of Inſtance of partys, but alſo in caſes of correction, depending before me & them, be continually inhibityd by your Officers; I ſhould have nothing left for me & my Officers to do: but ſhould be as a ſhadow and image of an Archbiſhop and Legate, voyd of authority and juriſdiction. Which would be to me perpetual reproch, & to my Church a perpetual prejudice.

Wherfore, in as moche as I truſt verily in your great goodnes, that your G. would not be ſo extreme againſt me & the right of my church before namyd, I beſeech your G. the premiſſes conſideryd, to deferr & reſpect this matter, tyl I may have communication in thys behalf with your G. when it ſhal pleaſe you at your leiſure. And your pleaſure known, I wilbe ready to give attendance on your G. Beſeeching you alſo to give credence to my Chapellane Mayſter *Wellis* this Berer, in ſoche matters he will ſhow your G. on my bealf. At my Manor of *Croydon*, the xviijth day of *March*.

At your Graces Commandement,

Willm Cantuar.

The Comming and reſeyving of the Lord Cardinall into Powles *for the Eſcaping of Pope* Clement *the 7th, An. D'ni* 1527. *aº. R. H.* viij. xixº.

Coll. Nº 82. B. III. c. 5.

MEmorandum that the fifth day of *January* beyng *Sonday* even in the yeare aforeſaid. The Lord *Thomas Woley* Cardinall of *Torke*, &c. landyd betweene eight of the Clocke and nyne in the morninge at the *Black fryars* at *London* with great Company of noblemen and gentlemen, where met with him the Embaſſadours of the Pope, of the Emperour, the *French* kinge, of *Veniſe*, of *Florence*, and of *Millain*. And ſo procedyd on horſeback unto *Powles* Church dore where they did alight. And ther the Officers of Armes longing unto the King gave there theire attendance and at his alighting put on there ſoots of Armes. And here was alſo foure of the doctours Prebendarys of the ſayd *Powles* in Coppes and grey amys which bare a rich Canape over him of Cloth of gould. And ſo the Lord Cardinall proceeded having Thempercrors Embaſſadour on his right hand, and the *French* kings on his lifte hand, untill he came to the Arches where was prepared a Bank with Quyſhions and Carpets where the ſaid Lord kneeled, and there mete him in Pontificalibus the Buſhop of *London*, the Buſhop of St. *Aſſe* which ſenſyd him: And the Buſhop of *Lincoln*, the Buſhop of *Bath*, the Buſhop of *Landaff*, the Lord Priour of *Weſtm'* the Priour of St. *Saviours*, *Thabbots* of *Stratford* and of *Towerhill*, the Priour of *Chriſt-churche*, of St. *Mary Spytell* with other to the ſome of xvi miters. and ſo the proceſſion of the hole quyer procedyd fourth having thambaſſadours with him as afore up to the quier and ſo to the high Aultier wher his oblation doon he went with him into his travers, and duringe that the howre was a ſinging he was reveſtyd In pontificalibus, and then he with all the other Prelats the Quere of *Powles* and his hole Quyre with his ſute of rich Copes went in proceſſion within the ſaid Church the Officers of Arms about him, and next after him thembaſſadours and then the Mayor of *London*, and the other eſtates and Gentlemen with the Aldermen of the

Cittie. The proceſſion doon, the Maſſe of the Trinity was begun ſongen by the Byſhop of *London* The Priour of St. *Mary Spittell* Goſpeller. The Priour of *Chriſt-church* piſtoler. The Maſſe doon, the Lord Cardinall with the other Prelatz went unto the Quyer *Dore* where Doctor *Capon* declaryd the calamities miſeries and the approbrious deeds and works with the great ſuffrance that our Mother the Holy Churche hath ſuffryd, not all only by the *Lutherian* Sorte which was lyke to have ſortyd to an ungracious effect. But alſo now of late of the great unhappy delings of the Paynymes and Violators of our Chriſtien faith the men of Warr belonging to the Emperour In the ſorrowfull deſtruction of *Rome* where they like miſcreantz nothing regarding nother God nor ſhame, violentlye tooke and by force Impriſoned our Holy Father the Pope, the which now of late by the helpe of our Lord God which ſe his Church in P'dicion did releve hit againe Inſomuch that our ſaid Holy Father is eſcaped their hands. wherefore the Lord Legats grace by the Kings Comandement hath here cauſed as this day, this Noble Aſſemble to be had to the end that lauds prayſings and congratulations might be gyven by all true Chriſtien people unto Almighty God and the hole Company of Heaven. And thus doing the ſayd Lord Cardinall did give his benediction to all the people. which Doctor *Capon* ſayd muche more then I can reherſe, and this doon, the ſayd Lord retournyd to the Aultier where the Lord Cardinall began *Te Deum* the which was ſolemply ſongen with the Kingis trumpetts and ſhalmes aſwell *Ingliſhmen* as *Venyſians* which doon every Man repayred home. And the Lord Legat Cardinal went to his place to dynner. and the Embaſſadours with him.

Coppied out of an ancient Book written by *Thomas Walle Windſore* and afterwards *Garter* (folio 126) Examined by us

William Le Neve
L. Torke
Dancer Hancock

Number 17.

Three Letters written by King Henry *to the Univerſity of* Oxford, *for their Opinion in the Cauſe of his Marriage.*

Letter I. *By the King.*

N° 83. B. III. c. 7. TRuſty and well beloved Subjects we greet you well. And whereas we have for an high and weighty Cauſe of ours, not only conſulted many and ſubſtantial well learn'd Men within our Realm and without, for certaine Conſiderations our Conſcience moving, we think it alſo very convenient to feel the Minds of you amongſt you in our Univerſity of *Oxenford*, which be erudite in the Faculty of Divinity, to the intent we may perceive of what Conformity ye be with the others, which marvelouſly both wiſely and ſubſtantially have declared to us their intent and mind: Not doubting but that ye for the Allegiance and Fidelity that ye are bound unto us in, will as ſincerely and truly without any Abuſe declare your Minds and Conſcience in this behalf, as any of the other have done. Wherefore we will and command you, that ye not leaning to wilfull and ſiniſter Opinions of your own ſeveral

Minds, not giving Credence to Miſreports and ſiniſter Opinions or Perſwaſions, conſidering we be your Soveraigne Leige Lord, totally giving your true Mind and Affection to the true Overture of Divine Learning in this behalf, do ſhew and declare your true and juſt Learning in the ſaid Cauſe, like as ye will abide by; wherin ye ſhall not only pleaſe Almighty God, but alſo us your Leige Lord. And we for your ſo doing ſhall be to you and our Univerſity there ſo Good and Gracious a Soveraigne Lord for the ſame, as ye ſhall perceive it well imploi'd to your well Fortune to come. In caſe you do not uprightly according to Divine Learning hand your ſelves herein, ye may be aſſured, that we not without great Cauſe, ſhall ſo quickly and ſharply look to your unnaturall Miſdemeanour herein, that it ſhall not be to your Quietneſs and Eaſe hereafter. Wherefore we heartily pray you, that according both to Duty to God and your Prince, you ſett apart all untrue and ſiniſter Informations, and accommodate your ſelves to the meer Truth as it becometh true Subjects to do; aſſuring you that thoſe that do, ſhall be eſteemed and ſet forth, and the contrary neglected and little ſet by: Truſting that now you know our Mind and Pleaſure, we ſhall ſee ſuch Conformitie among you, that we ſhall hereof take great Conſolation and Comfort, to the great Allegement of our Conſcience; willing and commanding you among you to give perfect Credence to my Lord of *Lincolne* our Confeſſour in this behalfe and matter: and in all things which he ſhall declare unto you or cauſe to be declared in our behalfe, to make unto us either by him or the Authentick Letters full Anſwere and Reſolution, which your Duty's well remembred, We doubt not but that it ſhall be our high Contentation and Pleaſure. Given under, *&c.*

Letter II. *By the King.*

No 84.
B. III. c. 7.

TRuſty and Well-beloved, We greet you well. And of late being informed, to our no little Marvell and Diſcontentation, that a great Part of the youth of that our Univerſity with contentious Factions and Manner, daily combineing together, neither regarding their Duty to Us their Soveraigne Lord, nor yet conforming themſelves to the Opinions and Orders of the vertuous, wiſe, ſage, and profound learned Men of that Univerſity, wilfully to ſtick upon the Opinion to have a great Number of Regents and Non-Regents to be aſſociate unto the Doctors, Proctors, and Batchelors of Divinity, for the Determination of our Queſtion; which we believe hath not been often ſeen, that ſuch a Number of right ſmall Learning in regard to the other, ſhould be join'd with ſo famous a Sort, or in a manner ſtay their Seniors in ſo weighty a Cauſe: which as we think ſhould be no ſmall Diſhonour to our Univerſity there, but moſt eſpecially to you the Seniors and Rulers of the ſame, aſſureing you that this their unnatural and unkind Demeanour is not only right much to our Diſpleaſure, but much to be marvelled of, upon what Ground and Occaſion they being our meere Subjects, ſhould ſhewe themſelves more unkind and wilfull in this Matter, than all other Univerſities, both in this and all other Regions do. Finally, We truſting in the Dexterity and Wiſdome of you and other the ſaid Diſcreet and Subſtantial Learned Men of that Univerſity, be in perfect Hope, that ye will conduce and frame the ſaid young Perſons unto good Order and Conformity,

mity, as it becometh you to do. Wherefore we be deſirous to hear with incontinent Diligence, and doubt you not we ſhall regard the Demeanour of every one of the Univerſity, according to their Merits and Deſerts. And if the Youth of the Univerſity will play Maſteries, as they begin to do, We doubt not but that they ſhall well perceive, that *non eſt bonum irritare Crabrones.* Given under, *&c.*

Letter III.

To our Truſty and Well-beloved, the Commiſſary-Regents, and Non-Regents of our Vniverſity of Oxon.

No 85. B. III. c. 7.

TRuſty and Well-beloved, We greet you well. And whereas by ſundry our Letters, ſent and delivered at ſundry times by the Hands of our Counſellors unto you, with Credence declared unto you by the ſame, we have only required and made inſtance unto you, for the obtaining of that, which at the leaſt Deſire of any Chriſtian Man ye be bound and oblig'd to do; that is to ſay, to declare and ſhew your Opinions and Sentence in ſuch a Doubt, as upon the Diſſolution and Determination whereof, dependeth the Tranquility, Repoſe, and Quiet of our Conſcience, we cannot a litle marvell that you neither having reſpect to our Eſtate, being your Prince and Soveraigne Lord; nor yet remembring ſuch Gratuites and Benefits as we have always ſhew'd unto you, as well to the particular Wealth of Diverſe as to the Common Body of that our Univerſity, without any correſpondency ſhew'd on their Behalfe againe, have hitherto delay'd and referr'd not only to ſend us your Determination and Reſolution to our Demand and Queſtion, but alſo refuſed to take Order, or enter into any Way or Meane, whereby you might declare or ſhew unto us, that ye be of Mind and Determination to endeavour your ſelfe for an Accompliſhment of our Deſire in that Behalfe. And ſo much the more marvell we at this your Manner of Delayes, that our Univerſity of *Cambridge* hath within far ſhorter Time not only agreed upon the Faſhion and Manner to make Anſwere unto us effectually, and with diligence following the ſame; but hath alſo 8 Days ſince ſent unto us their Anſwere under Common Seale, plainly determining, *Prohibitionem eſſe Divini & naturalis Juris, nè frater Vxorem fratris etiam mortui ſine liberis ducat Vxorem.* For the ſearching of the Truth in which Matter, if ye had before this Time condeſcended upon the Manner and Faſhion convenient in that Behalf, we could then have taken any Delay afterward, upon any other cold Pretence made, but in good Part: Whereas now the refuſeing to agree upon any ſuch Order, and denying to do that which ſhould be but the Entrie into the Matter for declaration of your Forwardneſs, Good Will, and Diligence: We can't otherwiſe think of you, but that you neither behave your ſelves towards Us, as our Merits towards you have deſerved, as good Subjects to a kind Prince and Sovereigne Lord; as by the Learning ye profeſſe, ye be obliged and bound. Wherefore reſolving this in our Mind, and yet nevertheleſs conſidering you to be there by our Authority and Grant, as a Body Politique, in the ruleing whereof in Things to be done in the Name of the Whole, the Number of the Private Suffrages doth prevaile, and being loth to ſhewe our Diſpleaſure, whereof we have ſo great Cauſe miniſtred unto us, unto the Whole in general; whereas the Fault perchance conſiſteth and remaineth but in light and willfull Heads; for the tender Conſideration we bear to Learned Men, and the great Deſire we have to nouriſh, maintaine, and favour thoſe that are Good; have thought convenient to ſend unto you theſe Letters by our Truſty and Right Well-beloved Clarke and Counſeller, Mr. *Edwarde Fox*, truſting verily that ye which be Heads and Rulers there, well conſidering and weighing your Dutyes in the Accompliſhment of our Requeſt, for the ſearching the Truth in ſuch a Cauſe, as touching your Prince and Sovereigne Lord, our Soul, and the Wealth of this our Realme: and your great Lack and Blame with juſt Cauſe of High Diſpleaſure to be worthily conceiv'd by us in the denyall and ſlack doing thereof, will ſo order and accomodate the Faſhion, and paſſing ſuch Things as ſhould proceed from that Univerſity in this Caſe, as the Number of the private Suffrages given without Reaſon, prevaile not againſt the Heads, Rulers, ſaid Sage Fathers, to the Detriment, Hindrance, and Inconvenience of the Whole. But ſo to examine, try, and weigh the Opinions and Minds of the Multitude, as the Importance of the Matter doth require: Wherein we doubt not but your Body is eſtabliſhed in ſuch wiſe, that there be left waies and means to the Heads and Rulers how to eſchew and avoid ſuch Inconveniences, when they ſhall chance: As we truſt ye that be Heads and Rulers for the comprobation and declaration of particular good Minds, ye will not faile to do accordingly, and ſo by your Diligence to be ſhew'd hereafter, to redeem the Errors and Delaies paſt. The Favour we beare to the Maintenance of Learning, we would be very glad, as our ſaid well-beloved Councellour can ſhew unto you on our Behalfe; unto whom we will you give firme credence: Given under our Signet at our Caſtle of *Windſor*.

Confirmation of the Decree of the Univerſity of Oxford *againſt the Lawfulneſs of the King's Marriage.*

Coll. N° 86. B. III. c. 7. Apr. 4. 1530.

NOS Johannes Cottisford hujus Almæ Univerſitatis Oxoniæ Commiſſarius, Authoritate & Conſenſu hujus totius venerabilis Convocationis declaramus, & decernimus, & definimus majorem partem omnium Colorum Magiſtrorum, tam Regentium quam non Regentium ſingularum Facultatum hujus almæ Univerſitatis Oxon. conceſſiſſe, & conſenſum pariter & Aſſenſum ſuum præbuiſſe, quod Determinatio, & Definitio, & Reſponſio ad Queſtionem nobis ex parte ſereniſſimi Domini Regis nuper propoſitam per illos triginta tres Doctores, & Baccalaureos, ad id per Facultatem Theologiæ nuper electos ſive per Majorem partem Eorum facienda, habeatur, cenſeatur, & reputetur pro Definitione, Determinatione & Reſponſione totius hujus Univerſitatis & quod liceat Dominis Commiſſario & Procuratoribus ſigillum commune Univerſitatis Litteris ſuper præfatâ Determinatione per eoſdem concipiendis, apponere.

Extract from Mr. Bayle.

The Opinion of Corn. Agrippa *concerning the Divorce.* V. Bayle.

Coll. No 87. B. III. c. 7. I Have read in the work of a very learned man that *Cranmer* having travelled into *Germany*, where he acquired the acquaintance of the famous *Cornelius Agrippa* diſcourſed with him about the Affair of the divorce, and repreſented the neceſſity of it ſo well to him, that that great man eagerly defending the Proſecutions of *Henry*, was very ill treated by the Emperour, and died in Priſon. He that criticis'd that work, anſwer'd among other things; 1ſt, That *R. Wakefield* who wrote at that time for *Henry* the Eighth ſaid poſitively that he anſwers the book of the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and another that is believed to be of *Vives*, or *Agrippa*. 2. That *Agrippa* died in *France*, and was no ways Priſoner in *Germany*. I find ſome things in *Agrippa*'s Letters, which perſwade me he was not of *Cranmer*'s opinion. His Imperial Majeſty's Ambaſſador at *London* wrote to *Agrippa* the 26 of *June* 1531, to exhort him to maintain the Queen's Intereſt; and put him in mind of a Paſſage of the Vanity of Sciences wherein *Henry* the 8th is concerned. *Hodie adhuc neſcio cui regi perſuaſum audio, ut liceat ſibi jam plus viginti annorum uxorem dimittere, & nubere pellici.* *Agrippa* anſwer'd that he wou'd willingly engage himſelf in that undertaking provided the Emperor wou'd ſend him his Orders or his permiſſion. He ſhow'd very ſtrongly that he deteſted thoſe cowardly Divines who approved that divorce. Here is what he ſays concerning the *Sorbonne. Non eſt mihi incognitum queis artibus res hæc apud Pariſiorum Sorbonam tractata eſt, quæ cæteris tanti ſceleris auſum temerario porrexit exemplo. Vix me continere queo quin imitatus Poetam illum exclamem, Dicite Sorbonici in Theologia quid valet aurum? Quantum Pietatis & fidei illorum pectore clauſum putabimus quorum venalis magis quam ſincera Conſcientia eſt, qui extimeſcendas univerſo orbi Chriſtiano determinationes auro venales fecerunt, ac ſervatam tot annis fidei & Sinceritatis opinionem, nunc tandem extrema avaritiæ infamia corruperunt?* Nevertheleſs he repreſents the danger to which he ſhou'd expoſe himſelf by writing againſt a Divorce that ſo many Divines had approved, who, ſays he, wiſh me ill becauſe of my Vanity of Sciences. The Ambaſſador return'd to the Charge put him in hopes that the Queen of *England* wou'd write to the Emperor, or to the Queen of *Hungary* concerning the order to write on that matter, and explain'd to him why *Eraſmus*, *Vives*, and other good Pens at that time ought not to be choſen before him. *Agrippa* reckon'd himſelf engaged in that work; for in the Letter that he wrote to the Queen of *Hungaria* after he retired to *Bonn* he repreſented how he applied himſelf altogether to his Office of Hiſtoriographer, altho' he had not yet reapt any profit by it. I collect Memoirs, ſays he, for the Hiſtory of the war of *Italy* and *Hungary*, and I have a greater deſign in my head beſides that which is to write for your Aunt Q. *Catherine. Sed longe majus his negotium pro veſtri ſanguinis decore, pro tua, inquam, matertera Angliæ celebratiſſima Regina meis humeris impoſitum ſuſcepi, in quo licet multi hactenus operam ſuam collocarunt, nullus adhuc nodum rei diſſecuit.* I believe that deſign was never perform'd; the Author being diſgrac'd at the Imperial Court, doubtleſs thought

it not proper to expoſe himſelf to the Indignation of the K's of *England*.

Fiſher *Biſhop of* Rocheſters *Opinion of King* Henry *the Eight's Marriage in a Letter to Cardinal* Wolſey.

No 88. B. III. c. 8. Paper Office. Anno Dom. 1527.

SAlva ſit tua Celſitudo: Jam conſultis omnibus iſtis, ut aiunt, mutis Magiſtris, quos ad manum habere potui, diligenterque ſingulorum excuſſis Opinionibus, & Rationibus expenſis, comperio, quòd & tuæ ſublimitati nuper ſcripſi, magnum inter eos eſſe diſſidium, pluribus aſſerentibus id eſſe Divino Jure prohibitum; aliis contra pertinaciter affirmantibus id Divino Juri nullo pacto repugnare. Et profecto penſitatis utrinque Rationibus æqua lance, mihi videor perſpicere facilem Enodationem omnium Argumentationum, quas illi producunt, qui negant id divino Jure licere; aliorum vero non ita facilem, ut & nunc mihi perſuaſiſſimum ſit non poſſe quavis ratione ſolida comprobari; quod prohibitum ſit Divino Jure (quod hodie vim habet) ne *viz.* Frater defuncti Fatris, abſque Liberis, Conjugem accipiat. Quod ſi verum ſit, & etiam non dubito certiſſimum eſſe, quis jam, attenta plenitudine Poteſtatis, quam Chriſtus Pontifici contulit, negare queat poſſe Pontificem diſpenſare, quatenus ob aliquam arduam cauſam, Fratrer Fratris ſui defuncti ſine Liberis, Uxorem ſibi copulet: Cæterum ut concedam pares utriuſque partis eſſe Rationes, & neutras alteris præponderare, ſed velut in Æquilibrio ſtare ſuſpenſas, quum poſſint utrinque pari facilitate ſolvi, me tamen iſtud impelleret, ut ſim in partes Pontificis inclinatior atque propenſior, quod ſciam iſtud ab utraque parte tributum amplitudini Poteſtatis Pontificiæ, nimirum ut ambiguos Scripturarum locos, auditis in ea re Theologorum & Juriſperitorum ſententiis, liceat interpretari; alioquin fruſtra dixiſſet ei Chriſtus, quicquid ſolveris in Terra erit ſolutum in Cœlis, & quicquid alligaveris in Terra erit alligatum in Cœlis. Quùm igitur apertiſſimè conſtat Pontificem haud ſemel facto ſuo declarâſſe, quod liceat in prædicto caſu diſpenſare cum ſecundo Fratre, hoc ſolum me vehementer moveret ad aſſentiendum, etiamſi potiores Rationes & Probationes non attuliſſet, ſed eſſent, ut dixi, pares in Aſſertionibus ſuis.

Verum nunc cum planè perſpiciam & Rationes efficaciores eſſe pro parte eorum, qui Pontificis Poteſtatem in hac re tuentur, quumque præter hoc, advertam quibus verbis & quam pleniſſimè tradita ſit Pontifici Poteſtas a Chriſto, quum & denique clariſſimis Teſtimoniis intelligam ejuſmodi Diſpenſationem effectui ſæpius commendatam, nullus omnino ſcrupulus mihi ſupereſt, quin iſtud Pontifici liceat, quatenus alterius Fratris, abſque Liberis defuncti, Conjugem accipiat. Habet itaque paucis tua Celſitudo quid ego ſuper hac re ſentiam, jam reliquum eſt ut Celſitudini tuæ proſperam & longævam optem Incolumitatem.

Ex Roſſa.

Per me Sublimitati,

Devinctiſſimum,

Joſ. Roſſ.

Cardinal Wolſey'*s firſt Letter to Sir* Gregory Caſſali, *about the Divorce. Taken from the Original.*

Coll. Nº 89. B. III. c. 8.

DOmine Gregori, Poſt meam cordatiſſimam Commendationem, poſt ultimum veſtrum à me diſceſſum ex compendio ad vos ſcripſi, ut ob nonnullas maximi momenti cauſas procurare differretis quod de Regiæ Majeſtatis negotio in quibuſdam nobis traditis Commiſſionibus continebatur, quoad rurſus vobis ſignificarem quid ea in re fieri vellemus. Ubi vero ad Regiam Majeſtatem rediiſſem, variis crebriſq; cum ea habitis ſermonibus, adeo abunde ac diſtincte illi aperui quam ex animo ac diligenter, & quam ſincere & ex fide, diu noctuque exoptetis eidem Regiæ Majeſtati inſervire; neque ullum unquam laborem, periculum aut moleſtiam vos velle recuſare, ut omni ſtudio ac viribus id fideliter præſtare poſſitis quod illi gratum aut acceptum quoquo modo eſſe poſſe cognoveritis, omnemq; induſtriam vos eſſe adhibituros, quo veſtræ fidei curæque commiſſa optatum finem conſequantur; quem veſtrum animum propenſiſſima voluntate ſic ſub mea fide Regiæ Majeſtati inſinuavi, ut meam hanc relationem atque ſponſionem pectori ſuo conſtantiſſime adfixerit, certiſſimaque fiducia concepit, omnino futurum, ut noſtræ tunc expectationi quacunque in re & occaſione reſpondeatis; Ex quo fit, ut veſtræ operæ, curæ atque prudentiæ ea nunc tractanda & procuranda committat, quibus nihil magis cordi habeat, nihil ardentius exoptet, aut quod majoris ſit momenti vel gravioris ſucceſſus, nec ullum habet Conſiliarium, utcunque intimum, cui graviora poſſit committere. Quum itaque, me intercedente & procurante, nunc vos Regia Majeſtas præ cæteris ad hoc fidei adſciverit & elegerit, ut in re tam gravi fideliſſima veſtra opera ac miniſterio utatur, fidemque illi meam de vobis jam ei adſtrinxerim, nihil ambigens quin poſtquam ejus animam ac voluntatem cognoveritis, fueritiſque abunde inſtructi, quam maximi hæc, quæ nunc expono, ſunt momenti, utpote quæ potiſſimum concernunt Regiæ conſcientiæ exonerationem animæque ſuæ ſalutem, vitæ conſervationem & incolumitatem, Regii Stemmatis continuationem, publicumque commodum & quietem ſubditorum omnium, eorum pariter qui ſub ejus imperio nunc vivunt, vel qui poſtea unquam in hoc ſuo Regno vivent; quumque perſpiciam ſedulum veſtrum Miniſterium hoc in negotio impendendum omnino redundaturum eſſe in præcipuam veſtram exaltationem & utilitatem, poſtquam infelices iſtos jam paſſos ſucceſſus occaſionem ſe obtuliſſe videtis, qua veſtra familia hujuſmodi operam huic Sereniſſimo Principi navare poſſit, quod ſtatum omnem veſtrum in longe meliorem, quam antea ſit, haud dubie reſtituturus & adaucturus, certiſſimum compertiſſimumque habeo, quod ob has tam urgentes cauſas & tam graves ſucceſſuros effectus, adeo toto pectore vires omnes veſtras induſtria ac ſtudio tantæ conficiendæ rei addicetis, ut omnia queatis ad optatum exitum perducere; atque ita promiſſum fidemque meam præſtabitis, tam optimum Regiæ Majeſtatis inſtitutum juvabitis, ejus deſiderio & expectationi omni ex parte ſatisfacietis, & præter bene peractæ rei honorem & laudem comparandam, mercedem quoque reportabitis tanti Principis liberalitate dignam, quæ certiſſime cedet in perpetuum veſtrum totiuſque veſtræ familiæ commodum & incrementum: Et quum jam mihi perſuadeam futurum omnino ut officiis actionibuſque veſtris ſitis promiſſis ſponſionibuſque meis omnino ſatisfacturi, ad id pluribus verbis neutiquam adhortabor, proinde ad rem nunc ipſam venio. Ante hoc tempus vobis aperui, quemadmodum Regia Majeſtas, partim aſſiduo ſuo ſtudio & eruditione, partim relatu ac judicio multorum Theologorum, & in omni Doctrinæ genere doctorum virorum aſſeveratione, exiſtimans conſcientiam ſuam non eſſe ſufficienter exoneratam, quod in conjugio exiſteret cum Regina, Deumque primo & ante omnia ac animæ ſuæ quietem & ſalutem reſpiciens, mox vero ſuæ Succeſſionis ſecuritatem, perpendenſque accurate quam gravia hinc mala provenirent, aperte ſentit, quam maxime futurum ſit Deo moleſtum, inhonorificum ſibi, & ingratum apud homines, ſuiſque ſubditis periculoſum, ex hoc non ſufficienti conjugio, ſi deprehendatur dicta Majeſtas ſciens ac volens in eo perſtare, & vivere præter modum debitum, juxtaque ritum & legitima Eccleſiæ Statuta: quibus igitur ex cauſis longo jam tempore, intimo ſuæ conſcientiæ remorſu, ſummique Dei rationem habens, exiſtimat animam ſuam læſam & offenſam, adeo quod, quum in ſuis conatibus actionibuſque quibuſcumque Deum potiſſimum ſibi ſemper proponat, ingenti cum moleſtia cordiſque perturbatione in hoc Matrimonio degit; ſuper qua re maturum ſanumque judicium conſuluit clariſſimorum celeberrimorumque Doctorum aliorumque complurium in omni eruditionis genere excellentiorum virorum ac Prælatorum, partim Theologorum, partim Juriſperitorum, tum in ſuo Regno, tum alibi exiſtentium, ut aperte vereq; cognoſceret, an Diſpenſatio antea conceſſa pro ſe & Regina, ex eo quod Regina Fratris ſui uterini Uxor antea extiterit, valida & ſufficiens foret, necne; demumq; a variis multiſq; ex his Doctoribus aſſeritur, quod Papa non poteſt diſpenſare in primo gradum affinitatis, tanquam ex jure Divino, moraliter, naturaliterq; prohibito, ac ſi poteſt, omnes affirmant & conſentiunt quod hoc non poteſt, niſi ex urgentiſſimis & arduis cauſis, quales non ſubfuerunt; Bulla præterea Diſpenſationis fundatur & conceſſa eſt ſub quibuſdam rationibus falſo ſuggeſtis & enarratis, in ea namq; aſſeritur, quod hæc Regia Majeſtas Matrimonium hoc cum Regina percupiebat, pro Bono pacis inter Henricum ſeptimum Ferdinandum & Elizabetham, quum revera nulla tunc diſſentio aut belli ſuſpicio eſſet inter dictos Principes, vel Regiam Majeſtatem prædictam, quæ in teneris adhuc annis, nec in diſcretione aut judicio conſtitutis agebat; nunquam deinde aſſenſit, aut quicquam cognovit de hujuſmodi bullæ Impetratione, nec unquam hoc Matrimonium optavit, aut aliquid de eo accepit ante bullæ Impetrationem. Quocirca ab his omnibus Doctoribus atq; Prælatis judicatur hujuſmodi Diſpenſationem non adeo validam & idoneam eſſe ac efficacem, ut prædictum Matrimonium manifeſte juſtum legitimumq; ſit; ſed potius quod multa poſſunt objici, magnis probabilibuſque fundata & corroborata rationibus, in non leve periculum Regiæ prolis, totiuſq; Regni ac ſubditorum gravem perturbationem. Ad hæc, poſtquam Regia Majeſtas, qui Walliæ Princeps tunc erat, decimum quartum annum attigiſſet, contractus Revocatio ſubſequuta eſt, Rege Patre expreſſe nolente quod hujuſmodi Matrimonium ullo pacto ſortiretur effectum. His cauſis Rex hic Sereniſſimus, tanquam bonus & Catholicus Princeps, timens ne ob tam diuturnam cum Regina continuationem, indignatus & iratus Deus citius ex humanis evocaverit Maſculam è Regina ſuſceptam prolem, graviuſq; à Deo ſupplicium expaveſcit ſi in Matrimonio hoc non-legitimo perſeveraverit; ex hac ideo occaſione, intimis præcordiis hunc Conſcientiæ ſcrupulum concepit, in animo nihilominus habens, pro animi conſcientiæq; ſuæ quiete & ſalute, proliſq; ſecuritate, ad Sanctam Domini noſtri ſedemq; Apoſtolicam confugere, tantæ rei remedium impetraturus confidens,

fidens, quod ob complura ſua erga eam merita & officia tum calamo ingeniiq; viribus, tum armis præſtita, ſubſidia in Eccleſiæ calamitatibus prompte ſubminiſtrata, Sanctiſſimus Dominus noſter non gravabitur ſua benignitate, Authoritate ac facultate, intimum hunc Regiæ Majeſtatis cordi inhærentem dolorem amovere, eumq; modum ac rationem inire qua Regia Majeſtas prædicta Uxorem aliam ducere, &, Deo volente, maſculam prolem in ſuæ ſucceſſionis ſecuritatem queat ex ea ſuſcipere, & tam certam quietem in ſuo Regno conſtituere: Quumq; ejus Sanctitas ab his nunc captiva detineatur, qui pro virili ſua forſan conabuntur impedire, turbareq; hoc Regiæ Majeſtatis deſiderium & Statutum, ipſa præterea cogitur vias omnes excogitare, quibus dicta Sanctitas de hac re dexterius & commodius inſtrui, & facilius adduci queat ad ea concedenda, quorum medio & vigore Regiæ Majeſtatis animus & deſiderium queat optatum ſortiri effectum: Proinde ipſa Regia Majeſtas de fide, induſtria, dexteritate prudentiaq; veſtra pleniſſime confidens, vult, ut ſtatim his literis acceptis, rebus aliis omnibus quibuſcunq;, ab eo vel à quovis alio vobis commiſſis, omnino poſthabitis, vias modoſq; omnes poſſibiles excogitetis quibus poteſtis ſecretiſſime, mutato habitu & tanquam alicujus Miniſter, vel tanquam Commiſſionem habens à Duce Ferrariæ pro nonnullis inter Pontificem & eum componendis controverſiis, vel alia, qua licuerit, ſecuriori via, ad Pontificis præſentiam & colloquium accedendi, omnibus arbitris ſemotis, ſi fieri poſſit, pro veſtris obeundis mandatis; quorum obtinendorum gratia, ſi ita expedire judicaveritis, mercedem ac pecuniarum ſummam promittetis ac tradetis, his, qui revera volent atq; poterunt hoc negotium ad effectum pertrahere, quam ſummam, & ejus limitationem, judicio, prudentiæque veſtræ integram Regia Majeſtas remittit; etiam ſi his danda foret qui Pontificem aſſervant, vel cuicunque alio qui vos tuto ad ſecretum cum ſua Sanctitate Sermonem adducere, in locumq; tutum reducere poſſet: Cujus rei gratia, aliiſq; ad hunc finem conſequendum ſuſtinendis oneribus neceſſariis, pecuniæ ad ſummam decem mille ducatorum, per Menſarios Venetias tranſmittentur, qui illic in promptu aderunt, perſolvendæ & conſignandæ Prothonotario Fratri veſtro, Regio illic exiſtenti Oratori; per eumq; de tempore in tempus ad vos tranſmitti ea ſumma poterit quam huic obtinendo negotio conducere poſſe exiſtimaveritis, nihilque ambigo quin dictam pecuniam fideliter collocetis, ex Regiæ Majeſtatis utilitate, expectatione atq; ſententia. Atq; ubi ad Sanctum Dominum noſtrum acceſſeritis, poſt filiales & cordatiſſimas Regiæ Majeſtatis meaſq; devotas & humillimas commendationes, & poſt exhibitas à Rege Credentiæ literas, in quibus in negotii adjumentum clauſula vehemens eſt propria ejus manu conſcripta, ut ex earum exemplo cognoſcetis, ejus Sanctitati exponetis quam grave, moleſtumq; Regiæ Majeſtati & mihi ſit, audire infœliciſſimos eventus, calamitatemque miſerandam, in qua nunc ejus Sanctitas cum Reverendiſſ. Cardinalib. verſatur, cum graviſſimo detrimento irreparabiliq; ſedis Apoſtolicæ illiuſque Patrimonii jactura, ad quæ mala ſublevanda & corrigenda nullum in Regia Majeſtate officium deſiderabitur, quod ab ullo erga Sanctam Domini noſtri vel ſedem Apoſtolicam obſervantiſſimo Principe queat excogitari; in eoq; omne meum miniſterium ac ſtudium non minus promptum aderit, quam ſi ex ea re ſolum poſſem mihi cœlum comparare: quemadmodum experientia, aliqua in parte, jam docuit, & Deo duce poſthac uberius comprobabit: quam rem copioſius optimiſq; verbis agetis, præſertim, quum ſciatis quanto & quam ſincero affectu Regia Majeſtas ejus Sanctitatem proſequatur, & quanta mea ſit in ipſam devotio, in hiſque ſermonibus inſiſtetis prout loci, temporis, negotiique ratio videbitur judicio veſtro poſtulare.

Secundo, Sanctiſſimo Domino noſtro ſolita veſtra dexteritate aperietis id quod in his ipſis literis ad vos ſcripſi concernens hujus Matrimonii inſufficientiam, ab hiſq; rationibus & cauſis fundamentum capietis, quæ ſuperius enarrantur, integrumq; diſcurſum ejus Sanctitati declarabitis, non omittentes intrinſecum dolorem, conſcientiæ ſcrupulum, Dei rationem, Maſculæ prolis reſpectum, hujus Regni bonum, & alia omnia ut ſuperius ſcripta ſunt: addentes inſuper, nihil vehementius optari à tota Regni Nobilitate, ſubditiſque omnibus nullo diſcrimine, quam è Regiæ Majeſtatis corpore Maſculum hæredem à Deo ſibi dari, in perpetuam conſolationem, gaudium, quietem, ac totius Regni ſecuritatem, poſteritatiſque firmiſſimum columen; prudentiorumq; opinionem eſſe, quod Deus omnipotens à tanto bono concedendo divinam ſuam manum ſubſtrahit, ob errorem, culpamque in dicto Matrimonio hactenus admiſſam, quæ niſi mature corrigatur, graviora ex hac occaſione in hoc Regno mala ſuccedent, quam antea unquam fuerunt audita; etenim ſi hoc negotium in ſuſpenſo & indiſcuſſum relinqueretur, hujuſmodi poſſent quæſtiones, controverſiæ & contentiones ac factiones poſt defunctum Regem exoriri, ob Regni hæreditatem, quæ non poſſent in multorum ævo reſtingui, ut antea olim ex cauſa longe leviori accidit, neq; ex re tam ambigua, tam ſævæ olim depopulationes, bella, inteſtinæq; controverſiæ exortæ, & ad multum tempus continuatæ ſunt, in extremum & ferme ultimum Regni excidium; quæ quum tam gravia ſunt, Sanctiſſimus Dominus noſter veluti pater & gubernator Chriſtianitatis proſpicere ex officio debet, & quibuſcunque modis poteſt, pro viribus adniti & conari, ut hæc Regna ac dominia que nunc ſuperſunt in fide & obedientia Eccleſiæ aſſidue contineat, inter quæ, Deo ſit laus, hoc Regnum haud recenſendum eſt inter minima, ſed tanquam illud quod hactenus juvavit, & poſthac pro tuto præſidio ſemper haberi poterit, adverſus ea quæ cedere poſſent in Eccleſiæ Catholicæ vel Sanctæ fidei detrimentum.

Tertio, Sanctiſſimo Domino noſtro proponetis præſentem Eccleſiæ ſtatum, rogabitiſque ut in mentem velit redigere, quo nunc in ſtatu ſuæ Sanctitatis res cum Chriſtianis Principibus verſentur, cumq; privatæ contentiones, quæ illi ſunt cum magna eorum Principum parte, addita & ambitione immoderatoq; regum appetitu & ex arbitrio ſuo, Temporale jus omne atq; Spirituale tractandi, Eccleſiaſticamq; Juriſdictionem & Authoritatem invertendi, eo certe animo ut ſedis Apoſtolicæ dignitatem extinguant; his omnibus in unum connexis ac bene conſideratis, ejus Sanctitas manifeſte cognoſcet, Principem nullum, neq; portum, aut refugium tam tutum, cui in omnem eventum queat inhærere, ſibi relictum eſſe, quam hæc Regia Majeſtas eſt quæ nihil ſibi vendicat, nil ambit, quod præjudicio eſſe poſſit dictæ Sanctitati, ſed ejus, Apoſtolicæque ſedis, ſemper fuit, eſt, eſſeq; decrevit firmiſſimum ſcutum, tutiſſimumq; propugnaculum, ita ſuas actiones cum cæteris Principibus firmans & connectens, ut ſemper ex ea occaſione in ſuam hanc optimam ſententiam reliquos poſſit attrahere, adeo quod Regi tam optime in Sanctiſſimum Dominum noſtrum affecto nihil denegari debeat, utcumq; maximum, quod poſſit ab ejus Sanctitate præſtari ordinaria vel abſoluta ſua Authoritate; nam proculdubio, poſt vias modoſq; omnes tentatos, omnino comperſpicietur omnia alia amicitiæ officia, ſi huic quod petitur compareantur, eſſe perquam exigua, & hoc amicum officium hujuſmodi futurum, ex quo reliqua queant incrementum capere, ſine eo futura alioquin parvi ac nullius fere momenti.

Tertio, probe notandum eſt, quod res nunc aperta & petita, à Regiaq; Majeſtate tantopere optata, ex tam magno conſcientiæ ſcrupulo, cordiſq; remorſu oritur, ut unicuiq; debita ſit, quantumcunq; minori quam Regia Majeſtas ſit de Sanctiſſimo Domino noſtro merito. Quocirca judicat, & pro re comperta ſibi perſuadet, quod ſi ulla meritorum vel officiorum ratio habeatur, nunc ipſius Sanctitas huic ſuo deſiderio & petitioni benigniſſime liberrimeque adjuvet, nullo prorſus dubio, difficultate, contradictione aut mora injecta. Negotiumque hujuſmodi eſt, ut cognita Diſpenſationis inſufficientia, quamvis id non requiſiviſſet Rex, ultro proponi offerrique debuiſſet ab eadem Sanctitate tanquam à Patre Spirituali, in ejus ſalutis & conſcientiæ beneficium.

In gratiam igitur & contemplationem præmiſſorum omnium inſtantiſſime vehementiſſimeque à Sanctiſſimo Domino noſtro requiretis & contendetis, ut dubio, metuque omni ſepoſito, reſpicere velit ad cauſæ ſtatum, & ad ea quæ ſubſequutura videantur, rationemq; habere infinitorum commodorum, quæ ex hac re ſuæ Sanctitati Apoſtolicæq; ſedi inde provenient, rem hanc ſtatim, abſq; temporis tractu, & cauſæ circumſtantia, nemini eam aperiens, libere concedere & indulgere nulliq; communicare ſpecialem Commiſſionem ad hunc effectum & finem confectam in forma Brevis concedere, & ad me dirigere, Facultatem addens, ut mihi liceat quoſcunq; voluero ad me vocare, mihiq; aſciſcere ad procedendum in hac cauſa, & inquirendum de dictæ Bullæ ac Diſpenſationis ſufficientia, juxta formam ac tenorem expreſſum in quodam libello hujus rei gratia confecto; quem cum his ad vos mitto, ſic in debita forma conſcriptum & digeſtum ut non ſit futurum opus quo denuo ab ullo alio exſcribatur, ſi forſan periculoſum putaretur eam rem cuiq; patefacere vel in dubium aut dilationem protractum iri negotium, ſi ulli ex Sanctiſſimi Domini noſtri officiariis committeretur rurſus conſcribendum; ſed quod in hujuſmodi periculi eventum poſſit ejus Sanctitas ſine ullo diſcrimine vel alicujus cognitione eam dicto libello ſignaturam, ſigillumq; apponere, ut aperte inde conſtet, Pontificis meram voluntatem ſic eſſe, illiuſque Signaturæ ac Sigilli vigore, legitime & ſufficienter poſſim ego procedere ad inquiſitionem de dictæ Diſpenſationis inſufficientia, cognitionem & aliarum cauſarum & rationum, quæ adduci poſſunt pro dicti Matrimonii invaliditate.

Item cum his ad vos mitto Diſpenſationem in debita forma confectam & ſcriptam in modum Brevis, ſecreto impetrandam & expediendam eidem Signaturam vel Sigillum apponendo, vel alio quovis modo valido: Et quamvis ex hac re multa pendeant, ob quæ iſta requiruntur, & quæ, Deo favente, neutiquam timenda ſunt; Attamen Regia Majeſtas exemplo innitens, & recordationi complurium rerum, quæ olim præteritis temporibus fuerunt injuſte aſſerta, vel adducta, in animo habens cauſas ſuas omnes abſq; ulla controverſia aut difficultate ad perfectum finem perducere, & ne ullo quovis prætextu, argumento aut colore, poſtmodum emergente perturbarentur, hoc à Sanctiſſimo Domino noſtro requirit, veluti rem neceſſariam, qua nullo pacto carere queat; firmiter confidens, quod Sanctitas ſua, benigne atq; amanter iſti ejus deſiderio aſſentiet, & concedet ſine ullo obſtaculo dictam Commiſſionem, juxta formam quam Regia Majeſtas petit & eodem tempore, atque hæc omnia ita benigne ac liberaliter expedire, ſecretiori & validiori quo fieri poſſit modo, quo optatus finis ſubſequi poſſit in eum effectum, laudabileque propoſitum, de quo ſuperius dictum eſt; Qua ex occaſione Sanctiſſium Dominum noſtrum in perpetuum ſibi adſtringet, indiſſolubiliq; amicitiæ vinculo hanc Regiam Majeſtatem ſibi alligabit, quæ nulli labori, periculo, opibus, Regno, ſubditis, nec ipſi ſanguini parcens, ab ejus Sanctitate nunquam divelletur aut eam deſeret, ſed totis ſuis viribus conſtantiſſime ſemper illi adhærebit, tum in ſuæ ſanctitatis & Cardinalium liberationem, tum in hoſtibus perſequendis; ad quem finem, magnam jam pecuniarum ſummam ad Regem Chriſtianiſſimum miſit, pro illo Italiæ exercitu continuando, & præter id in animo ſtatutum habet, quod niſi Cæſar de dicta Sanctitate liberanda conſentire, & ad pacem devenire voluerit, bellum gerere adverſus has inferiores Cæſaris Regiones & Dominia, quo vehementius urgeat Sanctiſſimi Domini noſtri liberationem, Eccleſiæq; in præſtinam ſuam dignitatem, & authoritatem reſtitutionem, eaque de ſe indicia exhibebit ut univerſo orbi manifeſtum ſit futurum, dictam ſuam Majeſtatem eſſe ſolidum perfectum amicum, filium obſequentiſſimum & ejus devotiſſimum; à qua pectoris ſui ſententia, nullo theſauro, nullis opibus, nullis Regnis, ſeu Ditionibus, vel occaſione quacunq; unquam adducetur, ſed ex filiali ſua obſervantia & in Chriſtianam Religionem zelo, innatoq; erga ſedem Apoſtolicam ſtudio, & præcipuo quodam effectu, quem Sanctiſſimo Domino noſtro gerit: in compenſationem quoq; gratitudinis, quam tam avide in hoc ſuo negotio ab ejus Sanctitate expectat, decretum prorſus habet in conſtantiſſimo hoc indiſſolubili amicitiæ & conjunctionis vinculo ſinceriſſimo perſtare, id quod dicta Regia Majeſtas Sanctiſſimum Dominum noſtrum vehementiſſime rogat, ut probe velit in omnem partem librare, viciſſemq; efficere, ut ex Regiæ petitionis indulgentia palam conſtet parem benevolentiam & humanitatem à Sanctiſſimo Domino noſtro ex mutuo præſtari.

Hac autem cauſa ipſius Sanctitati à vobis, ut dictum eſt, expoſita & declarata, neutiquam dubitandum eſt, quin benevole atq; libenter ſtatim adnuat Regiæ Majeſtatis expectationi & quod huic aſſentiet, dictam Commiſſionem ſecreto modo ipſa concedens, neminem de ea re, ut dictum eſt, participem faciens; qui modus ſervandus eſt, ſi videritis hæc effici non poſſe, niſi cum periculo quin hæc res eis communicetur, qui eam ſint interturbaturi, vel ſi id præſtare fuerit in Sanctiſſimi Domini noſtri arbitrio, tunc ejus Sanctitas non gravetur, per Brevia, vel per Bullas, prout validius & magis ſufficiens fore judicaverit, præmiſſa omnia concedere, ad quod veſtram omnem induſtriam, prudentiam, ſtudium, diligentiamq; adhibebitis: Sic omnia prudenter ac circumſpecte agentes, ne in diſcrimen deveniatur negotium hoc his detegendi, qui illud vel impedire vel retardare forſan voluerint aut poterint, ſed potius quam ad id periculi res deducatur contenti eritis ſola dictorum libellorum Signatura, in eam formam confecta, quum ex ea palam conſtet, Pontificis aſſenſum in id actualiter concurriſſe, qui poſtea recentioribus ſcriptis, ſi ita opus fuerit, firmius confirmari corroborariq; poterit.

Et quoniam incertum eſt, utrum ante veſtrum ad Pontificem acceſſum, ejus Sanctitas fuerit in ſuam libertatem reſtituta, necne, quæ forſan libera non tanti faciet Regiæ Majeſtatis amicitiam & conjunctionem, vel allegabit, ſe nec audere nec poſſe, ex ſuis cum Cæſare conventionibus iſta concedere, nec ſecreto ullo modo, vel ullo colore, quod ea in re feciſſet apud Cæſarem juſtificare, & potuiſſet antea in Regiæ Majeſtatis auxilio pro ſua liberatione ſperans, dum adhuc detineretur captivus; eo caſu Sanctiſſimo Domino noſtro in mentem redigetis, quam parum fidere poſſit ullis ſibi factis à Cæſare promiſſis, quum nulla in parte redundare poſſit in commodum aut ſecuritatem, ſed ſolum in extremum excidium ac detrimentum ſedis Apoſtolicæ; & licet ad breve tempus multa videretur Cæſar in ejus Sanctitatis gratiam facturus, compertiſſimum tamen ſemper Pontifici eſſe debet Cæſarianos ea facere, ſemperq; facturos, quæ Cæſarem poſſint exaltare, & tendant ad uſurpationem potius & depreſſionem ſtatus Eccleſiaſtici, quam ad ejus continuationem, vel conſervationem; & quotiens adverſus Eccleſiam iſta tentarentur, Regia Majeſtas in hac ſua petitione paſſa repulſam, quæ alioquin ejus Sanctitati in omnem eventum firmiſſime adhæſiſſet, & alios ſuos confœderatos in eandem ſententiam pertraxiſſet, quam, ea deficiente, in contrarium facile poſſent allici, quo animo futura ſit, & quam bene ſuum affectum & obſervantiam collocaſſe exiſtimatura: ſummæ eſt prudentiæ omnia conſiderare.

Haud incognitum præterea eſt Sanctiſſimum Dominum noſtrum ad Cæſaris inſtantiam, quum non multam ab ejus Sanctitate gratiam promeritus eſſet, ei conceſſiſſe Diſpenſationem & Abſolutionem à jurejurando ab illo præſtito, de ducenda in Conjugem Domina Principiſſa, nullo ut par fuiſſet à Regia Majeſtate habito, ſeu petito conſenſu, non obſtante quod Cæſar in validiſſima forma, non ſolum præſtito jurejurando, ſed cautione & Eccleſiaſticarum cenſurarum & pœnarum adhibita, quod perſtringeretur de dicto Matrimonio perimplendo, ac ſi Pontifex contentus eſſe potuit, tantum ei oſtendere gratitudinem, quum veluti hoſtis indies certior tunc poterat haberi, & qui majora parabat quam juſte poſſet optare, ſuis petitionibus, Regia Majeſtate inconſulta, neutiquam parcens, quanto propenſius ejus Sanctitas adnuere debet ejus Principis voto, cujus fidem & obſervantiam vere filialem ſæpe experta eſt. Verum tamen ſi Sanctiſſimus Dominus noſter difficulter viſus fuerit poſſe adduci, ut in meam Perſonam dictæ Commiſſioni aſſentiat, allegans quod non ſum indifferens, cui ex ſuæ Sanctitatis honore hoc negotium committi poſſit, cum Regiæ Majeſtati ſum ſubditus & intimus conſiliarius, tunc tamdiu perſiſtetis ea in re, quoad vobis viſum fuerit conveniens, negotii expeditionem non ideo potrahentes, aut differentes, ſed inſtantes ut hujuſmodi Commiſſio concedatur; affirmabitiſq; me pro re nulla quantumlibet grandi, nullo favore, aut commodo, quicquam effecturum eſſe, quod averſetur officio meo, & erga Chriſtum præſtitæ profeſſioni, neq; unquam à recto, vero, juſtoq; tramite digreſſurum; Et quin Cardinalis ſim & Apoſtolicæ ſedis de latere Legatus, ejus Sanctitatis honor, integraque conſcientia, à me omnino conſervaretur, ex hujuſmodique conceſſa Commiſſione, omni ex parte exoneraretur. Tandem ſi ad hoc, nullis rationibus Pontifex potuerit adduci, ab ejus Sanctitate requiretis, ut dictam velit Commiſſionem concedere in perſonam Domini Staphylei Decani Rotæ, qui & vir indifferens eſt, & hujuſmodi rei ob eruditionem accommodatus, nullo pacto omittentes Diſpenſationis expeditionem, ut dictum eſt; & hujus rei gratia Commiſſionem nunc ad vos mitto, in debita forma confectam & paratam, quæ ſignetur ad dictum Dominum Staphyleum directa, quam Sanctiſſimo Domino noſtro reddetis, caſu quo alia nequeat obtineri, rogabitiſq; ut cum dicta Diſpenſatione eam velit concedere. Et quoniam fieri poſſit quod dum fieret mentio de me excipiendo, forſitan ejus Sanctitas aliquem alium quam Dominum Staphyleum nominaret, ad quem Commiſſio hujuſmodi dirigeretur, hoc vero in loco tenaciſſime inſiſtetis, firmiterq; inhærebitis ei rei, nec in alium aliquem virum exterum ullo pacto conſentientes, ſed ſolum pro eodem Domino Staphyeio inſtantes, ejus Sanctitatem ſummis precibus vehementiſſime rogantes, & rationibus omnibus ſuadentes, ne alium ullum nominare velit, aſſerentes quod quum in Inſtructionibus veſtris non contineatur, nec de alio ullo fiat mentio, niſi illo, me recuſato, iterum atq; iterum ab eadem Sanctitate petetis, ut nomine hujus Auditoris Rotæ hæc fiat & expediatur commiſſio, vos nec audere nec poſſe vobis præſcriptos fines tranſgredi.

De Regii vero deſiderii ac petitionis fruſtratione ſuper dicta commiſſione obtinenda dicetis unum & idem eſſe, hanc illi denegare, vel alii concedere quam in veſtris Inſtructionibus contineatur, non quod Regia Majeſtas de aliorum rectitudine aut indifferentia quicquam ſuſpicetur, vel quod judicet eorum aliquem affectibus obnoxium; ſed quod pro re certiſſima credidit, quod Sanctiſſimus Dominus noſter in neminem tam facile condeſcenderet, quam in dictæ Rotæ Decanum, ob idque de eo in Inſtructionibus veſtris mentionem fecit: ſed Commiſſiones in debita forma cum his nominibus fieri & conſcribi juſſit, quod ſi hic credidiſſemus, Dom. Staphyleum habitum iſtic iri pro ſuſpecto, affirmare poteſtis me fuiſſe omnino miſſurum conſimilem Commiſſionis formulam, ſpatio relicto pro aliquo alio inſcribendo nomine, aliquamq; aliam ſuper ea re Inſtructionem me daturum fuiſſe; & haud dubie, ſi de nominibus duntaxat fuerit controverſia, hæ rationes facile poterunt Pontificem attrahere, ut in me conſentiat, vel in Staphyleum. De aliis vero neminem admittetis, nec tamen Pontifici aperietis vos, ne id faciatis habere in mandatis, ſed ſuperius enarratas Cauſas in veſtram excuſationem allegantes, omnino ut vobis injungitur, ea in re inſiſtetis.

Quod ſi nullis modis dictam Commiſſionem, & Diſpenſationem impetrare poteritis, ad idq; nequiverit Pontifex adduci, niſi rem prius alicui ex Cardinalibus vel Officiariis communicaverit, in eo tunc caſu, ejus Sanctitati in memoriam reducite, quot & quam gravia mala ex hujus negotii propalatione poſſent provenire, ſi ex ea occaſione aliquæ contrarietates vel impedimentum ſuboriretur, unde Regiæ Majeſtatis expectatio poſtmodum fruſtraretur: Quo igitur, ſi ullæ injiciantur in hac re tractandæ difficultates, ut Pontifex etiam facilior ad Regium votum concedendum promptiorq; reddatur, alias etiam præter has literas ſeorſim ad vos ſcripſi, quas una cum his accipietis, in quibus copioſe aggeſſi, quam multas magni momenti rationes, ob quas ſententia judiciumq; meum eſt, ne ullo pacto Pontifex hanc petitionem Regiæ Majeſtatis deneget; quas literas, quum in eis argumentum vehemens eſt, nec ob prolixitatem tædioſum aut moleſtum quod legatur, modum aliquem ipſius Sanctitati legendi invenietis; ſpemq; certam habeo, ſi earum ſumma, tenor, atq; ſententia profunde perpendatur, quam ſatis id eſſe poterit ad omnem tollendam difficultatem, quæ poſſit obverſari in dicta Commiſſione Diſpenſationeque obtinenda, in eis contenta ſigillatim exponetis adeo, quod hoc negotium confici queat, Arbitris aut Conſiliaribus ad id neutiquam accitis, ſi fieri poſſit: ſi tamen Pontifex ſperaverit ſe poſſe hæc omnia eos celare qui huic rei forſan voluerint refragari, & omnino decreverit aliquos Cardinales vel officiarios iſtius cauſæ participes facere, omnem tunc induſtriam ſtatim adhibebitis, ut his cognitis eorum gratiam & favorem ea in re vobis comparetis, partim eis reſpectus, & cauſas omnes in meis literis contentas, etiam in cauſæ commodum facientes, uberius exponentes, partim vero eam remunerationem illis dantes, quæ judicio veſtro conveniens habebitur, dummodo optatum res ſortiatur effectum. Et ut omnia queatis præſtare commodius cum his, meas literas accipietis quas ad Cardinalem *Sanctorum Quatuor* & Collegium Cardinalium ſcribo, eaſque reddetis ut expedire cenſueritis, plane confidens nihil à vobis omiſſum iri, ut hac in re eorum gratiam atq; favorem queatis obtinere, in quem eventum ea munera offeretis, quæ convenientia viſa fuerint, Regiaque Majeſtas quicquid ejus nomine promiſeritis, id fideliſſime, uberrimeq; præſtabit, pro quarum rerum expeditione, illis pecuniis uti poteritis per literas Cambii Venetias tranſmiſſis, quouſq; ſuffecerint, neceſſariumq; vos exiſtimaveritis rei impetrandæ. Et quum ambiguum ſit an vobis licuerit hoc tempore ad Pontificis præſentiam accedere, hujuſmodi acceſſus defectus, ſi aliæ rem ad bonum exitum perducendi rationes non excogitarentur, cauſa eſſe poſſet longioris moræ, & totius rei impedimento; proinde Regia Majeſtas, ut modos omnes experiatur, nec uni ſoli inhæreat, hæc eadem in mandatis dedit Domino Secretario, quem non procul ab Urbe eſſe intelleximus, quemadmodum in his aliiſq; meis brevioribus literis continentur, ita quod alter veſtrum, vel uterque, ſi fieri poſſit, ad Pontificis præſentiam acceſſum habeat, nihil tamen, ſub ſpe Domini Secretarii, veſtræ vos diligentiæ aut induſtriæ omittetis, nec ille ſub ſpe veſtra, in re hac modis omnibus promovenda, remiſſior erit, ſed nihil conjunctim aut diviſim intentatum relinquetis. Quod ſi uterq; veſtrum ad Pontificem admittatur, alter de altero neſcius, id non oberit, ſed multum proficiet, etiam ſi ante alterius adventum negotium hoc alter impetraſſet, ſed ſi aliquis veſtrum cognoverit cauſam hanc expeditam eſſe, omniaq; pro certo impetrata eſſe, tunc labori & ſumptibus Pontificem pro eadem re accedendi parcere poteritis, neq; in eam amplius ingerere, neq; neceſſarium aut opportunum erit, ut pro ulla alia re in præſentia quam pro hac apud Sanctiſſimum Dominum noſtrum agatis, ſed ſolum nunc procurabitis de Commiſſione & Diſpenſatione juxta formam ad vos miſſam obtinenda, necnon de profeſtinatione illa, quam compendio ad vos dedi, in quibus omnibus & ſingulis apte tractandis Regia Majeſtas magnam fiduciam in veſtra prudentia collocavit, in quibus, cum tam magni ſint momenti, ex Regiæ Majeſtatis ſententia nunc vobis maxime elaborandum eſt.

Deniq; quum intelligam Dominum Lautrek nonnihil mirari, quod Regiæ Majeſtatis iſtic agentes, nullam ſuorum mandatorum partem cum eo conferunt, ad eum nunc ſcribo, & nonnulla Domino Roberto Jernyngham ei exponenda committo concernentia actiones cum Ferrariæ Duce, & alia quædam eodem Domino Lautrek; ſignificans, vos miſſos eſſe ad dictas cauſas juvandas, & Pontificis liberationem promovendam, quemadmodum ex literarum ad Dominum Jernyngham exemplo cognoſcetis: expediens itaq; fuerit, ut præ ſe feratis, vos dictæ rei gratia miſſos eſſe, ne forſan Dominus Lautrek in falſam aliquam conjecturam aut ſuſpicionem incideret, quæ communibus rebus nocere poſſet, & in veſtrarum quoq; actionum impedimentum redundare.

Illud deinde reticere nolui, quod ſi ullo pacto vobis liceat ad Sanctiſſimi Domini noſtri præſentiam accedere, nihil omittatis in favorem & gratiam Reverendi Domini Datarii, de cujus animo nihil dubitamus, comparandam, eiq; aſſeretis, quod quum in noſtris omnibus occurrentiis illius opera ac Patrocinio ſemper uſi fuerimus, ipſe vero tanta ſemper fide ac ſedulitate omnia effecerit quæ nobis grata & optata eſſe cognovit, ut noſtram omnem operam ſuis rebus reddiderit promptiſſimam, & ſuæ utilitatis & exaltationis cupidiſſimam.

Quocirca hæc Regia Majeſtas hac in re, qua nullam magis cordi habet, nec gravioris momenti quicquam ſibi accidere poſſe judicat, ex animi ſui ſententia conficienda, poſt Sanctiſſimum Dominum noſtrum, in Domino Datario ſpem omnem collocavit, qui ex hac occaſione, ſi operam ſuam ad optatum uſq; exitum interponere non gravetur, Regiæ Majeſtatis animum & pectus, ſic omni ex parte promerebitur, ut dicta Majeſtas non ſolum omnia curatura ſit, quæ ex Domini Veronenſis commodo & ornamento fuerint, ſed eam etiam munificentiam & gratitudinem addet, quæ majorem vel integram partem, à captivate Redemtionis perſolvendæ compenſabit; In me vero non aliam fidem & amicitiam experietur, quam ab ullo fratre poſſet expectare. Et bene valete. Londini ex meis Ædibus. Die quinto Decemb. M. D. XXVII.

Veſter tanquam frater Amantiſſ.

T. Cardinalis Eborac.

De modo procedendi in caſu Matrimonij inter Sereniſſimum Regem, Henricum ſuum, & Sereniſſimam Reginam Catherinam, conſortem ſuam.

N° 90. B. III. c. 8. IN Dei Nomine. *Amen.* Per præſentem publici Inſtrumenti Seriem, cunctis & præſertim invictiſſimo, metuendiſſimo, & potentiſſimo principi, & Domino noſtro, Supremo, Henrico 8^{vo}, Dei gratia, Angliæ & Franciæ Regi, fidei defenſori, & Domino Hyberniæ illuſtriſſimo, Ceteriſq; ſui regni Nobilibus & Proceribus, appareat evidenter, & ſit notum, quod Anno D'ni 1533. Indictione 6^{ta}, Pontificatus, Sanctiſſimi in C'to patris, & Domini noſtri Domini Clementis, Divinâ providentiâ, illius nominis Papæ 7^{mi} Anno Decimo menſis *v.* Aprilis die 5^{to}. In domo capitulari, Eccleſiæ cathedralis D. Pauli Londin' in noſtrorum notariorum præſentijs, coram Reverendiſſimo in C'to Patre, & D'no, D'no Thomâ, permiſſione divinâ Cant' Archiep', totius Angliæ primatis, & Apoſtolicæ Sedis Legato, Prelatiſq; & Clero Provinciæ Cant' tunc & ibidem in Convocatione Prelatorum & Cleri d'tæ Cant' Provinciæ, in prædictâ domo capitulari congregatis, & perſonaliter præſentibus, comparuit perſonaliter, egregius Vir, Mag'r Johannes Tregunnell, Legum D'r, a conſiliis dicti D'ni n'ri regis, ac nomine ejuſdem, Nobiliumq; ac Procerum, dicti Regni Angliæ, eundem Reverendum Patrem, ad mandatum illius ill'mi Principis, ut aſſeruit, requiſivit, quatenus nobis notarijs publicis, infra Scriptis, mandaret & præciperet, quod acta Originalia, in eâdem convocatione habita, & facta ſcrutaremur, & Inſtrumentum vel Inſtrumenta, unum vel plura, publicum vel publica, de & ſuper compertis in actis Originalibus ejuſdem convocationis, de & ſuper aſſertionibus, & opinionibus, dictorum prelatorum, & Cleri, quoad quæſtiones infra conſcriptas conficeremus. Ad cujus petitionem, dictus Reverendiſſi' Pater, Dominus Thomas Cantuar' Archiepiſcopus, juxta & ſecundum requiſitionem, ex parte ejuſdem invictiſſimi Principis, & dictorum Nobilium & Procerum, ut præfertur factam: nobis notarijs publicis, Subſcriptis, mandavit & præcepit, in Prelatorum & Cleri ejuſdem convocationis tunc & ibidem exiſtentium præſentiâ, nemine eorum reluctante, diſſentiente, contradicente, quatenus acta Originalia, hujuſmodi, diligenter & fideliter ſcrutaremur, ac de & ſuper compertis in eiſdem actis Originalibus, unum vel plura, publicum ſeu publica, Inſtrumentum ſive Inſtrumenta,

menta, conficeremus. Quare nos notarij publici ſubſcripti, mandatis dicti Reverendiſs. Patris obtemperare volentes, Acta Originalia in dicta convocatione nobis præſentibus habita & facta, Scrutavimus, & per illud Scrutinium comperimus, & invenimus, quod nuper in dictâ Convocatione Prelatorum & Cleri provinciæ Cantuar. in domo capitulari Eccleſiæ Cathedralis D. Pauli London. prænominat', quinto die menſis Novembris, anno Dom. 1529, inchoato & de diebus in dies hactenus continuat' & propagat', propoſitæ fuerunt duæ quæſtiones, quarum unius deciſio & determinatio, Spectat ad Theologos, Alterius vero ad Canoniſtas & Juriſconſultos, ut Prelati & Clerus, eaſdem quæſtiones cum maturâ deliberatione, pro veritate in hâc parte eruendâ & habendâ, quatenus ad eorum facultates reſpective attineret, diligenter examinarent. Et opiniones ſuas, quid ipſi de & ſuper eiſdem ſentirent, oſtenderent & declararent. Prima *v.* quæſtio ad Theologos pertinens, talis eſt, An ducere Uxorem cognitam a fratre, decedente ſine prole ſit prohibitio juris divini, indiſpenſabilis a Papâ? Ad quam nonnulla argumenta & diſputationes hinc inde per prelatos & clerum prædict' diverſis & ſeparatis diebus, habita & facta, Prelati & Clerus antedictus, exiſtent' Theologi, in numero lxvi perſonaliter tunc ibidem præſentes, habentes etiam procuratoria Epiſcoporum, Abbatum & aliorum prelatorum & clericorum abſentium, ad numerum Clxxxxvij, quibuſdam in numero xix duntaxat exceptis, aſſeruerunt caſum hujuſmodi, de Jure Divino eſſe indiſpenſabilem per Papam, prout ex actis Originalibus, in Regiſtrario dict' Convocationis remanentibus, plenius liquet. Secunda *v.* quæſtio ad Canoniſtas & Juriſconſultos pertinens, eſt hæc, An carnalis copula inter illuſtriſſ. Principem Arthurum & Sereniſſ. D'nam Catherinam Reginam ex propoſitis, exhibitis, deductis & allegatis ſit ſufficienter probata? Ad quam Prelati & Clerus, Canoniſtæ & Juriſconſulti, perſonaliter in dictâ convocatione præſentes & numerum Xliiij facientes, quorum unus etiam habuit procuratorium pro tribus Epiſcopis tunc abſentibus, (quinq; aut 6 duntaxat exceptis) affirmarunt ſe ſentire ex propoſitis & exhibitis coram eis in convocatione prædict' carnalem copulam inter dict' ill'mum Principem Arthurum & Seren'mam D'nam Catherinam fuiſſe & eſſe ſufficienter probatam: prout ex Actis Originalibus, in eâdem convocatione, & nobis notarijs publicis Subſcriptis præſentibus, habitis & factis manifeſte liquet & Apparet. Super quibus omnibus & ſingulis, prædict' egregius Vir Mag'r Johannes Tregunnell, nomine quo ſupra, nos notarios publicos ſubſcriptos, unum vel plura, publicum ſeu publica, Inſtrumentum ſive Inſtrumenta, exinde conficere requiſivit. Acta fuêrunt hæc omnia & ſingula, prout ſupra ſcribuntur & recitantur, ſub Anno D'ni, Indictione, Pontificatu, menſe die & loco, prædict', præſentibus tunc ibidem, mag'ris Willimo Bretteyne utriuſq; Juris & Joh'e Barber, Legum Doctoribus, Teſtibus ad præmiſſa vocatis & Specialiter rogatis.

Et ego Willimus Potkyn, clericus Cant' Dioceſeos publicus, Authoritate Apoſtolicâ, Notarius, quia requiſitioni & petitioni d'ti egregij Viri Mag'ri Joh'is Tregunnell ſapradictiq; Rever'mi Patris, mandato & præcepto, necnon Actor' Originalium, de quibus ſuperius fit mentio ſcrutinio, cæteriſq; præmiſſis, dum ſic (ut præmittitur) ſub Anno D'ni, Indictione, Pontificatu, menſe, Die & loco prædictis agebant'r & fiebant, unà cum prænominatis teſtibus, qui tempore requiſitionis & petitionis præſentes fuerunt, præſens perſonaliter interfui, eaq; omnia & ſingula ſic fieri vidi, audivi & inactitavi. Ideo hoc præſens, publicum Inſtrumentum, manu alterius me aliundè occupato, ſcriptum, exindeq; confectum, ſubſcripſi, publicavi & in hanc publicam formam redegi. Ac ſigno & nomine, meis, ſolitis & conſuetis, ſignavi, rogatus & requiſitus in fidem & teſtimonium præmiſſorum.

Nomina Theologorum utriuſq; domus in propriis perſonis comparentium, die & Anno Supradict'.

Joh'es Ep'us London
Joh'es E'pus Lincoln
Henricus Ep's Aſſaphe Aſſaphen
Joh'es E'p's Roffen
Georgius E'p's Landaffen
Thomas Abbas de Fordâ
Joh'es Abbas de Boxley
Rob'tus Abbas de Bermonds eye
Thomas Prior de Spalding
Gervaſius Prior de Dunſtable
Willimus Abbas de Stratford
Joh'es Abbas de Taveſtocke
Willimus Abbas de Clivâ
Rob'tus Abbas S'ti Albani
Joh'es Abbas de Waverly
Rob'tus Prior S'tæ Catherinæ Lincoln
Willimus Abbas S'ti Petri Glouceſt'r
Willimus Abbas de Hulmo
Rob'tus Abbas de Waltham
Joh'es Prior de Newenham
Joh'es Abbas de Titchfield
Ric'us Abbas de Weſt derham
Joh'es Abbas de Bury S'ti Edm'di
Joh'es Prior de Merton
Joh'es Abbas de Hydâ
Joh'es de Burgo S'ti Petri
Rob'tus Abbas de Thorney
Thomas Prior de Coventry
Rob'tus Prior de Lewis
Ric'us Prior de Horton
Thomas Abbas de Norton
Rob'tus Abbas de Walden
Rogerus Prior de Ealſinge Spittle
Rob'tus Abbas de Lilleſhall
Fran'cus Prior de S'ti And'r North't
Joh'es Prior de Angleſey
Rob'tus Abbas de Valle crucis
Hen' Abbas de gracijs
Ric'us Abbas de Nottely
Willimus Prior de Brymmore
Joh'es Abbas de Bileigh
Thomas Abbas de Burton
Rob'tus Abbas de Thomâ
Laurentius Prior Roffens
Joh'es Abbas de Croyland
Joh'es Abbas de Charteſey
Anthonius Abbas de Eveſham
Ric'us Abbas de Winchecombe
Rob'tus Prior Elienſis

Ric'us Prior de Walſingham
Willimus Prior S'ti Georgij Cant'
Hugo Abbas de Reading
Ric'us Treſham
Ric'us Crooke
Leighton
Cheeſewright
Rob'tus Carter
Ric'us Cooren
Rob'tus Wakefield
Willimus Buckemyſter
Idem Willimus
Edvardus Fox
Rob'tus Aldrich
Joh'es Booth
Simon Mathew
Nich'us Wilſon
Rob'tus Sherton
Ric'us Fetherſton
Edvardus Powel
Nic'us Metcaffe
Gilbertus Smith
Thomas Wadelowe
Ric'us Ducke
Thomas Baugh
Thomas Godericke.

Nomina Theologorum, *viz.* Epiſcoporum Abbatum Priorum & Clericorum comparentium per Procuratores.

Ric'us Ep'us Norvicenſis	per Joh'm Ep'um Lincoln.
Nich'us Ep'us Elienſis	
Laurentius Ep'us Sarum	
Ric'us Ep'us Menevenſis	

Carolus Ep'us Hereforden. per Joh'em Ep'um London.

Johannes Prior de Wilſington	Per Abbatem de Waltham
Galfr'us Prior de Dunmore	
Ric'us Prior de Hatfield Regis	
Joh'es Abbas S'tæ Oſythæ	
Willimus Prior de Southwicke	
Willimus Prior de Motteſfont	
Ric'us Abbas de Glaſton	
Joh'es Abbas de Keynſham	
Willimus Prior de Taunton	
Joh'es Prior de Berlich	
Joh'es Abbas de Oſency	
Galf'r Prior de Ulneſcroft	
Joh'es Prior de Laundâ	
Wich's Prior de Barnewell	
Thomas Prior de Buttely	
Rob'tus Prior de Penteney	
Willimus Prior de Weſtacre	
Thomas Prior S'tæ Trinit' Gippovici	
Henricus Prior de Woodbridge	
Willimus Prior de Herringfleet	
Ric'us Prior de Beſton.	

Joh'es

Joh'es Abbas de Hertland	Per Abbatem de Waltham
Joh'es Prior de Plympton	
Ric's Prior de Edcroft al's Ivechurch	
Thomas Abbas de Darley	
Willimus Abbas de Rounceſter	
Thomas Prior de Erdbury	
Joh'es Prior S'ti Tho. juxt. Staff	
Thomas Prior de Renton	
Joh'es Prior de Greſely	
Rob'tus Prior de Burſtough	
Joh'es Abbas de Cirenceſter	
Willimus Abbas S'ti Aug. Briſtolli	
Stephanus Abbas de Hales	
Ric'us Prior de Lanthony	
Thomas Prior de Michelham	
Thomas Prior de Haſtings	
Joh'es Abbas de Wigmore	
Griffinus Abbas de Carmerden	
Joh'es Abbas de Oſſulſtone	
Prior de Merton.	
Thomas Prior de Falkeſton	Per Abbatem de Gracijs juxta Turrim London
Joh'es Abbas de Tiltcy	
Thomas Abbas de Letley	
Willimus Abbas de Quarera	
Ric'us Abbas de Kirkeſted	
Georgius Abbas de Parco ludo	
Henricus Abbas de Valle Dei	
Joh'es Abbas de Rivesby	
Ric'us Abbas de Bruerâ	
Joh'es Abbas de Regali loco	
Rob'tus Abbas de Salteriâ	
Rob'tus Abbas de Woborne	
Aug'uſt Abbas de Wardome	
Henricus Abbas de Sibton	
Ric'us Abbas de Navenham	
Joh'es Abbas de Navenham	
Joh'es Abbas de Dounkeſwell	
Thomas Abbas de Byndon	Per Abbatem de Graciis jux. Turrim London
Thomas Abbas de Stanley	
Thomas Abbas de Diulancres	
Oliverus Abbas de Cumbâ	
Willimus Abbas de mirâ valle	
Stephanus Abbas de Bildwas	
Willimus Abbas de Kingſwood	
Thomas Abbas de ponte Roberti	
Joh'es Abbas de Doorâ	
Joh'es Abbas de Flaxley	
Nich'us Abbas de Baſingwerke	
Ludovicus Abbas de Kymer	
Morganus Abbas de Lanternham	
Thomas Abbas de Garadon	

Willimus

Willimus Prior Eccl'æ Cath. Bathon	Per Abbatem de Bermondſey
Capitulum Ejuſdem Eccleſiæ	
Rob'tus abbas de Monte Acuto	
Thomas Prior de Caſtle acre	
Thomas Prior S'tæ Mar. Mag. Sarum	
Ric'us Prior de Tutbury	
Thomas Prior majoris Malvorne	
Joh'es Prior de Wenlocke	
Rob'tus Prior S'ti Germani	Per Priorem de Dunſtable
Thomas Prior de Frithcleſtocke	
Willimus abbas de Cockeſhall	Per Abbatem de Stratford
Joh'es abbas de Buckefaſt	
Joh'es abbas de Valle Regali	
Chriſtoph. abbas de Cumbermere	
Johannes abbas de Hilton	
Thomas abbas de Stonely	
Galfr'us abbas de Conwey	
Johannes abbas de Borderly	
Henric. Prior Eccl'æ Cath. Winton	Per Abbatem de Taveſtocke
Capitulum ejuſdem Eccleſiæ	
Tho. Prior de Elſham	Per Priorem de Newenham
Georgius Prior de Thorneholm	
Jo. abbas de Thorneton Curtes	
Joh'es abbas de Wellowe	
Rob'tus Prior de Beſſe mede	
Eligius abbas de Wymondham	Per Abbatem S'ti Albani
Lancelotus Prior S'tæ Fidis deHorſham	
Joh'es Prior de Bynham	
Willimus Prior de Thetford	
Willimus Prior de Bromholme	
Thomas Prior de Cotton	
Willimus Prior de Hurley	
Joh'es Prior de Birkehened	
Clemens abbas de Eveſham	
Ric'us abbas de Malmesbury	Per Abbatem S'ti Petri Glouc.
Thomas abbas de Muchilney	Per Abbatem S'ti Benedicti de Hulmo
Willimus Prior Eccl'æ Cath. Norwic	
Capitulum ejuſdem Eccleſiæ	
Willimus Prior de Eyæ	
Joh'es Prior de Ingam	
Thomas abbas de Salop	
Joh'es abbas de Bourne	Per Abbatem de Croyland

Willimus Prior de Kirkeby	Per Abbatem de Thame
Thomas Prior de Caldewell	
Thomas abbas de Pipewell	
Joh'es abbas de Bikleſden	
Thomas abbas de Croxden	
Joh'es abbas de Whalley	
Joh'es abbas de Ramſey	Per Abbatem de Burgo S'ti Petri
Thomas abbas S'tæ Radegundæ	Per Abbatem de Tytchfield
Willimus abbas de Langdon	
Mattheus abbas de Barling	
Joh'es abbas de Tupholme	
Ric'us abbas de Newbee	
Rob'tus abbas de Sulby	
Georgius abbas de Leiſton	
Thomas abbas de Wenlinge	
Simon abbas de Torre	
Joh'es abbas de bello capite	
Joh'es abbas de Dala	
Willimus abbas de Hailes Owen	
Joh'es abbas de Dureford	
Elias abbas de Croxton	Per Abbatem de Weſtderham
Rob'tus abbas de Newſon	
Rob'tus abbas de Langely	
Georg. Prior de Shelbrode	
Rodericus abbas de Talley	
Joh'es Prior de novo loco	Per Priorem de Merton
Joh'es Prior de Twyneham	
Walter Prior S. Dyonyſij juxta Cuth't	Per Priorem de Merton
Joh'es abbas de Bruton	
Ric'us abbas de p'tis Leiceſt'r	
Joh's Prior de Buckenham	
Rob'tus Prior de Hickelinge	
Joh'es Prior de Coxford	
Henricus Prior de Hempton	
Rob'tus Prior de Lanceſton	
Thomas Prior de Bodmyne	
Thomas Prior de Tywardereth	
Ric'us Prior de Burſtleſham	
Willimus Prior de Bradſtocke	
Ric'us Prior de Manden Bradley	
Thomas abbas de Haughmond	
Willimus abbas de Kenelworth	
Willimus Prior de Stowe	
Willimus Prior de Mackeſtocke	
Thomas Prior de Trentham	
Joh'es Prior de Repingdon	
Willimus Prior de Wembrige	
Joh'es Prior de Stodely	
Rob'tus Prior de Hardham	
Rob'tus Prior de Wormeſley	

Joh'es abbas S'ti Aug. Cant'	Per Abbatem de Hydâ
Joh'es Prior de Feverſham	
Joh'es Prior S'ti Martini Dover	
Thomas abbas S'ti Joh'is Colceſter	
Willimus abbas de Bardeney	
Willimus abbas de Abbots Bury	
Thomas abbas de Abyndon	
Joh'es abbas de Milton	
Petrus Prior de Holand	
Joh'es abbas de werburge Ceſtr'	
Joh'es abbas de Tewkesbury	
Joh'es Prior de minore Malvorne	
Joh'es abbas de Bello	
Thomas Prior de Wroxton	Per Abbatem de Enſham
Radolphus Prior de Kyme	Per Abbatem de Notely
Joh'es abbas S'ti Jacobi jux. North't	
Thomas Prior de Clawcombe	
Joh'es abbas de Muſſenden	
Joh'es Prior de S'to Neoto	
Hugo Prior Canonicorum Huntingdon	
Edmundus Prior de Stoneley	
Tho. Ratcliffe mag'r de Burton S'ti Lazari	
Ric'us Prior de Aſhby Canon	
Willimus Prior de Burceſt'r	
Joh'es abbas de Shirbourne	Per Abbatem de Reding
Joh'es Rector de Edington	
Joh'es abbas de Parſhore	
Edw. Fynch & Arth'us Wilter	Per Willimum Buckmyſter
Joh'es Lountley Arth'us Cardigan	

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Quorum Nomina ſequuntur

Joh'es Ep'us Roffenſis	Non Affirmantes
Georgius Ep'us Landaffen	
Ric'us abbas de Wynchecombe	
Rob'tus Prior Elienſis	
Ric'us Prior de Walſingham	
Willimus Prior S'ti Georgij Cant'	
Hugo abbas de Reding	

Nich'us Willſon	Non Affirmantes
Rob'tus Shirton	
Ric'us Fetherſtone	
Edwardus Powell	
Nich'us Metcalfe	
Gilbertus Smith	
Thomas Wadelowe	
Ric'us Ducke	
Thomas Baugh	
Joh'es abbas de Sherebourne	
Joh'es Rector de Edington	
Joh'es abbas de Parſhore	

Nomina Canoniſtarum & Juriſconſultorum in proprijs perſonis ſuis comparentium

Stephanus Ep'us Winton
Joh'es Ep'us Exon
Joh'es Ep'us Bathon & Wellen
Ric'us Woolman
Willimus Fleſhmonger
Gamaliel Clifton
Geor. Hennage
Willimus Knight
Joh'es Bell
Rolandus Lee
Thomas Bedell
Willimus Clyff
Ric'us Rawſon
Willimus Boleyn
Rob'tus Awdely
Willimus Clerburgh
Polidorus Vergilius
Geor. Wyndham
Thomas Newton
David Pole
Ric'us Stretey
Thomas Berewood
Thomas Roncorne
Lupton
Joh'es Underhill
Joh'es Leffe
Elizeus Bodely
Joh'es Incent
Thomas Thurlby
Thomas Bagard
Leonardus Savile
Rob'tus Byſſe
Willimus Rivet
Ric'us Roberts
Joh'es Oliver
Arthurus Buckely
Henricus Morgan
Joh'es Raine
Radulphus Sneade

Adam Travers
Petrus Ligham
Ric'us Harriſon
Rob'tus Clyff
Laurentius Woodcocke

Nomina Juriſconſultorum abſentium & per procuratorem comparentium, *viz.* per Stephanum Ep'um Winton

Robertus Ep'us Ciceſtren
Thomas Ep'us Bangoren
Hieronimus Ep'us Wigorn

Numerus Canoniſtarum & Juriſconſultorum prædict' comparentium, *viz.* in proprijs perſonis ſuis — — XLIIII
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Joh'es Ep'us Bathon & Wellen
Adam Travers
Pet'rus Ligham
Ric'us Harriſon
Rob'tus Clyff
Laur' Woodcocke
} Non Affirmantes

Numerus totalis omnium comparent'
Tam per ſe quam procuratores } CCCXIX

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Letter from Dr. Knight.

Coll. No 91. c. 9. B. III. E. Manſ. Jameſ. 27.

HIS holineſs ſheweth tokyns and ſpeketh dayly of the grete repentaunce that he hath inwardly in his heart for grаunting of the decretal, thinking and ſaijng verily that he is undone for ever, if the ſaid Decretal cum unto the knowledge of the Emperour. Moreover *Meſſer Gregori de Caſſalis* is informed of *Salviati*, which governeth the Pope juſt and holy, that if ſentence ſhould be geven according to the Decretal, it ſhuld not oonly take none effect, but alſo it ſhuld be cauſe of the Popes depoſition — *Vincent Caſalis* ſaid allſo, that it is not ſufficient to put the Pope out of fere, ſuppoſing that then he will juſtifie the Kings deſire, but it is expedient ovyr and above the ſame, that the *Ceſarians* may be ſo handled, that they may drede the King and his Confederates. D. *Knight* going to *Rome* with Mr. *Bennet* concerning the divorce in a letter from *Paris* 8 *Jan. An.* 1529.

Extract of a Letter from Rome.

Coll. No 92. c. 9. B. III. E. Mſ. Jameſ. 27.

IN comprobacion whereof ye ſhall underſtand that his holines inclined with as moch affection to do unto the Kings highnes all gratuite and pleaſure to him poſſible as can be imagined or de-

ſired hath ſent hither a Gentleman one of his Chamberlains named *Franciſcus Campana* whoſe charge conſiſteth in theſe things following. Firſt to declare unto his highnes the perfit aſſured and faſt Minde that the Popes holineſſe bereth towards his grace, And how propenſe glad and redy he is, and wol be, notwithſtanding any dainger or peril that may enſue unto him in his Perſon, Eſtate, or dignitie, to do not oonly all that of lawe, Equity, and juſtice may be deſired of him, but as moche as his holineſſe *ex plenitudine poteſtatis* may doe or excogitate to the furtherance of the Kings grete Cauſe and Matter, *&c. Literæ Card. ad eoſd. reſponſivæ.*

Extract of two Letters from Secretary Knight *at* Rome.

BUT allbeit that every thing is paſſed according to your Highneſſes pleaſure, I cannot ſee but in caſe the ſame be put in Execution, at this Time, the Pope is utterly undone. So he ſaith himſelf the Imperialiſts do daily ſpoil Caſtles and Towns about *Rome.*

Coll. Nº 93. c. 9. B. III. E. Mſ. Jameſ. 27.

From *Orvieti* 1 *Jan.* 1528.

—But his Holineſs being yet in Captivity, as your Graces eſteem him to be ſo long as the *Spaniards* and *Almains* continue in *Italy*, He thought, if he ſhould grant this Commiſſion that he ſhould have the Emperor his perpetual Enemy, notwithſtanding he was content to put himſelf in evident Ruin, and utterly undoing, rather than that the King or your Grace ſhould ſuſpect any Point of Ingratitude in him; heartily deſiring *cum ſuſpiriis & Lachrymis*, that the King and your Grace which have allways been faſt and good unto him, will not now ſuddainly precipitate him for ever, which ſhould be done, if immediately upon Delivery of the Commiſſion, your Grace ſhould begin proceſs; He intends to ſave all upright thus: If Mr. *De Lautrech* would ſet forwards, which he ſaith daily that he will do, but doth not, at his Coming the Pope his Holineſs may have good colour to ſay, he was required by the Ambaſſadors of *England* of a like Commiſſion, and denying the ſame becauſe of his promiſe unto the General, He was eſtſoons required by Mr. *De Lautrech* to grant the ſaid Commiſſion, In as much as it was but a Letter of Juſtice, and by this Colour he would cover the matter. So that it might appear to the Emperor, the Pope did it not, as he that would gladly do diſpleaſure to the Emperor; but as an indifferent Prince that could not deny Juſtice. Eſpecially, being required by ſuch Perſonages, and immediately he will diſpatch a Commiſſion bearing Date, after the Time that Mr. *Lautrech* had been with him, or near to it. The Pope moſt mightily beſeecheth your Grace to be a mean that the King's Highneſs may accept this in good part, And that he will take patience for this little Time, which, as it is ſuppoſed, will be but ſhort, and in *Omnem eventum,* I do bring a Commiſſion with me and a Diſpenſation which I truſt the King and your Grace will like well, we have given to my Lord Cardinal St. *Quatuor* two hundred Crowns, and unto the Secretary thirty Crowns.

Inſtructions by the Cardinal to P. Vannes.

Coll. N° 94.
B. III. c. 9.
E. Mſ. Jameſ.
27.

THE King's not only for the moſt devout Obſervance and perfect Affection, that his Grace beareth to the Popes ſaid Holineſs and Perſon, but allſo for the continual Zeal which his Grace to give the way by one mean or other how Peace may be conduced in *Chriſtendom*, though the King's Highneſs have leſs Intereſt therein, and may have particular Peace with the Emperor at his pleaſure, that his Grace is content on his part and hath induced the *French* King to the Semblable, that his Grace and the *French* King will equally between them, furniſh the Charge for one thouſand fifteen hundred, or two thouſand Men, to be in Guard at the Pope's Perſon, which Number being elected, picked and tryed of ſuch as may be found of the beſt ſhall not only ſuffice for the Tuition and Safeguard of his Holineſs and the College of Cardinals being about him, againſt the Malice of any that might intend to conſpire to his prejudice or danger; But allſo ſhall give great Authority to all ſuch things, as his Holineſs ſhall enterpriſe. And by this Means his Holineſs ſhall be ſure to be out of any Fear or Danger of the Emperor. 19 of *Dec.* 1528.

Letter to the Cardinal concerning the Biſhoprick of Durham.

Col. N° 95.
B. III. c. 10.
Fol. 195. *An Original.*
Cott. Lib.

PLeaſe it your grace to be advertyſid that ther be thre cole pytts at a Townſhip of yours callid *whikam* thre mylis from *new caſtell* where be allredy gotyn a gret ſubſtance of colis to the nombre of 25 ſcore kele, every kele contayning 20. chald' for the whiche colis I have taken ſuche ordre withe fermers of the ſame that your grace maye have clearly fyve hundreth marks your rent accuſtomyd and all other chargis borne ſo that we maye ſhippe the ſaid colis on the biſhopriche ſyde accordingly to the liberties and privilegis hertofore grauntyd, as maye evidently apere by dyvers exemplifications and confirmations aſwele remayning in thexchecor of *dureſme* place at *london* the copy of oon exemplification remaynyng in your exchecor here is herincloſid if it wold pleaſe your grace that at this preſent p'liament a new confirmation maye be obtaynyd of all maner petytions made by your p'deceſſors biſhoppis of *Dureſme* in divers p'liaments of the kings noble progenitours & ther grauntyd & enactyd. And alſo all maner of graunts & confirmations of liberties made & grauntyd by any of the kings noble p'genitours the copies wherof at large apperethe in oon exemplification under the brode ſeale of king *Henry* the 8th remaynyng in a newe coffer with other munyments at *Dureſme* place in *london.* And that it maye be enactyd your grace and your Succeſſours to have & enioy all maner of liberties p'rogatives regalities profetts commodities Eſchetis & forfeytures of werre aſwele by lond as ſee within the biſhopriche of *Dureſme* bytwyx the waters of *Tyne* & *Teaſe* Creke *bedlyngton norham* & *Eland* ſheris in as ample forme & maner as the kings grace hathe ells where within any p'te of this realme if all theis liberties were newly confermyd and enactyd in a generaltie at this p'liament than your grace myght the better putt your privelege of ſhipping in execution I wold thynke it good to have no maner of open ſpeche but in a generaltie of ſhipping ne of any other thynge unto tyme your libertyes wer con-

confermyd

fermyd by act of parliament then incontynently after to execute the ſame The Marchaunts of *new caſtell* wilbe lothe taplie therunto howbeit your privilegis & graunts be clere inow & it is no reaſon that they ſhuld enforce your grace to ſell your colis only unto theym at their own prices & they to utter the ſame ayen at their own libertie bothe to *engliſhmen* and ſtraungers at priſes onreſonable as they have doon hertofore And ſewerly the ſhipping of colis on the biſhopriche ſyde ſhuld be muche beneficiall & p'fitable to all this realme for than the Marchaunts of *new caſtel* & other wold make coſt and labor to get moo cole pytts going in *Northumberland* wherby gret plenty of colis & ſo by reſon of this gret habundance on bothe ſydis this & other realmes myght be myche better ſervid & eſiare pricis if your grace will ſtik to your liberties (as in conſcience your grace is bownde to do) the biſhopriche wilbe better then it is by 1000 Marks a yere only in cole & led. And after your liberties be enacted & confermyd your grace maye ſtraight waye by writt of reſtitution entre poſſeſſion in *Hartlepole* whiche withe membris is worthe two hundrethe markes a yere of ſtandyng rents byſids caſualties The recoveryng & fortyfieng of that haven towne ſhuld be a gret profett & ſtrenkithe to all the biſhopriche refuge to our engliſhe ſhippis & myght do many diſpleſurs to the kings enemies for whiche purpoſe it is thoght to ſtand beſt of any haven towne in *england.* the p'miſſis wold be remembred at this p'ſent p'liament or ells your grace ſhall leſe many commodities & profetts. The Dean of *Akeland* I underſtand intendithe to offer his ſervice to your grace but ſewerly if your grace knew his ſediſious unkynd & contemptuous demeynour towards my lord that ded is & his officers from tyme to tyme ever ſynes my ſaid lord p'motid hym at requeſt of my lord of *wyncheſter* I truſt your grace wold not accept his ſervice my lord was fully determyned if he had lyved to have had hym byfore your grace for his ſediſious demeynor uſed & doon aſwele in open preſence of all the clergie at *dureſme* as alſo privatly when the preſt money was requyred of the ſaid clergie for the kyngs highnes p'te of the ſaid ſediſious ſpeche I have wryting whiche your grace ſhall ſee under a notarie ſigne ſubſcribid with hands of Mr. *Wardale* your Commiſſarie Mr. *Wytham* Dean *Darnton* & Mr. *Folbury* the Maſter of your gramer ſcole at *Dureſme* whiche be right honeſt & ſubſtantiall men byfore the dean began to reply againſt the preſt all the clergie were wele contentyd but after they hard hym ſpeke dyvers began to alter refuſing to take theyr othe a longe ſeaſon in ſo myche that it hyndred the collectors a hundrethe pownds at leſt. And albeit the ſaid dean deſervid gret punyſhement for his miſdemeynor in that bihalfe yet his act and dealyng was not farre diſcrepant from his own nature & kyende for his fadir grandſir & all other of his progenie wer *ſcottiſhemen* borne and wheder he be ſo or not I ſtand in dowte byfore his comyng to *Akeland* it was the beſt ſervid college in the northe p'ties & nowe he hathe fownde the meanys to make it the worſt ſervid of all other if he be wele hendled for makyng this impediment of the kings preſt monye & for his hontyng in your p'ke at *Akeland* taking awaye of *Tymber* & buk in my lords tyme for all whiche cauſes he ſtandithe indytid he wold rendre unto your grace 5 or 600 *l.* for a fyne he hathe gret ſubſtance & if your grace take not p'te therof (as your grace hathe good cauſe & occaſion to do the premiſſis conſidred) I thinke fewe *engliſhemen* ſhall fare the better by hit. Your grace ſhall ſee a letter of my lords own hand wherein p'te of the ſaid dean is demeynour is declared & alſo what my lord was determynyd to have doon for his punyſhement.

I have a frende in *bedfordſhyre* callyd Sir *William Gaſcoigne* knight whiche for his wiſdom gravitie & other qualities I thinke hathe few fellowis within this realme whom I am miche deſirous to have retayned towards your grace & if it be your pleſure to have hym I ſuppoſe at my comyng I cowde p'ſwade hym to be wele contentid to do your grace ſervice in your howſe or whereſoever it ſhuld be your pleſure to command hym in myen opynioun he ſhuld do your grace good & p'fethable ſervice in your howſe if ſom convenient rome were commyttyd to hym for he is a right politique man.

And if your grace cowde be contentyd to let Mr. *Hogill* your ſtewarde to be chaunceler of the biſhopriche & I to be your ſurvayor of *yorkſhire* & of the biſhopriche I wold truſt to do your grace marvilus good ſervice for then ſhuld be no led mynde greſſe grownd cole pytts nor other but the ſame ſhuld be put to the moſt advantage & ſo by reaſon of your colis led & the ſaid greſſe grownds meanys myght be made that your grace ſhuld not deburce owt of your coffers very myche monye no yere for whete malt wyne wax ſpyces bevis motons & your ſervaunts lyveryes The chauncelerſhip is miche better in every behalf than the other Rome is & in profyt by 40 or 50 Marks a yere but the cauſe moving me to make this overture is this I am yonge inow & maye take payne & labour being of full myend to applie my ſelf to do your grace the moſt honour pleſure & ſervice that may lie in my power being your general ſurvayour my contynuall & daily diligence ſhuld be to viſet & ſurvaye all your lands whiche can not be doon without gret & contynuall labour & that not doon gret loſſe & dekeye ſhall enſue meny ways I p'rſayve ther be dyvers ſiche led myndes in *yorkſhire* & p'te of the ſame your own wherof litle avantage co'mythe for defawte of policie & labor in ſerching the ſaid myends on *monday* laſt I ſent the fyners to *fowntance abby* & other places ther abowts in *yorkſhire* where led is And lykewiſe I ſent another man to your own led myends in *wardale* & *hexamſhire* ſecretly to view the myends & to brynge from every of theym a quantitie of led to thentent we maye trie whiche woll yeld moſt ſilver & than of the beſt to get as myche as we can for fynyng.

Ther is amaner place bilonging to the ſee of *dureſme* callid *wele hall* ſtanding uppon the water of *ooſe* 7 mylis from *yorke* & 2 mylis from *cawood* wher is gret plentie of woode of your owne whiche may be broght to *wele hall* by water with litle charge & lyke wiſe led ther wold I lye very myche to make preparation for fynyng for that place is beſt & moſt convenient for that purpoſe bothe for plentie of woode & alſo for that led maye be conveyed thither by water from *yorke* & divers other placis.

I can be wele contentyd at myen own coſt & charge without puttyng your grace to any peny coſt every yere to brynge up all your receitts aſwele of the biſhopriche as of the ſee of *yorke* & evermore whan it ſhalbe requyſyte I ſhall reſorte to *dureſme* to aſſiſt your officer ther & for loking to your profetts in ſuche wiſe as your grace ſhalbe ſubſtantially truly and wele ſervid And your ſaid officer to have the name & p'fett of the chauncellerſhip without taking any gret peyne or labour he maye lye in thabby of *dureſme* like wiſe as Mr. *Aſhton* I & other did at our fyrſt comyng thider And the Priour who is very honorable & good wolbe glad to aſſiſte & ioyne with hym in doing your grace ſervice to the beſt of his power as knowt' almytigh god who evermore preſerve your grace wretyn at *dureſme* this *ſaturdaye* in *eſter* weke

by your moſt humble ſervaunt

W. Frankeleyn

After writyng of this l're I remembred me to have ſeen certayne Munyments at *dureſme* place in *london* whiche be neceſſarie to be had at this preſent p'liament & eſpecially oon bill of reſtitution ſigned by king *edward* at the labour & contemplation of my lord *laurence* than biſhop of *dureſme* my lord god p'don his ſowll leit me ſee the ſaid bill & I remember wele the boxe where he leyd it And for aſmoche as it is neceſſarie the ſame bill to be had at this tyme & for that p'caſe hard it wold be for any other to fyend it ſhortly being ſmall & lyeng among ſo manye wrytynges as it doith I thoght it very expedient to com up my ſelſe for delyvery aſwele therof as of other Munyments whiche tendithe & makith it for the purpoſe afore reherſed & alſo by cauſe ther is no recowree hider of ſtrangers to ſee if I can ſell your colis all redy gotyn to ſum marchaunts of *london* as I dowt not to do & at good pricis ſo that we maye have ſhipping on the biſhopriche ſyde as of right we aght to have And ſo to morowe I intend to take my Jurnaye upwards & on *fryday* at farreſt to be at *london*.

At my laſt being at *london* I ſpake to a frende to provyde me ſilver for coyning at *dureſme* & on good *fryday* I receivid a l're from hym wherby I p'ceive that I ſhall have of hym every yere 1200*l.* of ſilver whiche wilbe very profettable bothe to your grace & alſo to all the cuntrie I intend to bringe downe with me from *london* as miche ſilver as I can get & 2 or 3 moo coynars & alſo we muſt have many moo coynyng yrons for I receivid but 24 from Mr. *Tonyes* whiche yrons will endure but a litell ſpace if we have plentie of ſilver & workmen as I truſt to have I beſeche your grace to gif me lyſaunce to conſtitute a prokter for the convocation & that I maye be ſhortly diſpachied whom ward agen.

Extract of a Letter from Peter Vannes *at* Rome.

EP'atus Wintonienſis hoc in ſtatu eſt. Retulit mihi S. quatuor, Cardinales nullo pacto velle pati, ut bullæ expediantur minori ſummâ quam treſdecim mille Ducatorum, nullis rationibus ab hoc poſſe dimoveri, quos ſuadere & rogare Pontifex poteſt ſed non cogere. Petrus Vannes ad Card. Ebor. Ann. D'ni 1528 Romæ.

Coll. No 96. a. B. III. c. 10. E. Mſ. James. 27.

Wm. Frankclyn was on 17 *Dec.* made Dean of *Windeſor* for Life. *Priv. Sig. de annis* 27 and 28 *H.* 8. in which place He continued 1 *Ed.* 6.

Extract of a Letter from Sir Gregory Caſſali.

Coll. N° 96. b. B. III. c. 10. E. Mſ. Jameſ. 27.

DIcatis R'mo D'no. quod poſt ſcriptas alias literas ad tractandum de ſuâ expeditione. & de bulla Cathedralium. circa expeditionem bullarum ſuarum lucratus ſum circiter decem Cardinales hijs rationibus quod ſi ipſi facerent hanc gratiam ejus R'mæ. D. ipſa dimitteret Ep'atum Dunelmenſ. præterea R'mus ſolvet ſex mille ducatos, quos ego obtuli me inventurum. Ad hæc brevi eſt vacaturus Archiepiſcop'us Cantuar. ex quo totidem pecunias ipſi recipient *&c.* Gregor. Caſalis ad Vincent 1529 Romæ.

The Names of ſuch perſons as were Collated to Benefices and Dignities by The Reverend Father in God Thomas Wolveſay *Lord Biſhop of* Wincheſter.

Coll. No 97. B. III. c. 10. From the Rev. Mr. *Granley*.

20 *JAN.* 1529 *William Boleyn* Clerke was Collated to the Archdeaconry of *Wincheſter*

14 *July* 1530 *Edward Lee* (*Sacræ paginæ* Profeſſor) was Collated to the Archdeaconry of *Surry*

1° *Aug.* 1530 *Thomas Lupſett* Maſter of Arts was Collated to the Rectory of *Cheriton* in the County of *Southampton* & Dioceſs of *Wincheſter*

1° *Aug.* 1530 *John Hurte* then Chaplain to the ſaid Biſhopp was Collated to the Rectory of *Upham* in the County of *Southampton* & Dioceſs of *Wincheſter*

26° *Novembris* 1530 *William Ermyght* then Chaplain to the ſaid Lord Biſhopp was Collated to the Rectory of *Biſhops Stoke* in the County of *Southampton* & Dioceſs of *Wincheſter*

Commiſſion for veſting in the King the Diſpoſal of Benefices in the Dioceſe of Wincheſter.

By the King.

Henry R.

Coll. N° 98. B. III. c. 10. *Cotton* Library *Titus.* B. I. Fol. 59. *An Original.*

MOOST reverend fader in God right truſty & right welbeloved we grete you wele & ſende unto you at this tyme by our truſtie and welbeloved Chaplain Doctour *Incent* your Vicair generall, a Commiſſion touching the gift of Benefices & Offices within your Diociſe of *Wincheſter* being at our denomination & appointement deviſed by our Counſail Wherfor we woll & deſire you to ſubſcribe the ſame Comiſſion, & to ſeale it with your Seale, and thereupon delyvere the ſame to your ſaid Vicair generall, which he ſhall uſe noon otherwiſe but according to our commaundement & pleaſure. Yeven undur our Signet at our Manour of the *More* the 29th day of *Marche.*

To the mooſt reverend Fader in God our right truſty
& right welbiloved The Lord Cardinall Archebiſhop of York *&* *Primat of* England.

Peter Vannes *to the Cardinal about the Pope's Illneſs.*

Coll. No 99. a. B. III. c. 11.

DUM de Pontificis valetudine bene ſperaremus ecce ex ſecretiſſimo certiſſimoq; loco nobis nunciatur illius Morbum ita ingraveſcere ad delirium uſq; & Vomitum, ut deſperanda ſit illius ſalus —— Scripſimus ad Comitem S'ti Pauli ut apud C'tianiſſimum efficiat, quod Gallici Cardinales quam primum ad confinia advolent, ut creationi novi Pontificis, quam vereor plus nimio maturè inſtare, queant intereſſe. nam niſi factionis noſtræ creetur Pontifex, actæ ſunt Gallorum actiones. Petrus Vannes Card. Ebor. Romæ 1529

Cardinal's Letter to Gardiner *about the popedom.*

Coll. No 99. b. B. III. c. 11. CCC. *Camb.*

p. 125.

MR. *Stevens* albeit ye ſhall be ſufficiently with your Collegys by ſuch inſtructions as be given to *Monk Vincent* informed of the kings minde and mine concerning my advancement unto the dignity papalle. Not dowtting but that for the ſingular devotion which ye bere towards the kinge and his affaires both generall and particular, and perſyte love which ye have towards me ye will omitt nothing that may be excogitat to ſerve & conduce to that purpoſe. Yet I thought convenient for the more fervent expreſſion of mine in that behalf to wryte to you as to the perſon whom I moſt entirely do truſt. And by whome this thing ſhall be moſt Rightly ſet forth theſe fewe wordys followyng of mine owne hande. I dowt not but ye do profoundely conſider as well the ſtate wherein the Church and all *C'tendome* doth ſtand now preſently. as alſo the ſtate of this Realme and of the kings ſecret Mater which if it ſhulde be browght to paſſe by any other Meanyes than by the Authority of the Church, I accounte this Prince and realme utterly undone. Wherefor that is expedient to have ſuch one to be Pope and Commyn father to all Princes as may, can, and wold geve remedy to the premiſſes. And albeit I accompt my ſelf much ounabill, and that ſhall be now incommodious in mine old age to be the ſaid Commyn father, yet when all things be well ponderyd, and the qualitys of all the Cardinalls well conſiderid. *abſit verbum jactantiæ*, ther ſhall be none found that can and will ſett remedy in the forſaid things but onely the Cardinall *Ebor.* whos good will and holi ys not to you of all men unknowne. and were it not for the re-integration of the ſtate of the Churche and ſee Apoſtolique to the preſtine dygnite, and for the conducinge of peace amongeſt C'tian princes, and eſpecially to relieve this prince and realme, from the calamites that the ſame be now in, all the Riches or honor of the world ſhuld not cauſe me *nedum aſpirare ſed ne conſentire* to accept the ſeid dignite and altho the ſame with all Commodytes were offeryed unto me. Neverthelesſe conforming myſelf to the neceſſity of the time and the will and pleaſure of theſe two princes, I am content to appone all my witt and ſtudy and to ſet forth all meanys and ways *& bene faciam rebus C'tianitatis* for the atteyning of the ſaid dignite. For the atcheving and atteyning whereof, for as moche as thereupon dependeth the health and wealth not onely of theſe two princes and their realmes but all *C'tendome*, nothing is to be omitted that may conduce to the ſaid end and purpoſe Wherefor Mr. *Stevins* ſince now ye be ſo plainly advertiſed of my mind and intent, I ſhall pray you

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you to extend *omnes nervos ingenij tui, ut iſta res ad effectum perduci poſſit, nullis parcendo ſumptibus, pollicitationibus ſive laboribus, ita ut horum videris ingenia & affectiones ſive ad privata ſive ad publica ita accomodes actiones tuas. Non deeſt tibi & Collegis tuis ampliſſima poteſtas nullis terminis aut conditionibus limitata ſive reſtricta & quicquid feceris, ſcito omnia apud hunc Regem & me eſſe grata & rata. Nam omnia, ut paucis abſolvam in tuo ingenio & fide repoſuimus. Nihil ſupereſt aliud ſcribendum niſi quod ſupplex orem ut omnes actiones tuas ſecundet Deus optimus Maximuſq; & ex corde vale. Ex ædibus meis Weſt-Monaſt.* vij *Februarij. Tuæ ſalutis & amplitudinis cupidiſſimus T. Car'lis Ebor. propriâ Manu.*

From the Learned and Reverend Mr. Baker.

A Memoriall of ſuche Communication, as My Lord Legats *Grace had with the Quens* Almoner.

Coll. No 100. B. III. c. 12.

FYRST My Lords Grace taking for Introduction & Commencent of his Grac's purpoſes & devyſes excogitate by the ſame, for the totall extermination of ſuche Hereſies as daily increaſed in *Cambrydge:* & that his Grace thought more convenyent the ſame to be don by the Commyſſaries then the Byſops of *Rocheſter* or *Elie*, ſhewed his pleaſure & determination was to ſend hym thyther, as well for that he was of good reputation & credytt there, beinge a M'r of a Colledge in the ſame, as alſo for that he had in tymes paſſed uſed hym in lyke buſynes. To which the ſaid Mr. *Almoner*, fyrſt excuſinge the remiſſyon of his wonte & bonden offyce & dewtie in vyſitinge his Grace, & moſt humblie beſechinge the ſame, not to impute yt as proceding of any alienation of his trewe hart, & devotion he bare unto the ſame, anſwered, that he woold moſt gladly taike upon hym the ſaid Province & Jorney; deſyringe nevertheles his Grace, that he myght defer the ſame untyll 20 dayes were paſt & expired, in which ſpace he myght well performe his Reſydence at *Wyndeſore*. Unto which Petycyon his Grace condeſcendynge, & takynge the ſame as a full Reſolution in that behalfe, pretending alſo to have had noon other cauſe or matter unto hym, fyniſhed that Communication.

And ſodenly asked him what tydings he had hard of late in the Courte: To this he anſwered, that he hard noon, but that yt was moche bruted, that a Legat ſhuld come hyther into *England*. Whereuppon his Grace infarred what the Quene thought of his comynge, & for what purpoſſe he ſhuld come. To this he ſaid, that ſhe was fully perſwaded & beleved that his comynge was only for the deciſion of the Cauſe of Matrimonie, dependinge betwene her & the Kinges Highnes.

Hereupon My Lords Grace taking juſt occaſion further to entre in this matter & fyrſt making reherſall of ſondrie excellent benefitts, with which his Grace had indewed hym, to th'end he ſhuld doo the Kings Highnes trewe and faithful ſervice, & ſithe adjuring him upon his fidelitie, his Othe, *& ſub Sigillo Confeſſionis* and ſuche other Obteſtations to conceale & kepe ſecrete, whatſoever his Grace ſhuld then communicate unto him, & never to propale the ſame to any man lyving oonles he had expreſſe Commandement by the Kings Highneſs or his Grace ſo to doo, deſyred hym that he wold fathfully, entierly & hoolye declare unto his Grace all & ſinguler ſuche things as he knewe of the Quenes dyſpoſicion, minde, ſaings, purpoſe, & Intent in this mattier.

To this the ſaid Mr. *Almoner*, fyrſt alleging & declairing of how ſinguler & perfytt devocyon he was towards the Kings Hyghnes & My Lords Grace & that he wold not oonly be mooſt redy to execute his Commandements, but alſo to kepe ſecrete ſuche things as his Grace ſhuld wyll him ſo to doo: anſwered, that he harde the Quene oft ſaie, that yf in this Cauſe ſhe myght attaine & injoye her naturall defence & Juſtice, ſhe diſtruſted nothing butt yt ſhuld taike ſuche effect, as ſhuld be acceptable both to God & Man. And that for theiſe Cauſes.

Fyrſt for that it was in the ieies of God mooſt plaine & evydent, that ſhe was never knowen of Prince *Arthure*. Secondly for that neyther of the Judges were competent, being bothe the Kings ſubjects, beneficed within his Realme, & delegate from the Pope at the contemplation of the King, ſhe being never hard, ne admytted to her defence. Thyrdly, for that ſhe ne had, ne myght have within this Realme any indifferent Counſaile. Fynally for that ſhe had in *Spaine* twoo Bulles, the oone beinge latter daite than the other, but bothe of ſuche Effycacie & ſtrengthe, as ſhuld ſone remove all Objections & Cavyllations to be maide, to thinfringing of this Matrymonie.

To this My Lords Grace replying ſaid, he marvelled not a lytle of her ſo undyſcrete ungodly purpoſes & ſaings which cauſed him to conceyve that ſhe was neyther of ſuche perfection, ne vertue as he had thought in tymes paſſed to have been in her: & ſo entering the Refutation of all the premiſſes ſaid.

Fyrſt, where ſhe ſathe that ſhe was not knowen of Prince *Arthure*, verely it is a weake & muche unſure grounde for her to leane unto, being ſo urgent & vehement preſumptions, *non ſolum Juris, ſed etiam de Jure* to the contrarie, which & of congrewence ought to wey more in every equall Judges breſt, then her ſymple allegation. For it cannot be denyed but that bothe he & ſhe was then of ſuche yers, as was mete & hable to explete that act. It is alſo verey notarie, that thei dyd lye together, bothe here & in *Waylles*, by the ſpaice of three Quarters of a yere. Furthermore nothing was ſo muche deſyred of bothe there parents, as the Conſummation of the ſaid act: Inſomuche that the Counſailers of *Fardinando* being reſident here for that purpoſſe, dyd ſend the ſheets thei ley in, ſpotted with bloude into *Spaine*, in full teſtymonie & prouf thereof. The Counſailers alſo of bothe parties moſt ſolemnelye ſworne affearme in there treaties & ſaien, that the Matrymonie was conſummate by that Act. Forthermore the commen voyce through *England* is, that the ſaid Prince *Arthure* ſhuld ofttymes booſt oon mornyng how oft he had beene the nyght before in the myddes of *Spaine:* Inſomuche that commonlye his ſo primature deathe was imputed onely to *nimio Coitu*.

Fynally King *Henry* the VIIth of bleſſed Memorie wold not by certaine ſpace after the deathe of the ſaid Prince permytte or ſuffer, that the Kings Highnes ſhuld injoye the name & Tytle of Prince, onely for that it was dowbted by ſuche as than was moſt privye & ſecrete abowte the Quene, whether ſhe was conceaved wyth Chylde or noo. And therefore theſe preſumptions being of ſuche ſorte & nature, My Lords Grace ſaid, the Quene ſhuld do lyke neyther wyſe ne vartuouſe Lady, to adhere partinacely to the Contrarie.

To the Seconde his Grace replied ſaing, that yf ſhe ſhuld refuſe and decline the Judgment of thoſe parſons, unto whome the Popes Holines had delegated the Examination of this Cauſe, ſhe ſhuld not doo well, butt ſo doing rather incurr the Indignation of the Sea Apoſtolique, deſerve the oblyque & hatred of all good choſſin people, & ingenerate in there hartes a perpetuall hate & enmitie againſt her. For ſythe the Popes Holines proceadythe in this Commyſſion at the Interceſſion or motion of no partie, but onely *ex mero motu & Paſtorali officio*, & ſith that his Holines, notwithſtanding he being notoriouſly certyfied that they be the Kings Subjects, & benefyced wythin his Realme hathe approved there parſons as mooſt mete & worthie to have the hole deciſion of thys Cawſe commytted unto them: with that alſo theire parſons be qualyfyed with ſo hyghe preemynence & dignitie, as by the Common Lawe cannot be refuſed as ſuſpect. Fynally ſythe the ſame parſons being ſtraitly commanded by the Kings Hyghnes, all affection of mede or drede ſett apart, onely to attend, waye, regard, & conſyder the Juſtyce of the Cawſe, as they ſhall therunto anſwere on perell of their owne Sowles, & his dreadfull Indignation, have no cawſe whic thei ſhuld varye or deflect their Sentence, otherwyſe than Juſtyce ſhall require, ſpecially in a Cawſe of ſuche wayght & Importance, & wherin they for unryghteouſe Judgement ſhuld acquire nothing els but theire owne dampnation, eternall Ignominie, & Indignation of theire Prince: yf ſhe ſhuld refuſe ſuche parſons as ſuſpect, It might well be ſaid, that ſhe geveth tytles honour to the auctoritie of the Churche, & that this Realme were marvelouſly deſtytute of Men of ſincere lernyng & conſcience, to the great ſlaunder of the ſame. And fynally his Grace ſaid, that yf this exception ſhuld be admytted as ſuffycyent cawſe of recuſation, for that they be benefyced by the Kings Hyghnes than this Cawſe of Matrymonie myght no where be ventylated or dyſcuſſed within *Chryſtindome*, for that there are no parſons of auctoritie & lernyng in any Region out of this Realme, againe whome the Kings Highnes might not alleadge in lyke maner lyke cawſe of recuſation & ſuſpicion. The Popes Holines & the holle Clargie of *Ytalie*, *Flaunders*, *Spaine*, *Denmarke*, & *Scotland* being now eyther confederate or in thraldome & Captivitie of the Emperors Tyranny. To the third concernyng Counſailors to be retayned on her behalf, My Lords Grace ſaide, that although he was ryght well aſſured of the Kings ſinguler propencyon & Inclination to Juſtyce, & that above all things his pleaſour was, Juſtyce ſhuld be equally myniſtred to eyther parte in this Cawſe, being alſo never wylling or in mynde at any tyme, but that ſhe ſhuld have aide & aſſiſtance of ſo well lerned men, ſo wyſe, & of ſo good conſcience, as might any be founde within this Realme; yet his Grace thought, that conſydering the nature of this Cawſe to be of ſuche ſorte, as neceſſarily impliethe the hole Tytle of ſucceſſyon of this Realme, lyke as yt were not expedyent, ne might in any wyſe be ſuffred withowt great dangier & perell which might therby enſue, to maike any aliene or ſtraunger prevaie herunto, ſpecially the *Spaniards* having now Intelligence with the King of *Scotts*; So his Grace thought, that the Quene wold not inſyſt in ſo fryvolous petition, which might never be graunted unto her, but be content to admytt &

adhybyt ſuche lerned men, as be here in this Region her Counſailors, namely ſuche, as by theire othes ſolemnly maide & vowed, & by expreſſe Commandment, *& optima gratia* of the Kings Highnes, ſhuld withowt fraude or corruption ſhew unto her theire ſentence & openions: & deſyring the contrarie herof, his Grace ſaid ſhe ſhuld doe nothing but declare her owne ſenſuall affection to ſett forthe that, which all due prouff, bothe by Gods lawe & mans Law hath juſtly condemned. And thus ended My Lords Graces talke with Mr. *Almoner*.

Ex Ms. inter Archiva Academiæ Cant.

Robert Shorton S. T. P. then Maſter of *Pembroke Hall* and Canon of *Windſor* was *Almoner* to the Queen, preferr'd by her to the Deanery of *Stoke Suffolk*, the ſame that was *Internuncius Cardinali, de evocandis viris doctis Cantabrigiâ Oxoniam*, and ſometimes Dean of the Cardinal's Chappell.

Articles exhibited againſt the Cardinal.

“ CErtain Articles againſt the Cardinal were preferred in Parliament, the Original whereof found among our Records, I have thought fit to tranſcribe, And the rather for that our vulgar Chronicles miſreport them. [a] Conſtrain'd by neceſſity of our fidelity & conſcience, complain & ſue to your moſt Royal Majeſty, We your Grace's humble, true, faithfull & obedient ſubjects, That the Lord Cardinal of *York*, lately your Grace's Chancellor, preſuming to take upon him the authority of the Pope's Legate *de Latere*, hath by divers & many ſundry ways & faſhions, committed high & notable grievous offences, miſ-uſing, altering & ſubverting the order of your Grace's Laws, & otherways contrary to your high honour, Prerogative, Crown, Eſtate & Dignity Regal, to the ineſtimable great hindrance, diminution, & decay of this your Grace's Realm: As 'tis touch'd ſummarily & particularly in certain Articles here following, which be but a few in compariſon of all his enormities, Exceſſes & tranſgreſſions againſt your Grace's Laws.

Coll. No 101.
B. III. c. 12.
(a) See *Cooks* inſtitutes, part 4. fol. 89. *& deinc.*
Cotton. Libr. *Julius* 1. fol. 24.
(From Lord *Herbert.*)

That is to ſay:

1. WHere your Grace and noble Progenitors within this Realm of *England* being Kings of *England*, have been ſo free, that they have had in all the World, no other Sovereign, but immediately ſubject to Almighty God in all things touching the Regality of your Crown of *England*, & the ſame Pre-eminence, Prerogative, Juriſdiction, lawfull & peaceable poſſeſſion, your Grace and noble Progenitors have had, us'd & enjoy'd without interruption of Buſineſs, therefore by the ſpace of two hundred Years & more; whereby your Grace may preſcribe againſt the Pope's holyneſs, that he ſhou'd not, nor ought not to ſend or make any Legate, to execute any authority Legantine, contrary to your Grace's Prerogative within this your Realm: Now the Lord Cardinal of *York*, being your Subject, & natural Liege born, hath of his high Orgullows & inſatiable mind, for his own ſingular advancement & profit, in Derogation, & to the great emblemiſhment & hurt of your ſaid Royal juriſdiction and Prerogative, & the long continuance of the

Warham W. Archbiſhop of *Cant.*

the Poſſeſſion of the ſame, obtain'd authority Legantine: By reaſon whereof, he has not only hurt your ſaid Preſcription, but alſo by the ſaid authority Legantine, hath ſpoil'd & taken away from many Houſes of Religion, within this your Realm, much ſubſtance of their Goods, & alſo hath uſurp'd upon all your Ordinaries, within this your Realm, much part of their juriſdiction, in Derogation of your Prerogative, & to the great hurt of your ſaid Ordinaries, Prelates, & Religious.

2. Alſo the ſaid Lord Cardinal, being your Ambaſſador in *France*, made a Treaty with the *French* King for the Pope, your Majeſty not knowing any part thereof, nor named in the ſame; & binding the ſaid *French* King to abide his order & award, if any Controverſie or doubt ſhou'd ariſe upon the ſame, betwixt the ſaid Pope & the *French* King.

3. Alſo the ſaid Lord Cardinal, being your Ambaſſador in *France*, ſent a Commiſſion to Sir *Gregory de Caſſalis*, under your great Seal, in your Grace's Name, to conclude a Treaty of Amity with the Duke of *Ferrara*; without any Commandment or Warrant of your Highneſs, nor your ſaid Highneſs advertis'd or made privy to the ſame.

4. Alſo the ſaid Lord Cardinal, of his preſumptuous Mind, in divers & many of his Letters and Inſtructions, ſent out of this Realm to outward Parts, had joyn'd himſelf with your Grace, as in ſaying & writing, The King & I wou'd ye ſhou'd do thus: The King & I do give unto you our hearty Thanks: Whereby it is apparent that he us'd himſelf more like a Fellow to your Highneſs than like a Subject.

5. Alſo where it hath ever been accuſtom'd within this Realm, that when Noblemen do Swear their Houſhold Servants, the firſt part of their Oath hath been, that they ſhou'd be true Liege Men to the King & his Heirs Kings of *England*: The ſame Lord Cardinal caus'd his Servants to be only ſworn to him, as if there had been no Sovereign above him.

6. And alſo whereas your Grace is our Sovereign Lord & Head, in whom ſtandeth all the Surety and Wealth of this Realm; the ſame Lord Cardinal knowing himſelf to have the fowl & contagious Diſeaſe of the great Pox broken out upon him in divers places of his Body, came dayly to your Grace, rownding in your Ears, & blowing upon your moſt noble Grace, with his perilous & infective breath, to the marvellous danger of your highneſs, if God of his infinite goodneſs had not better provided for your highneſs: And when he was once healed of them, he made your Grace to believe that his diſeaſe was an Impoſthume in his Head, & no other thing.

7. Alſo the ſaid Lord Cardinal, by his authority Legantine, hath given by Prevention, the Benefices of divers Perſons, as well Spiritual & Temporal, contrary to your Crown & Dignity, & your Laws & Statutes therefore provided: By reaſon whereof, he is in danger to your Grace of forfeiture of his Lands & Goods, & his Body at your pleaſure.

8. Alſo the Lord Cardinal, taking upon him otherwiſe than a true Counſellor ought to do, hath us'd to have all Embaſſadors come firſt to him alone, & ſo hearing their Charges and Intents, 'tis to be thought he hath inſtructed them after his pleaſure & purpoſe, before that they came to your Preſence, contrary to your high Commandment by your Grace's Mouth to him given, & alſo to other Perſons ſent to him by your Grace.

9. And alſo the Lord Cardinal hath practis'd ſo, that all manner of Letters ſent from beyond the Sea to your Highneſs, hath come firſt to his Hands, contrary to your high Commandment by your own Mouth; & alſo by others ſent to him by your Grace: By reaſon whereof your Highneſs, nor any of your Council, had knowledge of no matters but of ſuch as it pleaſed him to ſhew them: Whereby your Highneſs & Council have been compell'd of very force, to follow his devices, which oftentimes were ſet forth by him under ſuch crafty & covert meanings, that your Highneſs & your Council have oftentimes been abus'd, inſomuch that when your Council have found & put divers doubts & things, which afterwards have enſued; He, to abuſe them, uſed theſe Words, (*I will lay my Head that no ſuch thing ſhall happen.*)

10. And the ſaid Lord Cardinal hath practis'd, that no manner of Perſons having charge to make eſpial of things done beyond the Sea, ſhould at their return, come firſt to your Grace, nor to any other of your Council, but only to himſelf: And in caſe they did the Contrary, he puniſh'd them there for ſo doing.

11. Alſo the ſaid Lord Cardinal hath granted Licenſes under your great Seal, for carrying out of Grain & other Victuals, after the reſtraint hath been made thereof, for his own Lucre & ſingular Advantage of him & his Servants, for to ſend thither; as he bare ſecret Favour, without your Grace's warrant or knowledge thereof.

12. Alſo the ſaid Lord Cardinal us'd many Years together, not only to write unto all your Ambaſſadors reſident with other Princes in his own Name, all Advertiſements concerning your Grace's Affairs, being in their Charge: And in the ſame his Letters wrote many things of his own Mind, without your Grace's Pleaſure known, concealing divers things which had been neceſſary for them to know; but alſo caus'd them to write their Advertiſements unto him; & of the ſame Letters he us'd to conceal, for the compaſſing of his Purpoſe, many things both from all your other Counſellors & from your ſelf alſo.

13. And where good Hoſpitals hath been us'd to be kept in Houſes & Places of Religion of this Realm, & many poor People thereby reliev'd, the ſaid Hoſpitality & Relief is now decay'd & not us'd; And it is commonly reported that the occaſion thereof is, becauſe the ſaid Lord Cardinal hath taken ſuch Impoſitions of the Rulers of the ſaid Houſes, as well for his favour in making of Abbots & Priors, as for his Viſitation by his authority Legantine: And yet neverthelefs taketh yearly of ſuch Religious Houſes ſuch yearly and continual Charges, as they be not able to keep Hoſpi-

tality as they were uſed to do; which is a great cauſe that there be ſo many Vagabonds, Beggars & Thieves.

14. And where the ſame ſaid Lord Cardinal ſaid before the Suppreſſion of ſuch Houſes as he hath ſuppreſs'd, that the Poſſeſſions of them ſhould be ſett to farm among your Lay Subjects, after ſuch reaſonable yearly Rent as they ſhou'd well thereupon live & keep good Hoſpitality: Now the Demeſne Poſſeſſion of the ſame Houſes ſince the ſuppreſſion of them hath been ſurvey'd, mete, & meaſur'd by the Acre, & be now ſet above the value of the Old Rent; And alſo ſuch as were Farmers by Covent Seal & Copyholders be put out & amoved of their Farms, or elſe compell'd to pay new Fine, contrary to all Equity & Conſcience.

15. Alſo the ſaid Lord Cardinal, ſitting among the Lords & others of your moſt honourable Privy-Council, uſed himſelf, that if any Man wou'd ſhew his Mind, according to his Duty, contrary to the Opinion of the ſaid Cardinal, he wou'd ſo take him up with his accuſtomable Words, that they were better to hold their peace than to ſpeak, ſo that he wou'd hear no Man ſpeak but one or two great Perſonages, ſo that he wou'd have all the Words himſelf, & conſum'd much Time with a fair Tale.

16. Alſo the ſaid Lord Cardinal by his Ambition & Pride hath hinder'd & undone many of your poor Subjects for want of diſpatchment of Matters, for he wou'd no Man ſhou'd meddle but himſelf: Inſomuch that it hath been affirm'd by many wiſe Men that Ten of the moſt wiſe & moſt expert Men in *England* were not ſufficient in convenient Time to order the Matters that he wou'd retain to himſelf: And many Times he deferr'd the ending of Matters, becauſe that Suiters ſhou'd attend & wait upon him, whereof he had no ſmall pleaſure, that his Houſe might be repleniſh'd with Suiters.

17. Alſo the ſaid Lord Cardinal by his authority Legantine, hath us'd, if any Spiritual Man having any Riches or Subſtance, deceas'd, he hath taken their Goods as his own, by reaſon whereof their Wills be not perform'd; And one mean he had to put them in fear that were made Executors to refuſe to meddle.

18. Alſo the ſaid Lord Cardinal conſtrain'd all Ordinaries in *England* yearly to compound with him, or elſe he will uſurp half or the whole of their Juriſdiction by Prevention, not for good Order of the Dioceſs, but to extort Treaſure; for there is never a poor Arch-deacon in *England*, but that he paid yearly to him a Portion of his Living.

19. Alſo the ſaid Lord Cardinal hath not only by his untrue ſuggeſtion to the Pope, ſhamefully ſlander'd many good religious Houſes, & good virtuous Men dwelling in them, but alſo ſuppreſs'd, by reaſon thereof, above thirty Houſes of Religion. And where by authority of his Bull, he ſhou'd not ſuppreſs any Houſe that had more Men of Religion in number, above the number of ſix or ſeven, he hath ſuppreſs'd divers Houſes that had above the number: And thereupon hath caus'd divers Offices to be found by Verdict untruly, that the religious Perſons ſo ſuppreſs'd had volun-

tarily forſaken their ſaid Houſes, which was untrue, & ſo hath caus'd open Perjury to be committed, to the high diſpleaſure of Almighty God.

20. Alſo the ſaid Lord Cardinal hath examin'd diverſe & many Matters in the *Chancery*, after Judgment thereof given at the Common Law, in ſubverſion of your Laws, and made ſome Perſons reſtore again to the other Party condemn'd that they had in Execution by virtue of the Judgment of the Common Law.

21. Alſo the ſaid Lord Cardinal hath granted many Injunctions by Writt, & the Parties never call'd thereunto, nor Bill put in againſt them; And by reaſon thereof divers of your Subjects have been put from their Lawfull Poſſeſſion of their Lands and Tenements. And by ſuch means he hath brought the more Party of the Suiters of this your Realm before himſelf; whereby he & divers of his Servants hath gotten much Riches, & your Subjects ſuffer'd great Wrongs.

22. Alſo the ſaid Lord Cardinal, to augment his great Riches, hath caus'd divers Pardons granted by the Pope to be ſuſpended, which cou'd not be reviv'd till the ſaid Lord Cardinal was rewarded, & alſo had a yearly Penſion of the ſaid Pardon.

23. Alſo the ſaid Lord Cardinal, not regarding your Laws nor Juſtice, of his extort Power hath put out divers and many Farmers of his Lands, & alſo Patentees of the Archbiſhoprick of *York* & of the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*, & of the Abbey of St. *Albans*, which had good & ſufficient grant thereof by your Laws.

24. Alſo the ſame Lord Cardinal at many Times when any Houſes of Religion hath been void, hath ſent his Officers thither, & with crafty Perſwaſions hath induc'd them to compromit their Election in him; and before he nam'd or confirm'd any of them, he & his Servants receiv'd ſo much great Goods of them, that in a manner it hath been to the undoing of the Houſe.

25. Alſo by his authority Legantine, the ſame Lord Cardinal hath viſited the moſt part of the Religious Houſes & Colleges of this your Realm, & hath taken from them the twenty fifth part of their Livelyhood, to the great Extortion of your Subjects, & derogation of your Laws & Prerogative, & no Law hath been to bear him ſo to do.

26. Alſo when Matters have been near a Judgment by Proceſs of your Common Law, the ſame Lord Cardinal hath not only given & ſent Injunctions to the Parties, but alſo ſent for your Judges, & expreſsly by Threats commanded them to deferr the Judgment, to the evident ſubverſion of your Laws, if the Judges wou'd ſo have ceas'd.

27. And whereas neither the Biſhop of *York*, nor *Wincheſter*, nor the Abbey of St. *Albans*, nor the Profit of his Legation, nor the Benefit of the *Chancery*, nor his great Penſion out of *France*, nor his Wards & other inordinate Taking cou'd ſuffice him, he hath made his Son *Winter* to ſpend ſeven & twenty hundred Pounds by the

Year, which he taketh to his own Uſe, & giveth him not paſt two hundred Pounds yearly to live upon.

28. Alſo whereas the ſaid Lord Cardinal did firſt ſue unto your Grace to have your Aſſent to be Legate *de Latere*, promiſing & ſolemnly proteſting before your Majeſty, & before the Lords both Spiritual and Temporal, that he wou'd nothing do nor attempt by the virtue of his Legacie contrary to your gracious Prerogative or Regality, or to the dammage or prejudice of the Juriſdiction of any ordinary, & that by his Legacie no Man ſhou'd be hurt nor offended: And upon that Condition, & no other, he was admitted by your Grace to be Legate within this your Realm: This Condition he hath Broken, & is well known to all your Subjects. And when that he made this Promiſe, he was buſie in his Suit at *Rome* to viſit all the Clergy of *England* both exempt & not exempt.

In this impeachment 'tis confeſs'd the Cardinal had the K's Licenſe to exerciſe his Legantine Commiſſion.

29. Alſo upon the Suit of the ſaid Lord Cardinal at *Rome* to have his authority Legantine, he made untrue Surmiſe to the Pope's Holineſs againſt the Clergy of your Realm; which was, that the Regular Perſons of the ſaid Clergy had given themſelves in *reprobum ſenſum*; which Words St. *Paul*, writing to the *Romans*, applied to abominable Sin; which ſlander to your Church of *England* ſhall for ever remain in the Regiſter at *Rome* againſt the Clergy of this your Realm.

30. Alſo the ſaid Lord Cardinal had the more part of the Goods of Dr. *Smith*, late Biſhop of *Lincoln*, Biſhop *Savage* of *York*, Maſter *Dalbye* Arch-deacon of *Richmond*, Maſter *Tonyers*, Dr. *Rothall* late Biſhop of *Durham*, & of Dr. *Fox* late Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, contrary to their Wills, & your Laws & Juſtice.

31. Alſo at the *Oyer* & *Terminer* of *York*, Proclamation was made that every Man ſhou'd put in their Bills for Extortion of Ordinaries: And when divers Bills were put in againſt the Officers of the ſaid Lord Cardinal of Extortion, for taking twelvepence of the Pound for Probation of Teſtaments, whereof divers Bills were found before Juſtice *Fitz Herbert* & other Commiſſioners, the ſaid Lord Cardinal remov'd the ſaid Inditements into the *Chancery* by *Certiorari*, & rebuk'd the ſaid *Fitz Herbert* for the ſame Cauſe.

32. Alſo the ſaid Lord Cardinal hath buſied himſelf, & endeavour'd by crafty & untrue Tales to make diſſention & Debate amongſt your Nobles of your Realm, which is ready to be prov'd.

33. Alſo the ſaid Lord Cardinal's Officers hath divers Times compell'd your Subjects to ſerve him with Carts for Carriage, & alſo his Servants hath taken both Corn and Cattle, Fiſh & all other Victual, at your Grace's Price, or under, as tho' it had been for your Grace, which is contrary to your Laws.

34. Alſo the ſaid Lord Cardinal hath miſus'd himſelf in your moſt honourable Court, in keeping of as great Eſtate there in your Abſence, as your Grace wou'd have done if you had been there preſent in your own Perſon.

35. Alſo his Servants, by virtue of your Commiſſion under your Broad Seal by him to them given, have taken Cattle & all other Victual, at as Low a Price as your Purveyors have done for your Grace by your Prerogative, againſt the Laws of your Realm.

36. Alſo where it hath been accuſtom'd, that your Purveyors for your honourable Houſhold have had yearly out of your Town & Liberty of St. *Albans* three or four hundred Quarters of Wheat; Truth it is, that ſince the Lord Cardinal had the Room of Abbot, your ſaid Purveyors cou'd not be ſuffer'd by him & his Officers to take any Wheat within the ſaid Town or Liberties.

37. Alſo he hath divers Times given Injunction to your Servants, that have been for Cauſes before him in the Star Chamber, that they, nor other for them, ſhou'd make labour by any manner of way, directly or indirectly, to your Grace, to obtain your Grace's Favour or Pardon, which was a preſumptuous Intent for any Subject.

38. Alſo the ſaid Lord Cardinal did call before him Sir *John Stanley* Knight, which had taken a Farm by Covent-Seal of the Abbot & Covent of *Cheſter*, & afterwards by his Power & Might, contrary to Right, committed the ſaid Sir *John Stanley* to the Priſon of *Fleet* by the Space of one Year, unto ſuch Time as he compell'd the ſaid Sir *John* to releaſe his Covent-Seal to one *Leghe* of *Adlington*, which married one *Lark*'s Daughter, which Woman the ſaid Lord Cardinal kept, & had with her two Children: Whereupon the ſaid Sir *John Stanley*, upon diſpleaſure taken in his Heart, made himſelf *Monk* in *Weſtminſter*, & there died.

39. Alſo, on a Time your Grace being at St. *Alban*'s, according to the ancient Cuſtom us'd within your Verge, your Clerk of the Mercat doing his Office, did preſent unto your Officers of your moſt honourable Houſhold the Prices of all manner of Victuals, within the Precinct of the Verge. And 'twas commanded by your ſaid Officers to ſet up the ſaid Prices both on the Gates of your honourable Houſhold, & alſo within the Market Place in the Town of St. *Alban*'s, as of ancient Cuſtom it hath been us'd. And the Lord Cardinal, hearing the ſame, preſumptuouſly, and not like a Subject, cauſ'd the aforeſaid Prices, which were ſeal'd with your Grace's Seal, accuſtomably us'd for the ſame, to be taken off, & pull'd down in the ſaid Market Place where they were ſet up, & in the ſame Places ſet up his own Prices ſeal'd with his Seal, and wou'd, if it had not been letted, in ſemblable manner have us'd your Seal ſtanding upon your Gates: And alſo would of his preſumptuous Mind have openly ſet in the Stocks within your ſaid Town your Clerk of your Market: By which preſumption & uſurpation your Grace may perceive, that in his Heart he hath reputed himſelf to be equal with your Royal Majeſty.

40. Alſo the ſaid Lord Cardinal, of his further Pompous & preſumptuous Mind, hath enterpriz'd to joyn & imprint the Cardinal's Hat under your Arms in your Coin of Groats made at your City of *York*, which like Deed hath not been ſeen to have been done by any Subject within your Realm before this Time.

41. Alſo where one Sir *Edward Jones* Clerk, Parſon of *Crowley* in the County of *Bucks*, in the Eighteenth Year of your moſt noble Reign, let his ſaid Parſonage with all Tythes & other Profits of the ſame, to one *William Johnſon* by Indenture for certain Years, within which Years the Dean of the ſaid Cardinal's College in *Oxford* pretended Title to a certain Portion of Tythes within the ſaid Parſonage, ſuppoſing the ſaid Portion to belong to the Parſonage of *Chichelly*, which was appropriated to the Priory of *Tykeford* lately ſuppreſs'd, where (of Truth) the Parſons of *Crowley*, have been peaceably poſſeſs'd of the ſaid Portion Time out of Mind; Whereupon a *Subpœna* was directed to the ſaid *Johnſon* to appear before the ſaid Lord Cardinal at *Hampton-Court*, out of any Term with an Injunction to ſuffer the ſaid Dean to occupy the ſaid Portion. Whereupon the ſaid *Johnſon* appear'd before the ſaid Lord Cardinal at *Hampton-Court*, where, without any Bill, the ſaid Lord Cardinal committed him to the *Fleet*, where he remain'd by the ſpace of twelve Weeks, becauſe he wou'd not depart with the ſaid Portion. And at the laſt upon a Recognizance made that he ſhou'd appear before the ſaid Lord Cardinal whenſoever he was commanded, he was deliver'd out of the *Fleet*; Howbeit as yet the ſaid Portion is ſo kept from him that he dare not deal with it.

42. Alſo where one *Martin Docowra* had a Leaſe of the Mannor of *Balſall*, in the County of *Warwick*, for Term of certain Years, an Injunction came to him out of the *Chancery* by Writ upon Pain of a thouſand Pounds, that he ſhou'd avoid the Poſſeſſion of the ſame Mannor, & ſuffer Sir *George Throckmorton* Knight to take the Profits of the ſame Mannor to the Time the Matter depending in the *Chancery* between the Lord of St. *John*'s & the ſaid *Docowra* was diſcuſs'd. And yet the ſaid *Docowra* never made Anſwer in the *Chancery*, ne ever was call'd into the *Chancery* for that Matter; And now of late he hath receiv'd a like Injunction upon Pain of Two thouſand Pounds, contrary to the Courſe of Common Law.

43. Alſo whereas in the Parliament Chamber, & in open Parliament, Communication & Devices were had & mov'd, wherein mention was by an Incident made of Matters touching Hereſies & Erroneous Sects: It was ſpoken & reported by one Biſhop there being Preſent, & confirm'd by a good Number of the ſame Biſhops, in Preſence of all the Lords Spiritual & Temporal then aſſembled, that two of the ſaid Biſhops were minded & deſir'd to repair unto the Univerſity of *Cambridge* for Examination, Reformation, & Correction of ſuch Errors as then ſeem'd, & were reported to reign among the Students & Scholars of the ſame, as well touching the *Lutheran* Sect & Opinions, as otherwiſe: The Lord Cardinal inform'd of the good Minds & Intents of the ſaid two Biſhops in that behalf, expreſly inhibited & commanded them in no wiſe ſo to do. By means whereof, the ſame Errors, as they affirm'd, crept more abroad, & took greater Place; Saying furthermore, that 'twas not in their Defaults that the ſaid Hereſies were not puniſhed, but in the ſaid Lord Cardinal, & that 'twas no Reaſon any Blame or lack ſhou'd be arrected to them for his Offence. Whereby it evidently appeareth, that the ſaid Lord Cardinal, beſides all other his heinous Offences, hath been the Impeacher & Diſturber of due & direct Correction of Hereſies, being highly to the Danger & Peril of the whole Body, & good Chriſtian People of this your Realm.

44. Finally, Foraſmuch as by the aforeſaid Articles, is evidently declar'd to your moſt Royal Majeſty, that the Lord Cardinal by his outragious Pride, hath greatly ſhadowed a long Seaſon your Grace's Honour, which is moſt highly to be regarded, & by his inſatiable avarice, & ravenous Appetite, to have Riches & Treaſure without meaſure, hath ſo grievouſly oppreſs'd your poor Subjects with ſo manifold Crafts of Bribery & Extortion, that the Common-wealth of this your Grace's Realm, is thereby greatly decay'd & impoveriſh'd: And alſo by his Cruelty, Iniquity, Affection & Partiality, hath ſubverted the due Courſe & Order of your Grace's Laws to the undoing of a great Number of your loving People.

Pleaſe it your moſt Royal Majeſty therefore, of your excellent goodneſs towards the Weal of this your Realm & Subjects of the ſame, to ſet ſuch Order & Direction upon the ſaid Lord Cardinal, as may be to the terrible Example of others to beware ſo to offend your Grace & your Laws hereafter: And that he be ſo provided for, that he never have any Power, Juriſdiction, or Authority hereafter to trouble, vex, & impoveriſh the Common-wealth of this your Realm, as he hath done heretofore, to the great hurt & damage of every Man almoſt high & low, which for your Grace ſo doing, will daily pray, as their Duty is, to Almighty God for the proſperous Eſtate of your moſt Royal Majeſty, long to endure in Honour & good Health, to the Pleaſure of God, & your Hearts moſt Deſire.

Subſcrib'd the firſt Day of *December* the 21ſt Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord King *Henry* the Eighth.

T. More.
T. Norfolk.
C. Suff.
T. Dorſet.
H. Exon.
John Oxinford.
H. Northumberland.
G. Shrewsbury.
R. Fitzwater.

T. Rocheford.
T. Darcy.
W. Mountjoy.
W. Sandys.
W. Fitzwilliam.
Henry Guldeford.
Anthony Fitzherbert.
John Fitz-james.

Letter of Sir Gregory Caſſal *concerning an Extraordinary Overture made by the Pope.*

REſpondit mihi ſuper hiis S. mus D. N. quod ſi iter in Hiſpaniam vellet R'mus Dominus Eboracenſis Eum etiam ire, & quod vellet præſupponere ſe eſſe duos legatos conjunctim, ad hunc effectum, & habere Reverendiſſimum D'num pro fratre conſiliario, & adjutore, in hoc incæpto; & quod ejus Reverendiſſima D. pari loco ſuam Sanctitatem haberet, nec aliter, nec alio modo; quia ita ſibi neceſſe videtur, pro inducendo Cæſare, ad votum optatum; videtur etiam S'mo D. N. quod in progreſſu hujus ſui itineris, alloquatur Chriſtianiſſimum Regem, *&c.* literæ Gregorij Caſalij ad Dominum Vincentium patruelem ſuum Romæ. An. 1529 3° Januarij.

Coll. No 102.
B. III. c. 12.
E. Manſ.
James 27.
p. 122.

Pro Domino Rege de Recuperatione, contra Cardinalem Eborum.

N° 103. OMnibus Chriſti Fidelibus, ad quos præſens Carta pervenerit, *Thomas More* Cancellarius Angliæ, *Thomas Dux Norffolchiæ* Theſaurarius Angliæ, *Willielmus Fitz Wyllyam* Ordinis Garterii Miles Theſaurarius Hoſpitii Domini Regis Cancellariuſque ejuſdem Domini Regis Ducatûs ſui *Lancaſtriæ*, *Robertus Norwiche* unus Servientium Domini Regis ad Legem, & *Criſtoforus Hales* Generalis Attornatus dicti Domini Regis, Salutem in Domino ſempiternam.

Cùm Nos, hoc inſtanti Termino Sancti Hillarii, coram Juſticiariis Domini Regis apud Weſtmonaſterium Recuperavimus Nobis & Hæredibus noſtris, ad Uſum Strenuiſſimi Principis Supremi Domini noſtri *Henrici Octavi*, Dei gratiâ, *Angliæ & Franciæ Regis Fidei Defenſoris & Domini Hiberniæ*, verſus Reverendiſſimum in Chriſto Patrem *Thomam*, permiſſione divinâ, *Presbiterum Cardinalem Eborum Archiepiſcopum*, unum Meſuagium, Duo Gardina, & Tres Acras Terræ cum pertinentiis, invicem ſcituata jacentia & exiſtentia in Villa de Weſtm. in Comitatu Middleſexiæ, quæquidem Meſuagium Gardina & Terræ vulgariter Nuncupata YORKE-PLACE,

Sciatis Nos Tradidiſſe Dimiſiſſe & hac præſenti Carta noſtra Confirmaſſe præfato Domino noſtro *Regi Henrico Octavo* prædicta Meſuagium Gardina & Terras cum pertinentiis, Habenda & Tenenda eidem *Domino Regi* Hæredibus & Aſſignatis ſuis imperpetuum, ad Uſum & Opus ejuſdem *Domini Regis* Hæredum & Aſſignatorum ſuorum.

In cujus rei Teſtimonium Nos præfati *Thomas More* Cancellarius Angliæ, *Thomas Dux Norffolchiæ*, *Willielmus Fitz William*, *Robertus Norwiche*, *& Criſtoferus Hales* huic præſenti Cartæ noſtræ Sigilla noſtra appoſuimus.

Data Septimo Die Menſis Februarii, Anno Regni Domini noſtri Regis ſupradicti Viceſimo Primo.

Et Memorandum *quòd, undecimo Die Februarii, Anno preſenti, prædicti Dominus* Cancellarius Angliæ, Thomas Dux Norffolciæ, Willielmus Fitz William, Robertus Norwiche, *&* Criſtoferus Hales, *venerunt coram Domino Rege, in Cancellaria ſua, apud Weſtmonaſterium, & Recognoverunt Scriptum prædictum ac omnia & ſingula in eodem contenta in forma ſupradicta.*

Donatio prò Domino Cardinale.

N° 104. REX omnibus ad quos &c. Salutem.

Cùm Reverendiſſimus in Chriſto Pater *Thomas*, Permiſſione Divinâ, *Apoſtolicæ Sedis de Latere Legatus Presbiter Cardinalis Eborum Archiepiſcopus Angliæque Primas, per Seperarales Billas*, verſus eum per Attornatum noſtrum Generalem pro Nobis in Curia noſtra coram Nobis apud Weſtmonaſterium exhibitas, de & ſuper diverſis gravibus Contemptibus Tranſgreſſionibus & Offenſis, per *eundem Cardinalem* prius commiſſis & perpetratis, contra Nos Coronam Dignitatem & Regaliam noſtras, ac contra Formam Statuti verſus Proviſores in Parliamento *Domini Ricardi nuper Regis Angliæ Secundi* Progenitoris noſtri poſt Conqueſtum apud Wyntoniam, Anno Regni ſui Sextodecimo tento editi, Accuſatus Impetitus & Implacitatus fuerit, Indeque *per Separalia Judicica*, in dicta Curia noſtra verſus eum juſtè & legittimè reddita, *Condempnatus*, *Convictus*, & *Attinctus* extiterit, prout per Recordum dictæ Curiæ noſtræ, *de Termino Sancti Michaelis* ultimò præterito, factum manifeſtè patet,

Per quod *idem Cardinalis* omnia Bona & Catalla Terras & Tenementa ſua nobis forisfecit,

Sciatis quòd Nos, de Gratia noſtra ſpeciali ac ex certa Scientia & mero Motu noſtris, per Præſentes, Damus Concedimus & Reſtituimus *eidem Thomæ Cardinali totum Archiepiſcopatum Eccleſiæ Cathedralis & Metropolitanæ Eborum*, ac omnem omnimodam ac plenam & integram Adminiſtrationem tàm in Spiritualibus quàm in Temporalibus ejuſdem Archiepiſcopatûs Eborum, cum ſuis Juribus, Pertinentiis, Appendentibus, & Dependentibus quibuſcúmque,

Necnon, pro Nobis & Hæredibus noſtris, Damus Concedimus & Reſtituimus *eidem Thomæ Cardinali* omnia & omnimoda Caſtra, Palatia, Dominia, Maneria, Terras, Tenementa, Redditus, Parcos, Foreſtas, Chaceas, Warennas, Stagna, Molendina, Viſ. Francipleg. Curias Letas, ac cætera omnia & ſingula Hæreditamenta Poſſeſſiones & Jura tàm Spiritualia quàm Temporalia, Libertates, Privilegia, Immunitates, Prerogativa, Francheſias, Conſuetudines, & Præeminentias quaſcúmque, cum eorum Juribus & Pertinentiis univerſis, *prælibato Archiepiſcopatui Eborum* quomodolibet pertinentia ſive ſpectantia, in tàm amplis modo & formâ ſicut *idem Thomas Cardinalis*, aut aliquis Prædeceſſorum ſuorum ante hæc tempora, in Archiepiſcopatu illo hujuſmodi percepit vel graviſus fuit,

Exceptis Nobis & Hæredibus noſtris & ad Uſum Noſtri & Hæredum noſtrorum omninò reſervatis, toto illo Meſuagio Duobus Gardinis & Tribus Acris Terræ cum Pertinentiis vocato YORK PLACE inſimul ſituato & jacente in Villa Weſtmonaſterienſi in Comitatu Middleſexiæ,

Ac etiam Damus & Reſtituimus *præfato Thomæ Cardinali* per Præſentes omnimodas Advocationes, Donationes, Collationes, Præſentationes, & Patronatus quarumcúmque Dignitatum, Præbendarum, Canonicatuum, Abbatiarum, Prioratuum, Eccleſiarum, Cantariarum, Hoſpitalium, ac aliorum Beneficiorum Eccleſiaſticorum quorumcúmque, ac etiam liberam & plenariam Nominationem Factionem & Conſtitutionem omnium & ſingulorum Officiariorum, Seneſcallorum, Superviſorum, Auditorum, Clericorum, Regiſtrorum, & aliorum Miniſtrorum quorumcúmque Archiepiſcopatûs prædicti, ſeu per aliquem Archiepiſcopum Eccleſiæ Eborum prædictæ ante hæc tempora pro tempore exiſtentem dari, uti, conſtitui, poni, nominari, aut fieri ſolitorum aut conſuetorum, vel ad hujuſmodi Archiepiſcopum ratione Archiepiſcopatûs illius quoviſmodo ſpectantium ſive pertinentium, præfatúmque *Thomam Cardinalem* in ſuum plenum & integrum Statum in Archiepiſcopatu prædicto Reſtituimus & Reponimus,

Habendas, Tenendas, Poſſidendas, & Gaudendas *eidem Thomæ Cardinali* & Aſſignatis ſuis, quamdiu *idem Thomas* in Sede & Dignitate Archiepiſcopatûs illius ſtabit & manebit, ad Commodum Libertatem & Beneplacitum *ipſius Thomæ* exinde agend. & percipiend.

Et inſuper Damus & Concedimus, per Præſentes, *præfato Thomæ Cardinali* omnia Exitus Reventiones & Proficua de Spiritualibus & Temporalibus & cæteris Præmiſſis Archiepiſcopatûs prædicti (Exitibus Præmiſſorum præexceptis dumtaxat exceptis) a Feſto Sancti Michaelis Archangeli ultimò præterito ante Datam Præſentium, abſque Compoto vel aliquo alio pro Præmiſſis Nobis vel Hæredibus noſtris reddendo ſeu faciendo, Et inſuper, de uberiori Gratia noſtra, Dedimus & Conceſſimus, præfato Reverendiſſimo Patri *Thomæ Cardinali* omnia & omnimoda Denariorum Summas Bona & Catalla, in quadam Scedula Præſentibus annexa in Articulis generaliter ſpecificata, per Nos *eidem Thomæ*, ante Septimum Diem Februarii ultimò præteritum, per Manus aliorum quorumcúmque ex Mandato noſtro liberata miſſa ſive traducta, ac totum Jus Intereſſe & Titulum noſtra de & in eiſdem eidem *Thomæ Cardinali* per Præſentes penitùs & imperpetuùm Remittimus & Relaxamus,

Habenda *eidem Thomæ* Executoribus & Aſſignatis ſuis de Dono noſtro abſoluto, abſque Compoto vel aliquo alio pro eiſdem Nobis reddendo ſeu ſolvendo,

Judiciis ſupradictis verſus *ipſum Thomam* ut præmittitur redditis, ſive eorum aliquo, aut quadam Indenturâ, inter *Nos* ex una Parte, & *præfatum Cardinalem* ex altera Parte, *Viceſimo ſecundo Die Octobris* ultimò præterito factâ, ſeu aliquo in eadem Indenturâ ſpecificato, aut eo quòd expreſſa mentio de vero Valore Annuo Archiepiſcopatûs prædicti aut prædictorum Caſtrorum, Palatiorum, Dominiorum, Maneriorum, & cæterorum Præmiſſorum vel eorum aliquo, aut de aliis Donis & Conceſſionibus per Nos *eidem Cardinali* ante hæc tempora factis in Præſentibus minimè facta exiſtit, aut aliquo Statuto Actu ſive Ordinatione, ſeu aliquibus Inquiſitionibus vel aliquâ Inquiſitione Veredictis Judiciis vel Sententiis factis, captis, datis, judicatis, ſive ſententiatis, aut impoſterùm dandis capiendis ſive ſententiandis, coram quibuſcúmque Eſcaetoribus, Judiciariis, Commiſſariis, ſive Miniſtris noſtris, aut aliquâ aliâ Re Causâ vel Materiâ quacúmque non obſtantibus.

In cujus &c.

Teſte Rege apud *Weſtmonaſterium.*

Particulæ Donationis antedictæ.

The Money Goods and Cattells given by the Kings Grace *to the* Lorde Cardinall, *whereof mention is made in the Kyngs Lettres Patentes herunto annexed.*

FYRSTE, *in Redy Money* MMM l.

ITEM, *in Plate Nyne Thouſand Fyve Hundred Threſcore fyve Oz. dim. quarter, at iii* s. *eight Pence the Oz. amounteth to* MDCCLII l. iii s. vii d. ob.

ITEM, *dyvers Apparell of Houſhold, as Hangyngs,* Beddyng, *Napry, and other thyngs, as appereth by the Inventorie of the ſame, amountyng in Value by Eſtimation* DCCC l.

ITEM, *in Horſes and Geldyngs* lxxx. *with their Apparell valued by Eſtimation* CL l.

ITEM, *in Mules for the* Saddell iv. *with their Apparell, valued by Eſtimation* lx l.

ITEM, *in Mules for* Cariage vi. *with their Apparell, valued by Eſtimation* xl l.

ITEM, *in Lyng on Thouſand, valued by Eſtimation* L lib.

ITEM, *in* Cod *and Haberden Eight Hundred, valued by Eſtimation* xl l.

ITEM, *in Salt Eight Waye, valued by Eſtimation* x l.

ITEM, *in Implements of the Kychen, as* Potts, Pannes, *Spitts, Peawter Veſſel and other things neceſſarie for the ſame, valued by Eſtimation* lxxx l.

Item, lii *Oxen, valued by Eſtimation* lxxx l.
Item, *in Multons* lxx. *valued by Eſtimation* xii l.
Item, *the Apparell for his Body, valued by Eſtimation* CCC l.
Summa vi M. CCC. lxxiv l. iii s. vii d. ob.

A Grant of Arms to Winter *ſuppoſed the Cardinal's Natural Son.*

Coll. No 105 B. III. c. 14.

OMnibus Chriſti fidelibus has preſentes litteras inſpecturis aut audituris Thomas Wryotheſley Gartier miles armorum inclitiſſimi ordinis Garterij una cum Thoma Benoilt alias Clarenceaux Rege Armorum partium Auſtralium Angliæ ac etiam cum Thoma Tonge alias Norroy Rege Armorum partium Borealium Angliæ Salutem, cum debita & humili comendatione. Equitas vult & ratio ordinat quod homines virtuoſi laudabilis diſpoſitionis & vitæ honorabilis ſint per eorum merita honorati & remunerati in ſuis perſonis exiſtentes in hac vita mortali tam brevi & tranſitoria, & in quolibet loco honoris præ cæteris exaltati demonſtrando ſigna & exempla virtutis honoris ac etiam humanitatis videlicet ſcutum cum inſignijs honoris ea intentione, ut per eorum exempla alij magis conentur exercere ſuam vitam in operibus & factis clariſſimis, quibus aſſequantur & impetrent famam antiquæ nobilitatis. Et ideo nos prædicti Reges armorum non ſolum ex divulgata fama, verum etiam ex noſtro & cæterorum Nobilium fide dignorum teſtimonio ſumus veraciter inſtructi & informati quod Thomas Wynter Decanus Eccleſiæ Cathedralis Wellenſis ac prebendarius præbendæ de Lutton in eadem Archidiaconus Eborum & Richmond in Eccleſia metropolitana Eborac. Ac prebendarius prebendæ de Strenſall in eadem Eccleſia, Cancellarius Eccleſiæ Cathedralis Sarum ac prebendarius prebendæ de Bedwin in eadem, Præpoſitus Eccleſiæ Collegiatæ Sancti Johannis Beverlaci Ac prebendarius prebendæ ad altare Sancti Petri in eadem Eccleſia collegiata Eborum Dioceſ. Præbendarius prebendæ de Milton in Eccleſia Cathedrali Lincoln, Præbendarius prebendæ de Norivell in Eccleſia Collegiata de Southwell Eborum Dioceſ. Rector Eccleſiæ parochialis de Rudby Eborum Dioceſ. Rector Eccleſiæ parochialis Sancti Mathæi Apoſtoli in Ipſwich Norwic Dioceſ. diu in virtute claruit & perſeveravit & in omnibus actibus ſuis & moribus bene ſobrie diſcrete & honorifice ſeipſum rexit & gubernavit adeo ut mereatur & dignus ſit in omnibus locis honoris admitti honorari reputari numerari acceptari & recipi in numerum & conſortium aliorum veterum illuſtrium virorum & ob memoriam tantæ virtutis humanitatis & habilitatis per auctoritatem poteſtatemq; officijs noſtris Regibus Armorum annexam & attributam excogitavimus ordinavimus & aſſignavimus præfato Thomæ Wynter Decano Wellenſi &c. unum Scutum cum inſignijs honoris ſicut hic Gallice declarabitur Ceſtaſcavoir Dargent a une croix de Gueles entre quatre turterells en leur propre colour becquees membres de pourpre, ſur la croix une gerbe entre quatre beſantz a ung chief d'azur, ſur le chief ung lion paſſant entre deux reſtes de Leopards d'or Habendum & tenendum eidem Thomæ Wynter Decano Wellenſi &c. & ut ille in his ornatus ſit ad ejus honorem in perpetuum. In cujus rei Teſtimonium Ego præfatus Rex Armorum inclitiſſimi ordinis Garterij ac primarius Rex Armorum Anglicorum ſimul cum Regibus partium Auſtralium & Borealium Angliæ Chartam hanc manibus noſtris ſignavimus & eidem ſigillum Officij mei prædicti Gartier de la Gartier unacum ſigillis noſtris ad arma appoſuimus Datum apud

London 26 die Martij Anno Domini noſtri J'hu Chriſti Mill'imo quingenteſimo xxvi°. & regni ſereniſſimi metuendiſſimi ac victorioſiſſimi Regis Henrici octavi xvii°.

See Athen. Oxon. Vol. 1. p. 673. *If you take notice of this grant you will pleaſe to obſerve in regard to the Rights of my Office that two Provincial Kings are joined in this Grant becauſe* Wynter *had a reſidence or* Domicilium *in both Marches, otherwiſe only that Provincial King where he had his reſidence could have joined in it.* J. A.

There is another grant by Garter *and* Norroy 25 July 18 H. 8. *to* John Dowman de Pokelington in Comitatu Eborum Juris utriuſq; Doctor Archidiaconus Suffolchiæ ac canonicus Reſidentarius Eccleſiæ S'ti Pauli London necnon reverendiſſimi patris Domini Thomæ tituli Sanctæ Ceciliæ Sacroſanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ presbyteri Cardinalis Archiepiſcopi Eboracenſis Primatis Angliæ & Cancellarij magni ac Apoſtolicæ ſedis non ſolum nati, ſed etiam per univerſum Angliæ regnum & alia loca illi adjacentia de latere Legati Audien. cauſarum & negotiorum Auditor.

Grant of Arms to the Cardinal's College.

Coll.N° 106. B. III. c. 14. OMnibus chartam hanc preſentem qui ſunt viſuri lecturi aut audituri Thomas Wryotheſley Gartier miles Armorum inclitiſſimi ordinis Garterij Rex necnon primarius Rex Armorum Anglicorum unacum Thoma Benoilt Clarenceulx apud partes Auſtrales Angliæ Rege Armorum, ſalutem ac debitam commendationem. Cum priſcis temporibus mortales imprimis nobiles bene memores aliquod fatum inevitabile humano generi aliquando accidere poſſe, ſolumq; memoriam rerum humanarum demum vita finita fore ſuperſtitem arbitrarentur vivatiore ingenio divinioreq; ſpiritu accenſi illud imprimis ſecum prudentiſſimo concilio ſummaq; animi ope excogitarunt quod poſt mortem maxime clarum maximeq; eternum haberetur juxta ſententiam prudentiſſimi Saluſtij qui nos docet ijs verbis & quoniam vita ipſa qua fruimur brevis eſt memoriam noſtri; quam maxime longam efficere par eſt, hoc enim modo noſtram mortalitatem immortalitatis beneficio compenſare licebit Igitur initio Reges, Imperatores, viri complures nobiles, ac maxime prudentes, alij inſigniter pugnando pro patria, ut inclitiſſimæ famæ Arthurus, alij in condendis legibus beneq; ſuadendo Reipub. velut apud Anglos divus Edovardus Confeſſor, alij non tam in ſervata religione erga Deum quam etiam in rebus magnifice geſtis pro patria, ſplendorem, ut ille victorioſiſſimus Rex Henricus Quintus ac ille fæliciſſimus Princeps Rex Edovardus Tertius cum ſapientiſſimo Henrico Septimo & immortalitatem nominis ſempiternam ſunt conſecuti. Quidam vero in extruendis ædificijs caſtris palatijs, cœnobijs, templis adeo ſtuduerunt ut pulcherrimam deſe apud poſteros famam reliquerint adde q. inter hos magnificos & nobiles viros qui Rempub. aut conſilio aut authoritate aut religione aut ædificijs unquam juvarent Reverendiſſimus in Criſto Pater & Dom. Dom. Thomas Wulceus miſeratione divina Tituli Sanctæ Ceciliæ Sacroſanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ Presbyter Cardinalis Legatus de latere Archiepiſcopus Eboracenſis Angliæ Primas & Cancellarius magnus ac Apoſtolicæ ſedis legatus natus Epiſcopus Dunemenſis &c. vel ſuis in Rempub. meritis vel famam etiam non mediocrem eſt conſecutus, Quippe ejus ſumptu & impenſis præter cætera in Rempub. beneficia maxima unum inſigne & collegium apud celeberrimam univerſitatem Oxoniæ eſt fæliciter erectum.

ctum. Quod quidem edificium a tam illuſtriſſimo & Reverendiſſimo patre conſtructum ac etiam locupletiſſime dotatum ſummis laudibus extollendum magno honore merito quidem efferendum eſt tum propter operis magnificentiam tum propter Philoſophiæ Eloquentiæ Sapientiæ deniq; omnium Artium liberalium ſtudium & virtutis incrementum maximum, A quo veluti a fonte uberrimo puriſſimoq; doctos viros ad omnes mundi partes promanare non dubium quin cernet poſteritas. Celebratur igitur laus primarij fundatoris tam re quam voce maxime perpetua, nec oblivionis caliginem fama ejus formidabit unquam ſed eam litteratorum prudentiſſimorumq; virorum alet memoria & perpetuo tuebitur. Quod tale & tam præclarum monumentum de ſe cæteris Nobilibus ac poſteris reliquerit. Nos igitur præfati Reges Armorum conſiderantes & in memoria habentes hoc illuſtriſſimum magnificentiſſimumq; collegium dictum vulgariter *The Cardinal College* intra clariſſimam celeberrimamq; univerſitatem Oxoniæ in Comitatu Oxonienſi a tam reverendiſſimo in Chriſto Patre feliciter ad laudem & gloriam Sanctæ & Individuæ Trinitatis, beatæ Mariæ Virginis & Omnium Sanctorum & gratioſe ad maximum virtutis eruditioniſq; incrementum fabricatum ex potentiſſima & excellentiſſima authoritate Regia noſtris Officijs munificentiſſime attributa Conceſſimus & aſſignavimus præfati Collegij Decano & Succeſſoribus ejus hæc honoris inſignia quibus in ſuo communi ſigillo vel alibi ubicunq; ſibi & Succeſſoribus viſum fuerit ad ſuum & eorum honorem jure utantur, ſicut hic &c. Habenda & tenenda eiſdem Decano & Succeſſoribus ſuis præfatis ut hijs inſignijs ornentur ad ſuum & Succeſſorum ſuorum honorem in perpetuum. In Cujus rei Teſtimonium Ego præfatus Rex inclitiſſimi ordinis Garterij ac primarius Rex Armorum Anglicorum cum Rege Armorum partium Auſtralium Regni Angliæ hanc chartam manibus noſtris ſignavimus & eidem Sigilla noſtra ad arma appoſuimus una cum Sigillo Officij mei prædicti Gartier de la Gartier Datum apud london quarto die menſis Auguſti Anno Domini noſtri Jheſu Chriſti Milleſimo quingenteſimo viceſimo quinto & Regni metuendiſſimi potentiſſimi ac victorioſiſſimi Regis Henrici octavi xvii.

No Arms in this Copy which I conceive to be the firſt Draught, for there is another Grant of the ſame date in the following Words, J. A.

Omnibus chartam hanc preſentem qui ſunt viſuri lecturi aut audituri Thomas Wriotheſley Gartier miles armorum inclitiſſimi ordinis Garterij Rex necnon primarius Rex Armorum Anglicorum unacum Thoma Benolt Clarenceulx apud partes auſtrales Rege armorum Salutem ac debitam commendationem. Cum inter eos quos aut priſca aut præſentia ſecula tulerunt hactenus neminem fuiſſe conſtiterit, cui Reverendiſſimus in Chriſto pater & Dominus Dominus Thomas Wulcius miſeratione divina Tituli Sanctæ Ceciliæ ſacroſanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ presbyter Cardinalis legatus de latere Archiepiſcopus Eboracenſis Angliæ Primas & Cancellarius magnus ac Apoſtolicæ ſedis legatus natus Epiſcopus Dunelmenſis &c. vel ſuis in rempublicam meritis vel alia virtutis ſpecie quacunq; ulla in parte ceſſiſſe videatur, cujus quidem nomen clarioribus inſignibus poſteris illuſtrari famæq; immortalitati conſecrari meruerit: Si quis intolerandos ejuſdem labores, ſive ſudores ſive anxiam animi curam cum ſumma deniq; induſtria quam in moderanda Republica feliciſſimo ſucceſſu multos annos unus & idem pro ſuo in publicum amore indefeſſus adhibuit, nec defatigatus impendit & ſuſtinuit animadvertat ſive admirandam illius magnanimitatem ſpectet q. parum eſſe ratus ſuis ſe vivum prodeſſe poſſe, Proindeq; cupiens rempublicam beneficio ſibi perpetuo obſtringere & ſempiterno, incredibilibus ſuis ſumptibus Collegium quoddam celeberrimum vel potius bonarum literarum alteram Academiam erexerit dotaverit & inſtituerit, Cumq; & jam collegium iſtud prædictum in inclitiſſima Oxoniæ Academia gymnaſio florentiſſimo univerſitate famigeratiſſima inſigniq; tertia Athen. nepte tertioq; quoq; ſtudio decreto & per ſummum Pontificem approbato deq; Regia licentia & authoritate creatum, non modo ſtructuræ magnificentia elegantia apparatus ac poſſeſſionum magnitudine, ſed etiam inſtitutis & legibus a prædicto Reverendiſſimo Patre non ſine magnis vigilijs ad virtutem & omnis generis eruditionem fovendam, alendam, & nutriendam prudentiſſime excogitatis, diligentiſſime traditis, ac religioſiſſime ſancitis, cæteraq; collegia ſuperet, a quo haud dubie quaſi fonte quodam perenni & vivo doctrinæ virtutis & eruditionis flumina ineſtimabili noſtro & poſteritatis bono in orbem Chriſtianum pleno ſemper alveo & exuberanti manabunt; Ipſius ſane juſtitiæ ratio efflagitat ut quemadmodum prædictus Reverendiſſimus Pater tam celebri virtutum monumento relicto fama propter Collegium eſt immortali victurus, ſic Collegium propter eundem inſignibus nobilitetur, & cum illi ſit idipſum merito, ſtatuæ vice, Reipublicæ Chriſtianæ ſemper profecturæ, omni ornamento decoretur honoris. Itaq; Nos præfati Reges armorum præmiſſa conſiderantes & in memoria habentes hoc illuſtriſſimum magnificentiſſimumq; Collegium dictum vulgariter. *The Cardinalls College* intra &c. *as above* ſicut hic inferius gallice declarabitur. Ceſtaſſavoir d'azur a une croix engreſlee d'argent, ſur la croix ung lyon paſſant de pourpre entre quatre teſtes du lupars du champ, au premier quartier ung Griffon paſſant tenant en ſon pied dextre ung pillier d'or, au ſecond quartier ung livre ouvert d'argent leſcripture de Sable borde de gueules, les fermaus eſtaches a ung chief d'or, ſur le chief ung Chapeau de Cardinal de Gueules entre ung turteau & une hurte, ſur le turteau daulx croix en ſaultier du cheif & une clef in pal d'argent, au millieu du quel une couronne, des Croix ſur le hurte ung lyon rampant d'argent entour ſon col ung couronal & de l'autre part ung Saultier d'or veluti in margine preſentis chartæ depicto plenius apparet. Habenda ut Supra.

AN ESSAY

(Formerly Printed by Way of Specimen.)

TOWARDS A

VINDICATION OF CARDINAL *WOLSEY*.

FROM CERTAIN

Popular Imputations.

I HAVE incidentally conſidered ſeveral of thoſe popular Imputations, under which the Cardinal ſuffered, during the Courſe of his Miniſtry; and if he does not appear, in every Reſpect, perfectly acquitted, I have now, at leaſt, a Right to *aſſume*, that he has been very ill uſed, both by his Contemporaries, and by almoſt all the ſucceeding Hiſtorians, to the preſent Age, whether Popiſh or Proteſtant. For admitting, he really was guilty of the Crimes wherewith they charge him, yet, if the Facts, upon which he is charged, are not founded on any Evidence ſufficient to induce a rational Aſſent, their Manner of treating him is, notwithſtanding, altogether unjuſtifiable. There is no Miniſter, in any Court of EUROPE, who would be willing, the World ſhould make a Judgement either of his perſonal Qualities or Conduct, from mere fugitive Calumnies; even tho' they ſhould riſe ſo high, or ſpread ſo wide, that Articles of publick Impeachment might, at length, be founded upon them.

Why ſhould Cardinal WOLSEY ſubmit to be tryed by a Rule, which, his greateſt Adverſaries will allow, is very unjuſt, when applied to other Perſons under the like Circumſtances? Moſt of the Crimes objected to him, being founded merely on *common Tradition*, which one Author has taken up, by an implicit Faith, from another, without producing any ſuch authentick Memoirs or Records, in Proof of what they advance, as may be relied on by Men, who will aſſert a reaſonable Liberty of judging for themſelves, and not ſervilely follow a Train of *partial* or *credulous* Writers, by what Names ſoever diſtinguiſhed.

We may conclude, in particular, from the Effect of his Impeachment, what Kind of Aſſent is to be given to thoſe defamatory Reports, which have been ſo induſtriouſly propagated, upon the ſole *Credit* of it, and without any other Reaſon, or good Authority to ſupport them,

But, that I may not incur the Imputation of *Partiality* my ſelf, or, which is on many Accounts equally culpable in a Hiſtorian, of a blind *Credulity*; I ſhall deſcend to ſhew, in this Chapter, by an Induction of ſeveral Particulars, how much the Cardinal has been injured in his Character, not by the common Tribe of low inſignificant Writers, but by certain Authors of Diſtinction, whoſe Works are of the greateſt Credit and Eſteem in our hiſtorical Libraries.

And that I may give the greater Force to what the Enemies of the Cardinal have objected to him, I ſhall conſider him, in the firſt Place, under the Circumſtances of an Impeachment; not, as being in the Height of Favour at Court, nor in thoſe Poſts of Honour and Authority, which might render all Attempts to ruin him dangerous to the Perſons engaged in them; but, as a *Favourite* declining in the Eſteem of his Prince, and repreſented, in many Reſpects, as an Enemy to his Country. This was a proper Time, had he been really *obnoxious*, for thoſe who envied his Power and Greatneſs, at once to inſult him, and to induce others, who were yet under no perſonal Prejudices againſt him, to approve their Proceedings.

It may be obſerved, on the other Hand, to the Cardinal's Advantage, That as he was then in Diſgrace with the King, ſo he had many Enemies near the Throne; had loſt much of that Eſteem, wherein he had formerly been, with the People, and ſtood condemned by the Lords. *Cromwell*, who undertook his Defence, was at that Time a Perſon of no Diſtinction, had been juſt introduced into the Houſe of Commons, where he owed the Honour of being a Repreſentative, not to any perſonal Intereſt of his own, but to the Favour, as *Cavendiſh* reports, of Sir *Thomas Ruſſel*, and by Occaſion of an accidental Interview with that Gentleman. Thro' what Means ſoever he came into the Houſe, it is highly probable, that as a *Creature* and Domeſtick of the Cardinal, he was heard there with greater Prejudice, on that Account.

The Cardinal's Acquittal, under ſuch Circumſtances, and upon the Defence made for him, by a Perſon, at that Time, ſo inconſiderable, and ſuſpected, as being partial to him, affords very reaſonable Grounds of Preſumption, that the Articles in general againſt him, had no very good or ſolid Foundation.

But I ſhall here deſcend to make ſome proper Remarks upon three or four of them, in particular, from which we may be able to judge, with what Temper, and Diſpoſition, the Reſt of them were drawn up.

In Anſwer to what the Cardinal is charg'd with in the firſt Arcle, more immediately upon the Statute of *Premunire*, his Council pleaded, and proteſted in his Name, that he did not know the Impetration of his legatine Powers to *have been to the Contempt or Prejudice of the King, or that it was againſt any Statute of Proviſoes heretofore made:* But this laſt Aſſertion, indeed, ſeems only a colourable Plea, if his Council had really any Inſtructions to make it. The Cardinal, who had ſo long preſided in *Chancery*, and, as Legate, at the Head of the Church, could not be ignorant of a Law ſo well known, and which principally concerned Eccleſiaſticks. And that he was not in Truth ignorant of it, appears from the Twenty eighth Article, wherein he is charged with *Suing to the King to have his Aſſent to be Legate* de Latere. If he had not known the Law, what Occaſion was there for uſing this Precaution to guard againſt the Penalties of it? There is greater Probability, tho' he could not be unacquainted with a Law known to every Body, that yet he looked upon it as obſolete, the Offences committed againſt it having, for a long Tract of Time, eſcaped not only with Impunity, but without Cenſure. If the Cardinal, under the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth, entertained a Notion, that the King might on Occaſion exerciſe a diſpenſing Power, he wanted not ſome Appearances in Fact to ſupport it. But if the King was not believed to have formally a Power of diſpenſing with the Laws, yet as the Cardinal did nothing, but what He previouſly conſented to, and approved, it might reaſonably be preſumed, He would not take the Advantage of a Forfeiture incurred by the Cardinal; but would rather make uſe of his Prerogative to ſkreen a Miniſter from the Penalties of the Law, who acted in virtue of his *own* Commiſſion.

The Cardinal muſt have entertained Thoughts very injurious to the Honour of his Maſter, in ſuſpecting, that he could be capable of forſaking or giving up a Servant, who had no Crime, as to this particular Accuſation, but what he was priviledged from the Throne to commit.

I know, many Inſtances may be given, to ſhew, That Miniſters have been puniſhed, even for executing certain *poſitive* Orders, wherewith they were charged by the Prince. Biſhop *Gardiner*, in a Letter to the Lords of the Council has cited ſeveral Caſes to this purpoſe. It is ſometimes reaſonable there ſhould be Examples of publick Juſtice in this Kind, eſpecially where any Commiſſion derogatory to the Honour of the Crown, or prejudicial to the publick Peace, Safety, and Intereſt, has been fraudulently obtained, or upon wrong Suggeſtions, and from a weak Prince, or has been afterwards executed after an undue or irregular Manner; the Cardinal is not chargeable in relation to any of the former Circumſtances; and as to the Latter, he is here formally accuſed of *procuring*, not of *abuſing* his legatine Powers, or for acting in purſuance, and according to the proper Tenour of them. So that if his Judges, which I will not diſpute, might in the *Rigour* of the Law condemn him, after he had, for ſo many Years, exerciſed his legatine Powers with the King's Licenſe, and without any Diſpute or Oppoſition; yet, it does not ſo clearly appear, how the King himſelf could take the Advantage of that Rigour, and after he had ſeized all the Cardinal's Effects, to his own Uſe, precipitate him at once from the Heighth of Power, of Honour, and the moſt opulent Fortune, into thoſe unhappy Circumſtances, which, for ſome Time, did not afford him the common Supports and Conveniences of Life.

Whatever Miniſters of State have at any Time ſuffered, for acting by Conceſſion from the Prince, or in purſuance of his Inſtructions, there are few Inſtances in Hiſtory, if any one can be found, except in the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth, where the Prince appeared, in ſuch a Caſe, as a Party in the Proſecution, and to the End, if we may judge by the Event of this, that himſelf might reap the Spoils and Emoluments, which were to ariſe from it.

Theſe Reflections may not, however, be unuſeful to ſhew, with what Caution Miniſters ought to receive and execute the Orders of Sovereign Princes; of whoſe Inclination to protect them, they cannot always be ſecure, and who cannot indeed always protect them againſt the Attacks of popular Diſcontent, how much ſoever any Rules of Juſtice or Honour may oblige them to interpoſe in their Favour.

In the fourth Article, the Cardinal is charged with Want of Reſpect to the King, in the Style of his Letters, in many *of which ſent out of the Realm, he had joined himſelf with the King, in Saying and Writing. The King and* I. And, *I would you ſhould do this. The King and I, give unto you our hearty Thanks. Uſing himſelf*, as it follows in the Cloſe of the Article, *more like a* Fellow *to his Highneſs, than like a Subject.*

I do not here intend to apologize for a Manner of Expreſſion, in the Cardinal, which ſeems to have been too crude and familiar; and cannot be excuſed upon a common Pretence, that Cardinals are Companions to crowned Heads. The Meaſures of Diſtance between Princes, and Subjects of the firſt Rank and Quality, cannot be too nicely obſerved. But conſidering how numerous, and commonly how long, the Diſpatches of the Cardinal were, may it not be ſuppoſed, that in ſome of them, an Offence of this Nature might poſſibly proceed from meer Inadvertency or Negligence, or only from a Deſign of expreſſing himſelf more readily and in fewer Words. To what Cauſe or Origin ſoever we impute this Freedom, there certainly is in it, an Appearance of Indecency; but whether ſo *flagrant*, as to afford juſt Matter for a *diſtinct* Article againſt him, in a Charge of High Treaſon, I ſhall not preſume to diſpute: This, I think, is beyond diſpute, that *Fox*, by inverting the Order, and varying the Form of the Words (for he not only repreſents the Cardinal, as putting himſelf before the King, but as making the King his Property *) has given us an Inſtance of that Want of Candour, which is to be met with in his *Monuments*, on other Occaſions.

The Cardinal ſeems to be as little affected with the eighth and ninth Articles. He is charged in the Former, with cauſing Ambaſſadors to come firſt to him alone, before they were introduced into the King's Preſence; and in the Latter, with *having practiſed ſo*, that foreign Letters ſhould be delivered, firſt, into his Hands; that is, the Articles accuſe him of acting agreeably to the Nature of his Poſt, and the Truſt repoſed in him: And, according to the Methods, which, I conceive, ſtill generally obtain in all Courts, where there is a *prime Miniſter*: It is ſaid, indeed, that he acted herein contrary to the King's Commandment; but *Cromwel*, if there had been any good Proof of ſo heinous a Crime, muſt, of Neceſſity, have dropped his Defence.

In the twentieth Article, the Cardinal is charged with reverſing Judgement againſt Common Law; that is, he is charged with the proper Execution of his Office, as Chancellor. Lord *Herbert* allows the Juſtice of his Adminiſtration in general, and particularly in his publick Hearing of Cauſes, (*Hiſt. p.* 342.) but gives an extraordinary Reaſon for it; *For as he loved no Body*, ſays that noble Hiſtorian, *ſo his Reaſon carry'd him.* I ſhall not diſtinctly enquire how far this Reflection may be improved, to ſhew, that an ingenuous Diſpoſition, and a univerſal Benevolence towards Mankind, are not requiſite to thoſe, who preſide in Courts of Judicature; or, whether the Cardinal really wanted theſe Qualities, which are the proper and brighteſt Ornaments of human Nature. His charitable and noble Foundations, in a *human* Way of Judging, diſcover a Temper of Mind, which does not appear perfectly reconcileable with this Animadveſion from a noble Author, who, if he be ſometimes more free, is always ſuppoſed *candid*, in the Judgements he makes, whether concerning Things or Perſons.

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* Ergo & Rex meus. *Wherein he is followed by Archbiſhop* Parker.

Whatever were the Motives, upon which the Cardinal regulated himſelf in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, after ſuch a Manner, that he obtained ſo honourable a Teſtimony, as to that Part of his Conduct, from Lord *Herbert*; it was, however a very unaccountable Way of proceeding, to bring an Accuſation here in the Article, againſt him, not only conſiſtent with a faithful Diſcharge of his Office, as Chancellor, but which did, in Effect, ſuppoſe it. For he is accuſed of having *examined divers and many Matters in* Chancery, *after Judgement thereof given in Common Law; and of making ſome Perſons reſtore again to the other Party condemned, that they had in Execution, by virtue of the Judgement in the Common Law.* It is added, indeed, in the Body of the Article, that this was done, *in Subverſion of the Laws*; but a general Charge, without any Specification of Fact, and, if we may judge from the Iſſue of his Impeachment, without any Proof, is only to be conſidered as Matter of Form, or a mere Circumſtance of Aggravation, in a criminal Caſe.

In the Twenty eighth Article, he is charged with Breach of Promiſe, in ſaying, he would do nothing, in the Exerciſe of his legatine Powers, to the Diſadvantage of the Ordinary's Juriſdiction, upon which Condition it is ſaid, thoſe Powers were allowed to be obtained and exerciſed. And it is particularly ſpecified, as a Breach of his Promiſe, That *when he made it, he was buſy in his Suit, at* Rome, *to viſit all the Clergy of* England, *both Exempt and not Exempt.* But, there was, after all, no Inconſiſtency between his Promiſe, and the Exerciſe of his legatine Powers. A Right of viſiting all the Clergy of *England*, both Exempt and not Exempt, being properly, as it had been *formerly* exerciſed, within the legatine Commiſſion, by which therefore the *Ordinary*'s *Juriſdiction* was ſuperſeded.

In the Forty-third Article, he is accuſed of being *an Impeacher and Diſturber of due and direct Correction of Hereſies.* And the Ground of this Accuſation, as there ſpecified, is, That *when two Biſhops were minded and deſired to repair unto the Univerſity of* Cambridge, *for Examination, Reformation, and Correction of ſuch Errors, as then ſeemed, and were reported to reign among the Students and Scholars of the ſame, as well, touching the* Lutheran *Sect and Opinions, as otherwiſe. The Lord Cardinal informed of the good Minds and Intents of the ſaid two Biſhops, expreſly inhibited and commanded them in no ways ſo to do; by Means whereof the ſame Errors (as they affirmed) crept more abroad and took greater Place, that it was not in their Defaults that the ſaid Hereſies were not puniſhed, but in the ſaid Lord Cardinal.*

I have cited the Words of this Article more at large, becauſe in the very Reaſon and Foundation of it we diſcover an ample Teſtimony of the Cardinal's good Temper and Moderation. He was ſo far from having Recourſe to any violent Meaſures towards obſtructing the Progreſs of the Reformation, that he is repreſented as one, who actually favoured and protected the *Reformed*: For they in the Language of the Article, and of that Time, were the *Hereticks*.

I do not hereby intend, that the Cardinal was in the leaſt inclined to introduce the *Lutheran* Principles. A Man may be very zealous for his particular Perſuaſion, and yet an Enemy to Violence and Perſecution; *Methods*, whether of introducing or eſtabliſhing Religion, which Chriſtians, *who know not what Manner of Spirit they are of*, which Perſons of great and generous Minds, can never come into, or approve; and which always diſcover, that the Cauſe, they are apply'd to advance, either ſtands upon a weak Foundation, or has ſome very wicked Ends to ſerve.

Had the Cardinal, inſtead of his interpoſing to prevent, encouraged a religious *Inquiſition*, which might have been attended with unreaſonable Severities, a Cauſe of Complaint againſt him, for the Abuſe of his great Powers, had been much better founded. But what could induce his Enemies to cite an Inſtance of his abuſing his Powers, ſo very honorary to his Memory, and ſo eaſily capable, even at that Time, of a good Defence?

There are ſome few Perſons, indeed, that were brought to *abjure*, but none that were burned, where he was properly concerned, or had any direct Authority. There were no Fires in *Smithfield*, during his Legacy, unleſs one to burn *Hunn* after his Death. It was in the Sequel of *Henry* the Eighth's Reign they were kindled more frequently; and, even while that great Prelate *Cranmer* preſided at the Head of the Church, Perſecution began to rage, and the Blood of *Engliſh Proteſtants* to flow. When one *Barnes*, upon a Charge of Hereſy, was brought before the Cardinal, from *Cambridge*, he treated him with much Humanity and Tenderneſs, tho' he had been very free with the Cardinal's Character, in reflecting on his Pillars and his Pole-Axes, in a witty Sarcaſm, according to the Wit, which obtained in thoſe Days, calling carnal Affections, *Cardinal* Affections, openly in the Pulpit.

His good Opinion of *Luther* was no Secret to *Eraſmus*, who in a Letter to that Reformer, has theſe Words, * *There are Perſons in* England, *and thoſe of the firſt Diſtinction, who very much approve your Writings*, meaning the Cardinal; to whom, in a long and flattering Epiſtle, in Praiſe of his Deſign for the Advancement of Learning, and the Reformation of the Clergy, he recommends *Luther*.

It may be farther obſerved, That the Cardinal was twice diſappointed in his Hopes of ſucceeding to the Papal Chair, when they appeared, upon that View, not to be ill-founded, and he had, in a Manner, all the Courts of *Europe* at command. It is not improbable ſome Jealouſy might be entertained at *Rome*, leſt he ſhould not be true at Heart, to the Intereſts of that Church; being ſo intent, as he was, upon a Reformation of the Clergy; we may therefore naturally ſuppoſe, that ſuch of the Clergy, who were moſt obnoxious, and apprehenſive of Danger to themſelves, upon the Execution of his Deſign, might endeavour to lay before the Conclave, what Obſtacles they could, in his Way; and ſo fruſtrate thoſe Pretenſions, wherein they knew him to be powerfully ſupported.

Had he been of a perſecuting, or rather, had he not been of a moderate Temper, it would be impoſſible to account for the Choice he made of Students to fill his new Seminaries at *Oxford*; moſt of them being ſuch as favoured the Reformation, and afterwards diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their great Zeal in Oppoſition to *Popery*; thoſe, eſpecially, who were tranſplanted from *Cambridge*, where he lodged the Power of Election with Dr. *Shirton* Maſter of *Pembroke Hall*, a noted *Lutheran* himſelf, as the Society was eſteemed where *Bradford* and *Ridley* had their Education; who they were, to whom *Shirton* made an Offer of removing them to *Oxford*, and who declined or accepted his Offer, may be ſeen in *Fuller* and *Stripe*.

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* Habes in Anglia qui de tuis Scriptis optime ſentiunt, & hi ſunt Maximi.

A Society ſo diſpoſed, would not, in all probability, long conceal or diſſemble their *Principles*; of which, Complaint being made to the Cardinal, and particularly againſt *Taverner*, remarkable afterwards for his Sermon at St. *Mary*'s, when High Sheriff of the County; this Prelate endeavoured to divert the Information, with a Jeſt, ſaying, *Taverner* was *only a Fidler*, being indeed a Perſon, who much delighted in Muſick. As to others, who were impriſoned for their Opinions, he ordered their Enlargement, and, ſo far as it appears, without any farther Proſecution.

In the following and laſt *Article*, it is inferred upon the whole Matter, among other Conſequences, highly prejudicial to the State, that the Cardinal, *by his outragious Pride, had greatly ſhadowed, a long Time, the King's Honour*.

This Charge ſeems to be more particularly founded on the ſplendid and pompous State, wherein the Cardinal lived, and which has given Occaſion to a common Cenſure, that he was a Perſon of moſt extravagant Vanity. A Cenſure, which does not appear altogether without ſome ſpecious Foundation; there was ſomething, if we may give Credit to the concurrent Teſtimony of Hiſtorians, both in the Temper and Manner of the Cardinal, which too much diſcover'd an Affection of *Grandeur*.

But if he was not perfectly free from a common Defect, incident to Men of aſpiring Thoughts, and extended Views, we may perhaps diſcover, upon Enquiry, ſome ſpecial Ingredients, proper to qualify that Defect; and which may ſerve, at the ſame Time, to ſhew, that if he had been really liable to ſuch a Cenſure, yet this was not the moſt convenient Place, wherein to mention it: For perſonal Failures, which do not immediately affect the Welfare of the State, and eſpecially where they may be rendered ſubſervient to it, as poſſibly they may be in ſome Caſes, are rather Matter of a private Admonition than of a legal Impeachment, which is only ſuppoſed to take cognizance of publick Offenders, againſt the publick Good.

Now, whatever Pomp, or Oſtentation, the Cardinal affected in his Manner of Life, or Appearance, He always, if we may judge by the Uſe he made of his great Power and Fortune, not only deſigned the Credit and Advancement of Learning, but, what falls more directly under our preſent Conſideration, the Honour of his Prince, and the Service of his Country. His Embaſſies, wherein he was moſt ſplendid and magnificent, and to a Degree, that drew the Eyes and the Envy of foreign Courts, and foreign Nations, upon him, contributed to give the greater Idea of the Power, the Wealth, and Grandeur, both of his Maſter, and the *Engliſh* Empire. For, if ever *England* might lay Claim to that Title, it was under a Reign wherein it was raiſed, by the Counſels and Projects of Cardinal *Wolſey*, to a Power and Dignity unknown before; under a Prince, in whoſe Troops, his Imperial Majeſty of *Germany*, *Maximilian*, had ſerved, not as a Voluntary, or Auxiliary, but for

Engliſh Pay; under a Prince, into whoſe Hand this Miniſter had put the Balance of *Europe*, and whom he rendered capable of giving Laws to all the *Kingdoms* and *Potentates* about him.

It may be queſtioned, Whether the Pomp and Luſtre, wherein the Cardinal appeared abroad, did not alſo tend very much to facilitate the Treaties, which he was employed to negotiate.

* In his Embaſſy to *Bruges*, he was received by the Emperor, with all the Honours which could well have been paid to a crowned Head. That great Prince met him at ſome Diſtance from the Town, and perſonally conducted him into it. Upon his Entry He was ſaluted by one after a Manner, and in † Terms that cannot be excuſed, as reflecting upon the Honour and Dignity of his Maſter. At his Departure, after he had been moſt ſplendidly treated, the Emperor accompanied him out of the Gates of the Town, and then returned, leaving the Prince of *Orange* and the Duke *d'Alva* to attend him ſomewhat farther on his Way. If the Magnificence of the Cardinal abroad, tended to expedite the Affairs which he had in Commiſſion, his Method of doing publick Service, was at once honorary to his Maſter, and advantagious to his Country. The *Price* of an Alliance would have riſen much higher than the Expence, to which a fine Equipage, or a Sett of rich Liveries, could amount. Biſhop *Burnet* * acknowledgeth, and it is an Acknowledgement very much for the *Cardinal*'s Honour, That the King never engaged in any Alliance but what was for his Advantage.

* Hiſt. Ref. Vol. 1. p. 8.

And this may be one Reaſon, among many others, why the King generouſly attributes the Succeſſes of his Reign to the *Cardinal*'s Adminiſtration. *Luther* had directly, and with great Decency, told the King, That his firſt Miniſter and Favourite, *was a Perſon hated by God and Man, and the Plague of* Europe. It is probable, his Majeſty was not much ſurpriſed at a Stile agreeable to that, wherein this warm Writer had formerly accoſted himſelf; if the Terms, which he uſed to his Majeſty, were not ſtill more ſhocking and offenſive. However, the King condeſcended to anſwer him, and in Vindication of his Miniſter, gave him the honourable Teſtimony beforementioned. Lord *Herbert*, who is not much ſuſpected of Partiality to the *Cardinal*, found himſelf obliged to acknowledge, That *during his Favour with the King, Things ſucceeded better than afterwards*: But Biſhop *Godwyn* goes farther, and obſerves, That ſcarce any Thing ſucceeded well in the Sequel of that Reign.

Theſe curſory Obſervations, upon ſome few of the Articles, are ſufficient to anſwer my preſent Deſign; which is to ſhew, with what View they were principally formed; and that there is a certain Degree of *Hiſtorical Pyrrhoniſm* neceſſary to thoſe, who would be well aſſured concerning the Truth of Facts, which even ſometimes appear to be competently atteſted. The Reaſon of this Remark will be more evident, from what I am going to obſerve, in the next Place, concerning ſome Hiſtorians of the moſt eſtabliſhed Character among us, who have been, in one Degree or other, injurious to the *Cardinal*'s Memory.

I ſhall take the Liberty, in the firſt Place, of citing Biſhop *Burnet*, in order to confirm what I ſay. That learned Hiſtorian directly charges the *Cardinal* with being *lewd* and *vitious*, and with having the *French Pox*, upon the Credit of thoſe very Articles, from which he was acquitted; for he produces no other Evidence, except that of common Report, for ſo very ſevere a Charge: Whereas the Preſumption, if any Conſequences in relation to the *Cardinal*'s good or ill *Fame* are to be drawn from the Articles, ought certainly to lie the other Way; Not in Prejudice of the Perſon accuſed, but in Vindication of the Perſon abſolved; and eſpecially at a Time, and in a Place, where he was under Circumſtances, ſo little favourable to him.

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* Vid. MS. C.C.C. Camb. † Ave Rex Regis ſui, & Rector Regni ſui, MS. C.C.C. Camb. Marg. Not.

For what Reaſon, I repeat it again, ſhould Cardinal *Wolſey* be condemned, by a Rule, by which no Perſon, attainted before his Time or ſince, ought to be concluded? But, above all, Why ſhould ſuch a Cenſure be paſſed upon him, by one of the ſame Function, and the ſame Order? It might be expected, where neceſſary Reaſons of Piety or Prudence, or ſome antecedent Obligation to the contrary, may not require, that Eccleſiaſticks ſhould rather endeavour to conceal thoſe Blemiſhes, in Perſons of their own Character, which are true, than either divulge ſuch as are falſe, or not ſufficiently atteſted. And yet the principal, and in a manner, the ſole Evidence upon which the *Cardinal*'s Name is tranſmitted to future Ages, under a Note of ſo great Infamy, is only founded upon an Article of Impeachment, which, if we may judge from the Iſſue of it, had no good Foundation itſelf.

I think it incumbent on me, where ſo proper an Occaſion offers, to do an Act of Juſtice to the Memory of another great Man, who was Cardinal *Wolſey*'s Collegue, and has been repreſented by the ſame learned Hiſtorian, upon the Authority of an obſcure Libel, as leading, at that Time, a very diſſolute Life; *Hunting and Gaming all Day long*, and *following Whores all the Night*: As *a vile, vicious Stranger and Prieſt: Who lived licentiouſly in* England, *in all Manner of Diſorders, of which both He and his Baſtard-Son were guilty.* Hiſt. Reform. p. 67, 89. Append. 264.

It is not eaſy to believe, that *Campejus* was the Perſon here deſigned, if a Judgement may be formed, concerning his Character, both for Learning and Morals, and in regard to his Circumſtances.

1. In the firſt Place, it was not his Baſtard-Son, but his Legitimate Son, who was Knighted by the King. That *Cardinal* was firſt a married Man, had a Wife, and five Children, but his Wife dying, he took Orders, and was promoted to the Purple.

2. Whether any Liberties, taken by the young Knight, or *Compana* of the Pope's Bed chamber, then in *England*, might occaſion this Scandal, is not certain; it is, however, ungenerous to determine any Thing with Aſſurance, concerning the Matter, on the ſingle Evidence of a Traveller in a foreign Country, afterwards hang'd for Treaſon in his Own.

3. Neither does his Age, nor the State of his Health, at that Time, agree with this Character of *Campejus*. But, allowing our *Engliſh* Air ſo healthy and reſtorative, that it might contribute to make an old Gentleman, ſo violently afflicted with the Gout, upon his firſt coming over, that he could neither go nor ſtand, yet, in a few Months, ſo vigorous and luxuriant, that He followed his Pleaſures without Intermiſſion, *all Day long, and all the Night*; it may ſtill become us, to conſider a little, what Sort of Character he bore in the World, among ſeveral Perſons of Probity and Credit. *Hall*, who lived at that Time in *London*, and was no Stranger to this

Legate's Courſe of Life, and rarely ſuffers any Opportunity of expoſing the Clergy to eſcape him, only calls *Campejus* a Man of great Wit and Experience, better learned in the papal Law, than in Divinity. Father *Paul* ſtiles him a Man of Wiſdom, and Authority: *Godwin*, no bad Man, and a ſincere Speaker: *Fuller*, a good heavy Man. The Character given him by * *Polydore Virgil*, and eſpecially what *Eraſmus* ſays of him, in a high Strain and Addreſs of Eloquence, is very honorary and advantagious to him. (*Reverendiſſime Domine, virtutum tuarum inſignium, & Eruditionis rariſſimæ Famâ inflammatus, jampridem geſtio, & noſſe propius, & coram adorare,--- Inſignem Heroa, & Eccleſiæ Romanæ Columen.*) It is difficult, indeed, to reconcile any one of theſe Characters, with that, which is given of him, by our learned Prelate and Hiſtorian. The only Ground which *Fox* could find to charge him upon, was, on Occaſion of his Reply to thoſe of *Strasburgh*. This argues, at moſt, that he was firm to the Doctrine of the *Romiſh* Church, and more inclined to puniſh, than to encourage Incontinency in the Clergy: Which if he had ſo notoriouſly exemplified, as he is repreſented to have done, in his own Conduct, the Grounds of his Miſſion, twice into *Germany*, and once into *England*, had not only been improper, but from a Court ſo refined, and ſo cautious in its Meaſures, as that of *Rome*, altogether unaccountable.

If I inſtance in that very learned and excellent Hiſtorian Mr. *Camden*, as an Author, who has alſo been injurious to the Character and Memory of Cardinal *Wolſey*; it is not, from any Want of juſt Reſpect to the Merit of that great Name, but with a Deſign of doing Juſtice to the Perſon injured; and of ſhewing, that we ought, in our hiſtorical, as well as in our natural or moral Diſquiſitions, always to ſuſpend our Aſſent, till a ſufficient Degree of Evidence ſhall oblige us to give it. It is neceſſary at leaſt, that Hiſtorians, if they do not produce authentick Vouchers for every Thing they relate, ſhould yet deduce ſuch Conſequences from acknowledged Facts, as evidently follow, in a juſt, and ingenuous Way of Reaſoning upon them.

This celebrated Hiſtorian, in his Introduction to the Life of Queen *Elizabeth*, obſerves, that "After ſeventeen Years Marriage, the King, *Henry* the Eighth, grew weary of *Katharine* his Wife, a Lady of very Religious Behaviour, and *Spaniſh* Gravity --- This he did, through the cunning Artifice of *Thomas Wolſey* Cardinal, who being now in the Heighth of Power with the King, had, in a Manner, no Command over himſelf. For bearing a Grudge to *Charles* the Fifth, Son to the Siſter of Queen *Katherine*, for denying him the Archbiſhoprick of *Toledo*, and becauſe he had not favoured him in aſpiring to the Popedom, he cauſed a Scruple to be put in the King's Head, that his preſent Marriage with Queen *Katherine*, who, before, had been his Brother *Arthur*'s Wife, was forbidden by the Law of God, notwithſtanding that *Julius* the Second, Biſhop of *Rome*, had diſpenſed therewith."

It is not unuſual with Hiſtorians to account for the Springs of certain Facts which never happened; as we ſometimes obſerve philoſophical Writers, inquiring into the Cauſes of Things, which never exiſted.

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* Inter juris conſultos, Jure conſultiſſimus.

Now, whether it be really true, which is not improbable, That the Emperor did give the Cardinal formal Aſſurances of his Favour and Intereſt, towards advancing him to the papal Dignity, whenever there might be a Vacancy in St. *Peter*'s Chair; whether the Emperor, by not obſerving his Engagements to the *Cardinal*, and by omitting to pay him a Debt of Honour, or by prevaricating with him, on any Account, in an Affair, which he had ſo much at Heart, might give Occaſion to the Reſentments of this Prelate, and alienate the Eſteem, which he had formerly entertained and profeſſed for his Imperial Majeſty; whether the *Cardinal* was provoked to engage in Deſigns againſt a Prince, who ſhewed ſo little Regard to his Promiſe, and for that Reaſon: Whatever Determination may be made upon theſe Queſtions, what I contend for, is, That Mr. *Cambden*, with all Submiſſion to ſo great an Authority, ought not to have aſſigned the Treatment juſt or diſhonourable, which the *Cardinal* met with, from *Charles* the Fifth, as *the Effect of a Thing, which was not.*

For that the *Cardinal* did *not cauſe* this Scruple to be put into the King's Head, may be concluded from many clear and convincing Proofs. One of theſe Proofs is taken from the expreſs Declaration of the King himſelf, in open Court, upon a ſolemn Occaſion, where his Majeſty was perſonally cited, and where the Circumſtances of his Teſtimony, if the Faith and Honour of a King could have been otherwiſe ſuſpected, gave a ſtronger Sanction to what he depoſed. For *when my Lord Cardinal humbly beſeeched his Majeſty to declare to the Court, whether he had been the firſt or chief Mover of this Matter*, as he was ſuſpected, the King's Anſwer was, *My Lord Cardinal, you have rather adviſed me to the contrary, than been any mover of the ſame.* [Cavendiſh.]

Then the King proceeds to declare, That what firſt occaſioned this Scruple, was a Difficulty propoſed to him by the Biſhop of *Bayon*, the *French* Ambaſſador, concerning the Legitimacy of Lady *Mary*; when that Prelate came to treat with the King about a Marriage between this Princeſs, and the Duke of *Orleans*, Son to the *French* King. This Scruple was farther confirmed, by the Death of the King's Male-Iſſue, and not pretended, on Account of any perſonal Diſlike to the Queen, with whom the King affirmed, *He could be as well contented to continue, if his Marriage might ſtand with the Law of God, as with any Woman alive.*

His Majeſty afterwards acquits *Longland* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, who was alſo under a Suſpicion of having moved this Scruple, and wholly aſcribed it to the Light, and Force of his own Conſcience, which cauſed him to open his Caſe to that Biſhop in Confeſſion.

It may be farther obſerved, in Vindication of the *Cardinal*, upon this Head, That being preſſed by the King, to give his own Judgement in the Caſe, he excuſed himſelf from declaring it, the Matter being of too arduous a Nature for him. And therefore he deſired Leave to conſult the Reſt of the Clergy upon it. This Excuſe would neither have been made, nor admitted, if the *Cardinal* had really, at any Time, taken the Freedom of delivering his Opinion to the Diſquiet of the King's Conſcience, in the Manner, he was pretended to have done.

It ſeems unaccountable for theſe Reaſons, (others are mentioned relating to this Article, in a proper Place) That Biſhop *Burnet* ſhould cite *Saunders* to ſhew, *the Cardinal was the Firſt, who infuſed theſe Scru-*

ples into the King, and cauſed Longland *Biſhop of* Lincoln *afterwards to poſſeſs the King's Mind with them in Confeſſion.*

If this learned Hiſtorian had wanted an Authority, towards ſupporting the Grounds of this common Suſpicion againſt the *Cardinal*; one would have thought, the Name of Mr. *Camden* might have ſtood much more conveniently, in the Margin of his Hiſtory, than that of an Author, whom he has treated with ſo much Contempt, and expoſed as a Writer, to whom no Manner of Credit ought to be given.

But, indeed, whatever Occaſion Biſhop *Burnet* might have for this Teſtimony, to do his Lordſhip Juſtice, he profeſſes himſelf, in the Sequel of this Story, inclined to think, *That the Scruples of the King were much ancienter.* And, in a few Pages after, he acquits the *Cardinal*, in reſpect to this Article, upon the very Evidence and Allegations which I have before employed. I ſhall not preſume to enquire, upon what Motives, he ſeems willing in his *laſt* Volume, that his Readers ſhould credit a Story, which in his *firſt*, he had ſo well and effectually confuted.

Cavendiſh alſo has advanced ſome Things, but certainly without any ſiniſter End or Deſign, derogatory to the Honour of his Maſter, and upon falſe Grounds. This Writer, if we may judge from the pious and moral Reflections which he occaſionally makes, appears to have been a Man of Probity, who lived under a Senſe of Religion, and ſpake from the Heart. If he had not all the great Talents, requiſite in a Hiſtorian, he is yet much to be valued for thoſe Qualities. His Fidelity may be depended upon concerning Things, which he relates upon his perſonal Knowledge, or which fell more directly within the Compaſs of his own Obſervation. His Stile is clear, and, for the Time wherein he lived, ſignificant and polite enough. He writes with the free and negligent Air of a Gentleman, which much becomes him; and he is ſometimes happy, without appearing to have any ſuch Deſign, in addreſſing himſelf to the Imagination and Paſſions. There are ſome Paſſages in him, whereby a Reader who has any true Taſte, will find himſelf agreeably moved. He writes with great Impartiality, and tho' he had an Honour and Eſteem for his Maſter, he does not conceal or diſſemble his Failures, nor fly out into any indecent Heats or Expreſſions, againſt thoſe, who uſed him very ill.

With all theſe good Qualities, he did not take care to inform himſelf, as he ought to have done, concerning certain foreign Affairs, of which he has given an Account, in his Life of the *Cardinal*. In what he relates concerning the Siege of *Pavia*, he not only aſſerts ſome Things, without ſufficient Warrant, but againſt the common Faith of Hiſtory, that are very diſadvantagious to the *Cardinal*, and which, had they been true, muſt have left an indelible Stain upon his Memory.

When he ſpeaks, concerning the Diſtreſs, to which the Imperial Army was reduced, under the Command of *Charles* Duke of *Bourbon*, before the Siege of *Pavia* was raiſed, he imputes the ill Circumſtances of that General and his Troops, to the Want of Moneys, which ought to have been paid to him, according to Contract, by Sir *John Ruſſel*, who was commiſſioned by the King to that End, and had ſpecial Inſtructions from the *Cardinal*, for executing the Truſt repoſed in him.

But it will appear, from Extracts of Letters added in the Appendix, relating to the publick Negotiations at that Time, the Court of *England* was not juſtly chargeable with any Neglect or Prevarication, on that Account.

Even, if Sir *John Ruſſel* had omitted to make Payment, according to Contract between the two Courts; yet, the Extremities to which the Army under the Duke of *Bourbon* was reduced, ought not to have been imputed to any Infidelity on this Side of the Water; but to a plain Remiſsneſs, on the Part of his Imperial Majeſty, who did not pay the Moneys, which he had obliged himſelf to advance, according to the Time, or in the Manner ſtipulated.

It was unreaſonable, in an Expedition, where the Emperor was principal, and who expected in a Manner all the Spoils and Advantages, which were to be reaped from it, that the *Engliſh*, who only engaged as Acceſſories, and at moſt in Regard to a *common* Cauſe, ſhould bear the whole Burthen of the War. And therefore, Directions were, indeed, given to Sir *John Ruſſel*, that he ſhould uſe proper Precautions in diſpoſing of the Money, with which he was charged; and that upon Payment of it, he ſhould ſee it appropriated to the Ends, and Uſes, ſpecified in the Contract.

So that whatever Inconveniencies might have happened, to the Imperial Troops, in Caſe the *Engliſh* had really withdrawn their uſual and ſtated Contributions, tho' it does not appear, that, in Fact, they did withdraw them; Thoſe Inconveniences could not, in Juſtice, be charged upon any Breach of Faith in the *Engliſh*; the Conditions on the Emperor's Part, having been firſt violated, and no Reparation being made, by the Imperial Court, after repeated Inſtances of the *Engliſh* Miniſters, to that End.

What follows in *Cavendiſh*, relating to this Siege, and to the Conſequences of it, is ſo groundleſs and extraordinary, that it is not eaſy to imagin, where he could have his Memoirs, ſo much to the Diſadvantage of the Miniſter, in whoſe Service he was, at that Time.

We are told, by this Author, That the Duke of *Bourbon* commanded in the Town of *Pavia*; That both Officers and Soldiers began to mutiny, for Want of Pay, and neceſſary Proviſions; That they moved and importuned the Duke to ſurrender; upon which, he expoſtulated with them, and, in concluſion, animated them ſo much by a Speech he made, which indeed is drawn up in Terms, becoming a brave and gallant Commander, that, upon their ſallying out, as he adviſed, by Night, they obtained a glorious and compleat Victory over the Enemy.

But the Misfortune is, this fine Speech which is ſaid to have done ſuch Wonders, is here owing to an Occaſion that never happened; tho' Inſtances of this Kind, are not unuſual in Hiſtory.

The Duke of *Bourbon* did not command in the Town, but marched at the Head of the Imperial Army, to relieve it. The Battle was not fought, by Night, but by Day. The Garriſon did not ſally out, till the two Armies were engaged. We are not to be ſurprized after this, if *Cavendiſh* tells us, That when the Imperialiſts came to rifle the Tent of *Francis* the Firſt, King of *France*, who was taken Priſoner in the Battle, the Duke of *Bourbon* found a League in the Cabinet of that King, under the Great Seal of *England*, newly made between him and the King of *England*, " Whereby he perceived the Impediment of his Money, which " ſhould have come to him from the King, having, upon due Search

“ of this Matter, farther Intelligence, that this was deviſed by the “ *Cardinal* of *England.*”

We may juſtly admire, that among ſo many Calumnies, grounded upon precarious Conjectures, or uncertain Reports, whereby the Enemies of the *Cardinal* have endeavoured to defame him, they have ſeldom or never produced an Inſtance of ſo black a Treachery, atteſted by a Gentleman, who was in his Favour, and one of his Retinue.

That *Cavendiſh* was impoſed upon, in this Particular, appears from Extracts out of ſeveral Letters referred to in the *Appendix*, particularly from a Letter of Inſtructions to our Ambaſſadors, reſiding at the Imperial Court, after *Francis* was taken Priſoner: Which Letter I have therefore ordered to be printed at large, not only to vindicate the KING and *Cardinal* from a heavy and unjuſt Imputation, but becauſe it gives a great Light into the State of Affairs, both Foreign and Domeſtick, at that Time.

I beg Leave to obſerve, That the noble Hiſtorian, beforementioned, has alſo, in certain Reſpects, miſrepreſented the *Cardinal*; and, particularly as prevaricating in the Affair of the Divorce. An Imputation that appears, not only contrary to the whole Tenor of his Conduct in that Affair; but may be effectually confuted, ſo far as the moſt ſolemn Aſſeverations can be of any Force to perſuade, from two Letters, of the *Cardinal*, to the King's Agents at *Rome*; and from one to the Pope.

In theſe Letters, all the Topicks of Invention and Eloquence are, in a Manner, exhauſted, which may be proper to ſhew, That a Man's Heart is full of what he ſays, and that he deſires to make an Impreſſion upon others. It is impoſſible to know the Sincerity of any Man's Intentions, from the moſt expreſs Aſſurances he can give, or the moſt moving Arguments he can employ, if the *Cardinal* did not act ſincerely with the King, on this Occaſion.

Morrery has diſcovered the ſame Prejudice; “ *Wolſey*, ſays he, wrote “ to the Pope to refuſe the Diſpenſation, the King ſought for, which “ his Majeſty having Advice of by his Agents at *Rome*, confiſcated “ all the *Cardinal*'s Riches, and outed him of all Places, except the “ Archbiſhoprick of *York*, and the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*.” --- Biſhop *Burnet*, who was not very much diſpoſed to favour the *Cardinal*, being ſenſible this was an unjuſt Accuſation, vindicates him, after a very generous and excellent Manner, from the Scandal of it. *Hiſt. Ref. Vol.* 1. *p.* 53.

I have endeavoured to ſhew how ill-founded ſeveral of thoſe Calumnies were, by which the *Cardinal* has been thought to be moſt nearly affected. But whether he was charged upon true or falſe Suggeſtions, we are not to be ſupprized, that they expoſed him to publick Cenſure, and at laſt to Diſgrace with his Sovereign; who in the Heat of his Reſentments, had not all the Regard either to perſonal Qualifications, or the Merit of publick Services, which became ſo great a Monarch, and near whoſe Perſon the *Cardinal* had ſome very warm and powerful Enemies.

The Court, where the Maxims of true Greatneſs, and the moſt ſublime Notions of Vertue and Honour are ſuppoſed to obtain, is not always free from that mean and ignoble Paſſion of *Envy*; and *Vanity*, the common Character of Mankind, is apt to repreſent every Thing invidious; even thoſe ſuperiour Endowments which ſhould ſerve to correct the Errors, into which it is apt to betray us, tend only, on certain Occaſions, and in a higher Scene of Life, to feed and inflame it. We may reſolve the Origin of thoſe Schemes, which were formed at Court againſt the *Cardinal*, into this one Principle, that has ſo often proved fatal to the greateſt Favourites; and conclude, without examining too minutely all the *hiſtorical Cauſes* of his Fall, That it was *Envy* which put his Enemies ſo vigorouſly in Motion to effect it. Yet all their other Deſigns to this End, would, probably, have been impracticable and abortive, if a new Scene had not opened at Court, which gave them a Proſpect of effecting it, by a Method they had not thought of before.

The King's Love to *Ann Boleyn*, was no great Secret any where, before the Proceſs in order to his Divorce from *Katherine* of *Arragon*, could be perfected. His Majeſty was ſo far poſſeſs'd, that he did not uſe the neceſſary Precautions to diſſemble his Paſſion: This new Star was obſerved to ſhine ſo bright, and to have ſo powerful an aſcendant, that it was eaſy to calculate the chief Movements at Court, from the Aſpect and Influence of it.

I ſhall not preſume to determine by what Means, or by Occaſion of what Incidents, this Lady captivated the Heart of ſo great a Monarch: Or, Whether the Impreſſions, he had received, were owing to her Beauty, to her Wit, to her Addreſs, or, in general, to the Charms of her Converſation: Or, Whether ſhe were not Miſtreſs of thoſe ſeveral Qualities in conjunction, which are proper to attract Love, and to give it all the Force, whereof it is capable.

Saunders, indeed, repreſents her, not only as having an irregular Shape, but as being remarkably deformed. It is not eaſy to conceive, what could induce this Writer, prejudiced as he was, to calumniate her Perſon, without having the common Faith of Hiſtory, or the natural Probability of the Thing to ſupport him. It is not reaſonable to believe that ſuch a Creature, as *Saunders* deſcribes *Ann Boleyn*, ſhould have been ſo much admired in the Court of *France*, ſucceſſively in an honourable Attendance on two * Queens; and afterwards on *Margaret* of *Alanſon* the *French* King's Siſter. Neither is it probable, that *Henry*, King of *England*, whoſe principal Deſign in ſolliciting the Divorce, was to marry a Lady, by whom he might hope for Male-Iſſue to ſucceed to the Crown, ſhould have choſen to this End, a Conſort, who had neither Beauty, Shape, nor, if we may believe this Author, *Vertue* to recommend her.

It is far more credible, that *Ann Boleyn* attached this Prince by the Beauties of her Perſon, as well as of her Mind, and, eſpecially of her *Manner*, wherein ſhe excelled. And her Superiority in this Reſpect, when ſhe made her Appearance at the *Engliſh* Court, might be much owing to the Advantages of her Education, for ſo long a Time, in the Court of *France*. Mr. *Camden* gives this Account concerning the Origin, and Effect of the King's Paſſion for her. "She being returned into *England*, and being admitted Maid of Honour to the Queen, the King, in the Thirty-eighth Year of his Age, for her Modeſty, mixed with a *French* Grace, and Pleaſantneſs, fell in Love with her; and when he could not overcome her Chaſtity, he ſought to make her his Wife, in hopes of Male-Iſſue by her." [*Pref. to the* Life *of Queen* Eliz.]

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* Mary, *Siſter to* Henry *the Eighth, Wife of* Lewis *the Twelfth, and* Claudia *the Wife of* Francis *the Firſt*.

This is an honourable and ingenuous Account of her *Conduct*, by that excellent Hiſtorian. But Mr. *Bayle*, to gratify a luxuriant, ſatyrical Genius, has made a Reflection upon it, which appears injurious to her, and puts the Matter in a very different Light. “She “behaved her ſelf, *ſays this free Writer*, with ſo much Art, that by “refuſing to ſatisfy the King's Paſſion, ſhe made him think of “marrying her. That Prince, deceived by her Artifices, thought “He ſhould never enjoy her, unleſs ſhe was his Wife; which engaged him to puſh forward the Affair of the Divorce, and to “execute it at laſt, with all the Noiſe, that every Body knows. “That, which would be very praiſe-worthy, on another Occaſion, “is *Ann Boleyn*'s chief Crime; her refuſing to comply with an amorous King, unleſs he would divorce his Wife, is a much more enormous Crime, than to have been his Concubine. A Concubine “would not have dethroned the Queen, nor taken her Husband “from her: Whereas the crafty *Ann Boleyn*, by pretending to be “chaſte and ſcrupulous, aimed only at the Uſurpation of the Throne, “and deſigned to exclude *Katherine* of *Arragon*, and her Daughter, “from all the Honours due to them.”

We may reaſonably conclude, what has a more immediate Reference to my Subject, that it was judged by the *Cardinal*'s Enemies, there was no other Way to ruin him, with the King, and afterwards to remove him from Court, but by Means of the Power, which *Ann Boleyn* was now known to have with his Majeſty: And the Event ſhewed they were not miſtaken. Lord *Herbert* has obſerved, That the *Cardinal might have ſubſiſted longer, if other than Women had oppoſed him.* His Lordſhip ſubjoyns a Reaſon, concerning the Force and Propriety of which, the Reader may determine for himſelf: *For, as they are vigilant and cloſe Enemies, ſo, for the moſt Part, they carry their Buſineſs, in that manner, that they leave fewer Advantages againſt themſelves, than Men do.*

Yet we cannot certainly diſcover what was the particular Occaſion of that Diſtaſte, which this Lady had taken againſt the *Cardinal.* Some are of Opinion, ſhe retained a deep Impreſſion of the Injury done to her, and of the Pain, which perhaps ſhe ſuffered, by his oppoſing her firſt Inclination, and cauſing the Contract between her, and the young Lord *Piercy*, to be diſſolved: Tho' the *Cardinal* did nothing herein, but at the Inſtance, and by Order of the King, and what prepared the Way for her Elevation to that high Dignity, to which afterward She ſo much aſpired.

Others have thought, She favoured the *Cardinal*'s Enemies, in Revenge to him, for diſſuading the King from making any farther Addreſſes to Her, when He was firſt let into the Secret of this Affair, by the King himſelf; with whom He was ſo earneſt in his Expoſtulations, that He repeated them on his Knees. It is poſſible, this Oppoſition of the *Cardinal*, might give ſome Umbrage to a young and reigning Beauty, at Court, who does not appear to have wanted Spirit, or the decent Ambition of her Sex.

Yet if we may draw Conſequences from two original Letters, in the *Cotton* Library, written by her, which Biſhop *Burnet* has publiſhed, but without citing his Authority, the Cardinal had not really incurred her Diſpleaſure, upon either of the foregoing Grounds. In the former of theſe Letters ſhe acknowledgeth her ſelf incapable of recompenſing his great Services, *but only in loving him next to the King's Grace, above all Creatures living.* In the Latter, ſhe declares to him, *all the Days of my Life, I am bound, next to the King's*

Grace, to Love and Honour your Grace. There are Sentiments and Expreſſions in both Letters more ſuited to the Simplicity of thoſe Times, than to the nicer Addreſs and Manner of Writing in the Preſent.

There is one Letter, indeed, ſuppoſed to be written by her in the *Tower*, that has been publiſhed more than once, under her Name, as an *Original*, which, for the Beauty and Spirit, the Sentiments, and, conſidering the Age when it was penn'd, *the Diction of it*, will be admired in all Ages. But then it muſt be confeſſed, the Hand, the Manner, the Style, and Spelling of it, are ſo very different from three of her Letters in that Library, which are undoubtedly Originals, that ſome new Rules of Criticiſm muſt be diſcovered to aſcertain her Claim to it, after a Manner, that may not be diſputed.

It is probable, the true Reaſon why ſhe was irritated, to ſuch a Degree, againſt the Cardinal, might proceed from his being ſo dilatory, in the Matter of the Divorce, which ſhe deſires in thoſe Letters may be expedited, and in ſo free, and undiſguiſed a Manner, that I dare by no Means preſume to defend the Regularity of her Inſtances.

Whatever might be the true Cauſe of her Reſentments, it is ſufficiently evident, this Lady did make uſe of her Intereſt in the King, to facilitate the Operation of thoſe Meaſures, which had been projected by the Cardinal's Enemies, againſt him. But the Effects of her Combining with them had never appeared ſo openly before, as they did at *Grafton* in *Northamptonſhire*; to which Place *Ann Boleyn* accompanied the King in his Progreſs, after he had given Orders, the Queen ſhould be removed from Court, to ſome other Place. Here it was, the Cardinal and his Collegue *Campejus* went to attend the King, but found upon their Arrival, a very cold Reception. Some Marks of Diſtinction, indeed, were ſhewed to *Campejus*, as a Stranger, and a Perſon of publick Character. But the Cardinal of *England*, after he had waited on this Legate to his Apartment, thinking to go directly to his own, was told, that no Appointment had been made for him in the Court; at which he was much ſurprized, having never been treated, near to the King's Perſon, with any ſuch Neglect before.

Yet Sir *John Norris*, after a very obliging Manner, made an Offer to him of his own Lodgings, till ſome Proviſion could be made for him, and where he might ſhift his riding Habit. However when he came afterwards into the Preſence, the King received him graciouſly. *Cavendiſh*, who was then Gentleman-Uſher to the Cardinal, and in Waiting, obſerves, *That his Face*, when he kneeled to the King, *was amiable*; That *the King took him up in his Hand, led him to the Window, and there talked with him a good While*; to the great Diſappointment of many Lords, who believed, and had laid Wagers upon it, that the King would not ſpeak to him.

Yet neither of the Legates, after all, dined with the King. His Majeſty dined with *Ann Boleyn*, tho' the Cauſe relating to the Divorce was then depending, in her own Chamber. Theſe were thought innocent Freedoms at that Time, which it would be difficult to reconcile with the ſtrict Maxims of Behaviour, which obtain among young Ladies of the firſt Diſtinction, at preſent.

Cavendiſh expreſſes the Manner of *that* Lady, when ſhe was at Dinner with his Majeſty, in Terms ſignificant enough. *Mrs.* Ann Boleyn, ſays he, *was offended, as much as ſhe durſt, that the King did ſo graciouſly entertain my Lord Cardinal.* He afterwards deſcends to acquaint us with the Charge, in particular, which ſhe took that Opportunity of exhibiting againſt the Cardinal. What he ſays, is on the Credit of thoſe, who waited at Dinner, and reported, what had paſſed in Converſation there between the King and *Ann Boleyn*, to himſelf.

The King notwithſtanding, after Dinner, had a long and earneſt Diſcourſe with the Cardinal, and then took him by the Hand, and led him into the Privy-Chamber, where he was for a conſiderable Time alone with him. Upon which his Enemies, about the Court, were much intimidated, but ſtill repoſed ſome Hopes in the Sollicitations of *Ann Boleyn*; and ſhe did not deceive them; tho' it was not without great Conflict within himſelf, that the King appeared, at laſt, to ſacrifice an old and faithful Servant, to her Inſtances. But Love prevailed over other Conſiderations, and this Lady had Power enough, by one artful Inſinuation or other, to divert the King next Morning from having any Converſation with the Cardinal, though his Majeſty had then commanded his Attendance, and ſaid he would talk farther with him. For when the Cardinal came in Obedience to that Command, the King was juſt ready to take Horſe, and, without any farther Notice of the Cardinal, coldly ordered him to conſult with the Lords, in his Abſence. *Ann Boleyn* rode to take the Air with the King, and to prevent his Return before the Cardinal's Departure, had taken care to provide an Entertainment for his Majeſty in *Harewell* Park.

This ſeemed a deciſive Conqueſt over the Cardinal; and ſo it proved, in the Event. He was too wiſe, after this, to expoſe himſelf to the Raillery of the Court, by waiting for the King's Return, which *Ann Boleyn* had taken ſo effectual a Precaution to retard. He too plainly ſaw himſelf *neglected*, and judged very right, there was no contending for him, againſt the Power of this Lady, in a Place, where ſhe had already, and, in ſo triumphant a Manner, eſtabliſhed her Empire. And therefore immediately, after Dinner, he departed with his Collegue *Campejus*, preſaging the great Calamities, which were ſhortly to follow.

There are other Calumnies, beſides thoſe I have endeavoured to obviate, under which the Cardinal's Name has been moſt injuriouſly tranſmitted to Poſterity; and they have been occaſionally conſidered, as the Order, and Circumſtances of Life required: Yet, leſt it ſhould be inferred, that this Work, was deſigned rather as a Panegyrical Eſſay, than a faithful and juſt Hiſtory, I here take the Occaſion to declare, that I have been far from propoſing to exhibit in it, a perfect Character. It ſeems agreeable to the ſettled Diſpoſitions of Providence, that there ſhould be certain Ingredients in the Tempers of very great Men, proper to humble them; by leſſening the Homage, and Veneration, that Mankind would otherwiſe be apt to pay to them; and which might give them a greater Power and Influence in Society, than the ſupreme and all-wiſe Governour of the World has thought fit to deſign for them. What would not that Man be capable of effecting, who ſhould, in a Manner, have the Hearts and Affections of all Men at command?

We are not, in profane Hiſtory, and, but in one Inſtance, upon ſacred Record, to ſeek for a Character, without Allay or Defect. We do not find it; in the Hiſtory of two Kings, Father and Son, ſucceſſively, one of them reputed the Beſt and moſt Pious, the other, the Wiſeſt of Men. Much leſs is it to be found, in the Hiſtory of the two celebrated Heroes, *Alexander* and *Cæſar*; who were both of them endowed with many ſublime, and extraordinary Talents: Nature ſeems, particularly, to have diſtinguiſhed the Latter of them, by a Profuſion of the great and generous Qualities, with the leaſt Mixture of the Mean and Ignoble: Yet he diſcovered too violent a Paſſion for Glory and Empire, and tho' his Love for the Fair Sex carried him to ſome Exceſſes, he never ſacrificed to it the Opportunities of puſhing his Fortune.

I have had Occaſion, in this Hiſtory to obſerve ſeveral Things relating to the Character and Conduct of Cardinal *Wolſey*, which I dare by no Means undertake to juſtify, or defend.

I might have cited more Inſtances, than one, of his being inclined to Superſtition; I do not mean Superſtition, in reſpect to the Rites of religious Worſhip, but to groundleſs Conjectures, and Preſages, concerning future Events, from certain Appearances, that, in common Opinion, have been thought *ominous*. This Weakneſs, tho' incident to many great Men, ariſes from an impatient Deſire of diſcovering, what Conſequences are to follow, from mere *Accidents*, that have no viſible Connection with them, nor the leaſt conceivable Power to produce them.

Secondly, Tho' he was a generous Friend and Patron; an Enemy to all Prevarication, with his Dependants, and to the little Arts of miſleading thoſe, who had any Expectations from him, into Meaſures fatal to themſelves, and injurious to others, by doubtful and inſidious Promiſes; yet, it cannot be diſſembled, that in his Reſentments, he ſometimes diſcovered a Temper, which is not to be too ſtrictly examined by the *Evangelical* Rules of Charity and Forgiveneſs. His Paſſions were naturally ſtrong, and lively, and having himſelf an open Heart, and a great Mind, his Indignation might probably riſe the higher, and betray him into ſome irregular Heats, under the Apprehenſion of any baſe or ungenerous Uſage.

Thirdly, Nothing can be ſaid in Defence of his being ſo great and notorious a *Pluraliſt*. One Man, whatever his Merit or Abilities may be, will generally find it ſufficient for him to fill, as he ought to do, one Epiſcopal Chair. The Cardinal held ſeveral Biſhopricks, at the ſame Time, in Propriety, and ſome in Farm. Not only to the Neglect of Order and Diſcipline, which cannot be ſo well maintained without the Preſence and perſonal Interpoſition of the Biſhop, but to the Scandal and Offence of many Chriſtians; and, I add, to the Prejudice and detriment of thoſe Perſons, whoever they might be, that were excluded from the Seats, whereof he was poſſeſs'd, whether by Favour of the Crown, or any other Diſpenſation whatever. For tho', poſſibly, there may be ſometimes Reaſon for annexing two, or more Cures, even in the firſt Poſts of Authority and Truſt, in the Church, where the Revenues are not ſeparately ſufficient to ſupport that Eſteem, without which no Authority can be long regarded, nor any Truſt duly executed: Yet, as this was not the Cardinal's Caſe, He ought not to have made uſe of any Privilege, where, in the principal Reaſon and original Foundation of it, it could not be preſumed to extend.

Neither is it a ſufficient Vindication of the Cardinal, in reſpect to this Charge, tho' an alleviating Circumſtance of it, that he applied the Revenues ariſing from the Eccleſiaſtical Patrimony to the

Service of the Church; ſeeing the beſt Ends and Deſigns, conſidered ſimply *as* ſuch, can never authorize any irregular, or unjuſt Means in order to effect them.

Fourthly, In the Entertainments, which He made for the King, conſidering his own Order and Character, there appeared to be, on certain Occaſions, a Levity of Behaviour, not eaſily reconcileable, with his Epiſcopal, his Archiepiſcopal, and his Legatine Dignity. The * higheſt Dignity, next to the Papal, in that Church, which then aſſumed, and ſtill continues to aſſume, the Name of *Catholick*. To ſee a Father of the Church, and in the firſt Station of it, regulating the Ceremonial of a Ball, or an Enterlude, could not fail of exciting, in many Perſons, an Idea of Indecency very unbecoming both his Perſon and his Place.

Something more may, perhaps, be offered in Defence of the Cardinal's Advice to the King, upon his firſt Acceſſion to the Throne, that neglecting State-Affairs, and truſting them to his Adminiſtration, He ſhould follow his Studies, and his Pleaſures; provided they were ſuch, as He might innocently follow, and without any Diminution of his Royal Character. The Cardinal had early obſerved, his Majeſty was of a reſolute Temper, very tenacious of the firſt Impreſſions, he had received, and impatient of all Oppoſition. And if we may judge from the great Succeſs and Glory of his Reign, while the Affairs of it were directed by the Cardinal, and from the many and great Diſorders which happened after the Cardinal's Diſgrace, when the King took the Reins of Government into his own Hand; the Grounds of this Advice to him, at an Age, when the Paſſions are more ſtrong, and precipitate, may ſtill appear to have had ſome ſpecious, and reaſonable Foundation.

Fifthly, Tho' it is acknowledged the *Cardinal had certainly a great Mind*, yet he ſeems to have diſcovered, in his Diſgrace, a Deſpondency and Lowneſs of Spirit, not perfectly reconcileable, with that Character. His falling in the open Road, upon his Knees, in the Dirt, before a Gentleman, who brought him a comfortable Meſſage, from the King, was a Submiſſion (whatever Allowances are to be made to human Frailty, in Circumſtances of very great Diſtreſs) that does not tend to give us any great Idea of his Magnanimity.

Yet his free and juſt Reproof of the Duke of *Suffolk*, at a Time when this Duke was in the higheſt Favour with the King, and, that in open Court, ſhews, he did not, on a proper Occaſion, always want Courage. His Expoſtulations with that Lord, and the

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* *Theſe are the Terms, wherein Doctor* Bullock *complements the Cardinal, before a very great, and ſplendid Audience in* Cambridge. " Summus Pontifex, ob ingentia in Eccleſiam " Catholicam Merita, hiſce Inſignibus donavit; & quia videbat illum omnibus hujus Dig- " natis Cardinalitij numeris abſolutiſſimum, adjecit & alteram Dignitatem, ſecundum pon- " tificium, ſupremum; creavit Legatum, &, id quidem, a Latere." *I have added the Speech at length, in the Appendix, as being very ſcarce, and tranſcribed from one of the firſt Pieces, printed at* Cambridge *in the Year* 1521, *in a fair and large Character. The Author of this Speech was thought worthy of a particular Share in the Confidence and Friendſhip of* Eraſmus, *with whom he contracted an Intimacy, in* Queen's College *of that learned Univerſity, of which Doctor* Bullock *was admitted Fellow, in the Year* 1507, *when* Fiſher, *Biſhop of* Rocheſter, *was Maſter of it. They, who would inform themſelves more particularly concerning the Eſteem, which* Eraſmus *had entertained for Doctor* Bullock, *may conſult the Letter of that learned Man to him, under the Title,* Eraſmi Epiſt. Hen. Bavillo.

Duke of *Norfolk*, when they went to demand the Seals of him, and particularly the excellent Repreſentation he made to Judge *Shelly*, againſt alienating the Rights, and Revenues of the Church; the generous and juſt Reply, which he made to a weak Argument urged by that Judge, to induce him to a Compliance, plainly diſcover, that he was not of ſo mean a Spirit, as ſome Perſons have endeavoured to repreſent him. It is true, he was over-ruled at laſt to make a Ceſſion of *Whitehall*, the Seat, in Town, belonging to the Archbiſhops of *York*; and tho' no Ceſſion, under any Circumſtances whatever, can be juſtified to an arbitrary, unjuſt, and ſacrilegious Demand, yet certain Circumſtances may admit, and that is all which can be pretended here in the Cardinal's Defence, of more favourable, and mitigating Conſtructions. The Submiſſion, which *Cranmer* made, ſometime before his Death, loſt much of that Reproach, which would otherwiſe have attended it, on account of his ſubſequent Behaviour and Repentance: Why may it not conſiſt with that Candour and Charity whereby we ought to judge, concerning human Actions, to believe, that the Cardinal was truly penitent for a Fact, which he certainly committed with the greateſt Reluctance.

Mſ. in Heralds Office. Cerem. Vol. 3. p. 219, *&c.*

The Pope ſent by a Prothonitary the Hatt appertayning for the high honour and dignitie of a Cardinall unto the moſt reverend father in God Lord Thomas Wolſey, *Arch-Biſhop of* Yorke.

IN the Yeare of our Lord 1515. The 15th daie of *November* being *Thurſdaie* and the ſeaventh yeare of our Sovereigne Lord King *Henry* the eight the ſaid Prothonitary enter'd into *London*, which before according was mett bothe at the Sea Side, likewiſe at *Canterbury* and at *Rocheſter* with the Biſhop of the ſame, And at *Black Heath* theare mett with him the Reverend father in god the Biſhop of *Lincolne* the Earle of *Eſſex* and many other gent. of great Honour both ſpiritual and temporal and ſoe proceeded through *London*, the Biſhop of *Lincolne* ridinge on the right hand and the ſaid Prothonitary and the Earle of *Eſſex* on his left hand having with them ſixe horſes or above, and they all well beſeeming and keeping a good Order in their proceeding, The Maior of *London* with the Aldermen on horſe back in *Cheapſide*, and the Crafte ſtoode in the Streets after there Cuſtome and when the ſaid Hatt was comen to the Abbey of *Weſtminſter* wheare at the *North* door of the ſame was redie Thabbot and eight Abbotts beſides him all in Pontificalibus and honorablie received it, And in like ſort the ſame conveied to the high Alter, whearuppon it was ſett, The *Sundaie* next following the eightenth daie the moſt Reverend father in god my Lord Cardinal well accompanied with noble and gentlemen both ſpiritual and temporal being on Horſeback as Knights Barons Biſhops Earles Dukes and Arch Biſhops all in due Order proceeded from his place betwixt eight and nyne of the Clocke to the Abbey and at the Dore beforeſaid his grace with all the noble men deſcended from their horſes and went to the high Alter wheare on the *South* ſide was ordeyned a goodlie Travers for my Lord Cardinal, and when his Grace was comen into it imediatelie began the Maſſe of the holy ghoſt ſongen by the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, The Biſhop of *Lincoln* Goſpeller, and the Biſhop of *Exceſter* Epiſtoler Tharch Biſhops of *Armachaw* and *Dublyn* The Biſhops of *Wincheſter Duriſme Norwiche Ely* and *Landaffe* and viii Abbotts as of *Weſtminſter* Saint *Albons Bury Glaſtonbury*, *Reading Gloceſtre*, *Winche Combe*, *Tewkesbury*, and the Prior of *Coventrie* all in Pontificalibus, The Biſhop of *Rocheſter* was Croſier to my Lord of *Canterbury* during the Maſſe. Mr. Doctor *Collet* Deane of *Polles* made a brief Collation or propoſition in which eſpecially He touched thre things That is to witt the name of a Cardinal and wheareof it is ſaid Alſoe the highe honour and dignitie of the ſame, And as keeping the Articles due and belonging to it and by what meanes he obtained to this high honour chieflie as by his own merits theare naminge divers and ſundrie vertues that he hath uſed which have been the cauſe of his high and joyous promotion to all the Realme. The ſecond Cauſe of his promotion was through our Sovereigne Lord the King, for the greate Zeale and favour that our holy father the Pope hath to his Grace, The ſecond thing is touching the dignitie of a Prince as having power Judicial, The third of a Biſhop ſignifying both the old and newe lawe and havevinge the power of them, And alſo the highe and great Power of a Cardinal and howe he betokeneth the free beames of wiſdome and Charitie, which the Apoſtles received of the holie ghoſte on *Whitſundaie*, and a Cardinal repreſenteth the order of *Seraphin* which continually brenneth in the love of the glorious Trinity, And for thies conſiderations a Cardinal is melie apparrelled with redd which Collour onelie betokeneth nobleneſs, And howe theſe three Eſtates before named be collocated and placed in heaven, Alſoe he exhorteth theare my Lord Cardinal ſaying to him in this wiſe. *Non Magnitudo ſuperbum extollat Nobilitatiſſimum honoriſq; dignitate*, But remember that our Saviour in his owne perſon ſaid to his deſciples. *Non veni miniſtrari ſed miniſtrare & qui minor inter vos hic Maior regno Celorum, Et qui ſe exaltat humiliabilitur & qui ſe humiliat exaltabitur*, my Lord Cardinal be glad and enforce your ſelfe always to doe and execute righteouſneſs to riche and poore, and mercy with truth and deſired all people to praie for him that he might the rather obſerve theſe poynts and in accompliſhinge the ſame what his reward ſhall be in the Kingdom of Heaven and ſo ended, the Bull was read by Doctor *Vecy* Deane of the King's Chappell, and *Exceſtre* and at *Agnus Dei* came forth of his Travers my Lord Cardinal and kneeled before the middle of the high Altar wheare for a certayne tyme he laye gravelling his hood over his head during benedictions and prayers concerning the highe Creation of a Cardinal, ſaid over him by the right reverend father in God the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterburie* which alſoe ſett the hatt uppon his head Then *Te Deum* was ſung, All ſervice and Ceremonies finiſhed my Lorde came to the doore before named led by the Dukes of *Norffolk* and *Suffolk* where his grace with all the noble Men attended uppon their horſes, and in good Order proceeded to his place by *Charing-Croſſe* next before him the Croſſe proceeding it the Mace ſuch as belongeth a Cardinal to have, and then my Lord of *Canterbury* havinge no croſſe borne before him with the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, before them the Duke of *Norffolk* and *Suffolk* together and in like Order the reſidue of the noblemen as the Biſhop of *Durham* with the Popes Orator then the Marqueſs *Dorſett* with the Earle of *Surrey* The Earle of *Shrewsburie*, the Earle of *Eſſex* the Earle of *Wiltſhire* The Earle of *Derby* the Lord of St. *Johns*, the Lord *Fitzwater* the Lord of *Burgaveny*, the Lord *Dawbeny* the Lord *Willoughby*, the Lord *Haſtings*, The Lord *Ferrers*, the Lord *Lattimer* the

Lord *Cobham*, and the Lord *Darcey*, Sir *Henry Marney* Sir *John Peche*, Sir *Thomas A Parr*, Sir *Nicholas Vaux* and ſo all other Bannerетts, Knyghts and Gentlemen before after their degrees, and following his grace the Arch-Biſhop of *Armachan* and *Develyn*, The Biſhops of *Lincolne* and *Norwiche Exceſter Ely* and *Rocheſter* and thee after them, my Lords Cardinals place being well ſorted in every behalfe and uſed with goodlie Order, the Hall and Chambers garniſhed very ſumptuouſlie with riche *Arras*, A great feaſt kept as to ſuche a highe and honourable Creation belongeth, At the which were the King and Queene and the *French* Queene with all the Noblemen above ſpecified alſoe preſent at the Creation the Lord *Fineaux* the Lord *Read*, the Barons of the *Exchequer* with other Judges and Serjeants at Lawe.

O Glorious Trinity encreaſe in One Cardinal the Flouers green and ſoſſe, ſoſſe of vertuous Lief and ſober Direction ſo that his Soul may have iu Subjection his mortal Body, for his ghoſtly Helth, and after this Lief grant him your endleſs welth.

Part of a Letter from Sir Thomas More *to the Cardinal.*

Ferthermore hit may lyke your good grace to underſtand that at the contemplation of your graces lettres the kings highnes is graciouſly content that byſide the 100*l.* for my fe for thoffice of the ſpeker of his parliament to be taken at the receipte of his *eſchequer* I ſhall have one other hundred poundes owt of his c'ofres by thands of the treſorer of his chambre wherfor in mooſt humble wiſe I beſech your good grace that as your graciouſe favour hath obteigned hit for me ſo it may lyke the ſame to wryte to Mr. *Wiatt* that he may deliver hit to ſuch as I ſhall ſend for hit whereby I & all myn as the manyfold goodnes of your grace hath alredy bound us ſhalbe dayly more & more bounden to pray for your grace whom our lord long preſerve in honour & helth. At *Eſthamſtede* the 26th day of *Auguſt*.

Tour humble orator & mooſt bounden beedman

To my Lord Legats good grace. Thomas More.

An Original.

Letter from Pace *concerning Archbiſhop* Bambrige's *Death.*

WYthe moſt humble & lowly commendation unto your grace. Fol. 105.
In conſideration off the greate rumor that is nowe continually here, for the miſerable dethe off my late Lorde Cardinal, i thoght itt verraye neceſſari to certifie your highneſſe in whatt cace the matier ſtondithe. Aftir that the priſt that poyſonidde my late lorde hadde kyllydde hymſelſe for hys deteſtable deade, itt was neceſſari that alle the hole matier ſchulde be committidde to the lawe & juſtice, for the puniſchement off ſuche as were accuſidde as autors off the ſayde poyſonynge, *viz.* the buſhoppe off *wurceſtre* & oon off hys chambrelayns. And ſo evyr ſynſe the ſayde priſtis dethe, proceſſe haithe bene made accordynge to the lawe agaynſt them boithe; and itt is concludidde bi alle doctors & lernidde men, that the furſt confeſſion made bi the ſayde priſt, muſt be bilevidde & none odre. Wherfore itt is alſo determinidde bi the juggis in this cauſe, that

the ſayde buſhoppe ſchulde not oonly be put in priſon, but alſo ſuffre tormentis & be compellidde to ſchewe the troithe. And he hadde bene put in priſon affore thys tyme, yffe i wolde have conſentidde therunto: but in no cace i wolde condeſcende therto, havynge reſpecte unto hyme, as your gracis orator; & wyllyng to have knowliege off your ſayde gracis mynde & pleaſor, affore that i do agree to any ſuche thynge; thoghe that the lawe doithe exclude alle maner off dignities in thys cace. Notwythſtondinge thys my demeanor, the ſayde buſhoppe doithe imagyne boithe in wurde & deade, the wurſt he can agaynſt me; preſuppoſynge ſuerly to have your gracis favors in thys cauſe & bi that to avoyde alle thynge nowe imputidde unto hym. Wherfore i muſt moſt humbly deſyre & praye your highneſſe to ſchewe your favors equally in thys cauſe accordynge to juſtice. And thus doynge your grace ſchalle moſt reaſonably reſolve us boithe. For yffe the buſhoppe can bi juſtice purge hymſelfe from thys crime, he ſchall ſave hys honor, & my poore honeſtie ſhalbe ſeen in lyke maner evidently to alle men; & it ſchall appere that i intende nothinge but to ſchewe my ſelfe oon true and faytheful ſervante to my maiſter dedde, as i was unto hym beynge in liffe. For yffe i aftre the ſayde priſtis evident confeſſion hadde not uſidde alle diligence to cerche owte alle ſuche as were privey to the poyſonynge off my ſayde late Lorde every man myght reaſonably have thoght that i hadde condeſcende unto the ſame, & bene conſentiens wythe the ſayde buſhoppe therunto, wherby i ſchulde have bene put to greate rebuke wythe oute faulte. oon thynge doith aggreve me ryght ſore, that the ſayde buſhoppe doithe yett infame my late Lorde beynge dedde, in falſe & untrue thyngis, wherin is nodre honeſtie nodre goodde chriſtianitie; as it is manifeſte bi the holy preceptis off our faythe. And nothynge but reaſon, honeſtie perfecte love & fidelitie to your grace my prince & my natural cuntre, doithe move me to be ſory for thys unnatural deade. For thoghe my late Lorde hadde (I cannot denye) ſum vices, yett (i do take Godde to my jugge) he was the moſt faytheful man to your grace hys prince, that evyr was borne; & moſt vehemente in the defenſion of your gracis cauſis, when none odre man durſt opyn hys mouthe to ſpeke ſave he alone: thoghe (i do welle knowe) boithe your grace & odre my Lordis off your moſt honorable counſeyle, haithe hadde contrari relation off hym frome henſe bi ſuche that nodre intendidde goodde to your highneſſe nor them; but uſidde crafty maners for there owne exaltation & private profyte. And thoos that were ayders & ſupporters here off ſuche iniquitie doith nowe ryght welle knowe that my ſayde Lorde was oon faytheful man, & be verraye ſorry that they didde not uſe in there moſt arduuſe motiers, boithe hys faythe & counſayle. Itt ſchall pleaſe your grace to undreſtonde that the ſayde buſhoppe off *wurceſtres* labors & myne be verraye different in the controverſie dependynge betwixte hym & me: for he doithe ſeke nothynge but favors, & procurithe the ſame bi effuſion off mony & large promiſis: I do deſyre nothynge but equitie & juſtice, wherby itt doithe appere that i do nothynge agaynſt hym, but that as boithe honeſtie & the lawe doithe require, & hys deadis agaynſt me to procede oonly off malice, whyche to uſe agaynſt me, he haithe no cauſe. For i have evyr lovidde hym, untyl nowe off late, when he was opynly accuſidde off my late Lorde & maiſters dethe. And alſo itt was opynly noyſidde & ſeen bi certayne ſignes, that he nodre was true nor lovynge to your grace & realme; but rather procuridde your ennymys honor & profecte. And ſuche men can not be lovydde off ony conſcience. For the holy lawe doithe nott oonly excommunicate, interdicte, curſe & banne men off ſuche demenor; but alſo commaunde the ruine & deſtruction off alle there progenie; as knowithe Alle myghty Godde, whoo preſerve your gracis moſt royalle & noble aſtate in longe helthe & continual proſperitie. Frome *Rome* the 25. off *Septembre.* By your gracis moſt humble & faytheful Servaunte & Subjecte

Richarde Pace

To the Kingis grace hys Soveraygne Lorde

Letter from Ann Bolleyn *to Cardinall* Woolſey.

An Original.

Cotton Library Otho C. X. Fol. 434.

MY Lord in my moſt humblyſt Wyſe that my powuer hart can thynke I do thanke your Grace for your kynde letter and for youer Rych and goodly preſent the whyche I ſhall never be able to deſarve wyth owt your gret helpe of the whyche I have hetherto hade ſo grete plente that all the dayes of my lyſe I am mouſte bownde of all creators next the Kyngs Grace to love & ſerve your Grace of the whyche I beſyche you never to doute that ever I ſhall vary frome this thought as long as ony brethe is in my Body and as toching your Graces troble withe the ſwet I thanke ower Lord that them that I deſyerd and prayed for ar ſcapyde and that is the Kyng and you not doughthyng bot that God has preſervyd you bothe for grete Cawſys knowen allonly of his hygh Wyſdome and as for the comyng of the legate I deſyer that moche and yf It be Godds pleaſor I pray hym to ſend this Matter ſhortly to a good ende and then I trouſt my Lord to Recompence part of your grete paynys the whych I muſt requyer you In the Meane tyme to excepte my good Wyll in the ſtede of the Power the wyche mouſt proſede partly from you as ower Lourd knoweth to whom I beſyche to ſende you longe lyſe with Contynewance in honor Wrytten wyth the hande of her that is moſt bound to be

Your humble and obedyent ſervante

Anne Boleyn

From the ſame. An Original.

Veſpat. F. III. Fol. 15. b.

MY Lord in my moſt humble Wiſe I thanke your grace for the gyſt thys Benefice for Maſter *Barlo* howbehit this ſtandithe to non Effecte for it is mayd for *Tonbridge* and I wold have it if your pleſure war ſo for *Sonbridge* for *Tonbrig* is in my Lord my ſathers gyſt be a Vowſon that he hath and it is not yet Woyd I do troſt that your Grace wol graunt hym *Sondrig* and conſidering the payne that he hath takyn I do thynke that it ſhall be vere well beſtowyd and in ſo doyng y Rekyn my ſelfe moche bownde to your grace for all this that hathe takyn payne in the Kynges Matter it ſhalle be my daylle ſtudy to inmagyn all the Ways that I can devyſe to do them ſervys and pleſur and thus I make an end ſendyng you agen the letter that you ſent me thankyng your Grace moſt humbley ſor the payn that you take for to Wryt to me aſſuryng

ſuryng you that next the kynges letter ther is nothyng that can rejoſe me ſo moche, with the hand of her that is moſt bownde to be

Your moſt humble and obedient ſervant

Anne Boleyn

My lord I beſyche your grace with all my hart to Remember the Parſon of honelayne *for my ſake ſchortly.*

From the ſame. An Original.

Veſpat. F. XIII. Fol. 55. MY Lord after my moſt humble Recommendations this ſhall be to gyve unto your grace as I am moſt bownd my humble thanks for the gret payn and travelle that your grace doth take in ſteudyeng by your wyſdome and get dyſygens how to bryng to pas honerably the gretyſt Welth that is poſſyble to come to any creator lyvyng and in eſpecyal remembryng howe wrecchyd and unworthy I am in comparyng to his hyghnes. and for you I do knowe my ſelfe never to have deſervyd by my deſertys that you ſhuld take this gret payn for me yet dayly of your goodnes I do perceyve by all my frends and though that I had nott knowlege by them the dayly proffe of your deds doth declare your words and wrytyng toward me to be trewe nowe good my Lord your dyſcreſſyon may conſyder as yet how lytle it is in my power to Recompence you but all onely wyth my good wyl the whiche I aſſewer you that after this matter is brought to pas you ſhall fynd me as I am. bownde in the mean tym to owe you my ſervyſe and then looke what thyng in this Woreld I can inmagen to do you pleaſor in you ſhall fynd me the gladdyſt Woman in the Woreld to do yt and next unto the Kyngs grace of one thyng I make you full promes to be aſſewryd to have yt and that is my harty love unfaynydly deweryng my lyf and beying fully determynd with Godds grace never to change thys porpos I make an end of thys my Reude and trewe meanyd letter praying ower Lord to ſend you moche increſe of honer with long Lyfe wrytten with the hand of her that beſychys your grace to except this letter as proſydyng from one that is moſt bownde to be

Your humble and Obedient ſervant

From Mrs. Anne Bullen *before her Marriage to the King.*

Anne Boleyn.

An Original.

Fol. 53. MYNE owne good Cardinal I recommand me unto you with all my hart and thanke you for the grette Payne and Labour that you do dayly take in my Byſynes and maters deſyryng you that when you have well eſtablyſyd them to take ſume paſtyme and comfort to the intente you may the longer endure to ſerve us for allways payne can nott be induryd. ſurly yow have ſo ſubſtancyally orderyd oure maters bothe off thys ſyde the ſee and beyond that in myne oppynion lityled or nothyng can be addyd

Nevertheles accordyng to your deſyre I do ſend you myne oppynion by thys berar the Refformation whereof I do remyte to you and the remnante off our truſty Counſellers whiche I am ſure wyll ſubſtantially loke on hyt. as tochyng the mater that Syr *Wyllyam Says* brought anſwar off I am well contentyd with what Order ſo ever you do take in itt. the quene my wyff hathe deſyryd to make har moſt harty recommendations to you as to hym that ſhe love the very well and bothe ſhe and I wolde knowe fayne when you wyll repayre to us. no more to you att thys tyme but that with gods helpe I truſt we ſhall dyſapoynte oure enymys off theyre intendyd purpoſe. wryttyn with the hand off your lovyng maiſter

To my Lord Cardinal *Henry*

An Original.

Veſpat. F. XIII. Fol. 58. Add. p. G. MYN owne entirly belovyd *Cromwell* I beſeche you as ye love me and wyl evyr do any thyng for me repare hyther thys day as ſoune as the Parliment ys brokyn up leyng a parte all thyngis for that tyme for I wolde not onely commynycat thyngis unto you wherein for my comfort and relef I wold have your good ſad dyſcret advyſe and cownſell But alſo upon the ſame commytt ſerteyng thyngis requyryng expedition to yow on my behalf to be ſolycytyd ther I pray yow therfor to haſt your commyng hyther aſſafore withowt omyttyng ſo to do as ye tendyr my ſuere releif and comfort and quyetnes of mynde and thus fare ye well from *Aſhur* in haſt. thys *Satyrday* in the Mornyng with the rude hande and ſorewfull hart of your aſſuryd lover

T. Car'lis ebor.

I have alſo ſerteyn thyngis conſernyng your ſylf wych I am ſeure ye welbe glade to here and knowe fayle not therfor to be here thys Nyght ye may retorne erly in the Mornyng agen yf nede ſhul ſo requyre *& iterum vale.*

Mr. *Aguſteyn* ſhewyd me how ye had wryttyne unto me a lettre wherin ye ſhuld advertyſe me of the commyng hyther of the Duke of *Norfolke* I aſſure yow ther cam to my handis no ſuche lettre.

To myn entirly belovyd

Thomas Cromwel *in haſt*

Tranſcripts from Mr. Maſter.

LEtter of *Antonio Cavallery* to the Cardinal, That for guilding the part of his Tomb, which is already done (being the half) He hath layed out 380*l.* 13*s.* Sterling. He ſeems to doubt, whether the Cardinal meant to have the reſt of his Tomb perfected, which if he do not *mean*, he would have him to order the Guilder Leave to go Home to *Antwerp*, and alſo to *Benedict* a Carver to return into *Italy*. Add. p. H. p. 255.

255. The Cardinal ſendeth *Ralph Sadler* to *Cromwell* with Inſtructions how the ſaid *Cromwell* ſhall deal for him being now in Diſgrace; Among other things to procure the ſending hither (*i. e.* to *York*) of

mine Image, with ſuch part of the Tomb, as it ſhall pleaſe the King that I ſhall have; to the Intent that now being at my Church of *York*, I may order and diſpoſe the ſame for my Burial, which is like, by Reaſon of my Heavineſs, to be ſhortly.

Item, To intreat Mr. *Cromwell* to be a good Friend to his Colleges, *& nunquam permittere Opus Manuum ſuarum perire*, nor to ſuffer the Lands by the Pope's and Kings Aſſent applyed thereunto to be converted to profane Uſes.

He ſends to *Cromwell* two Geldings, and intreats him to perſuade himſelf, that *ſive vivam ſive moriar*, I ſhall requite his Friendſhip and good Will, as He and all his ſhall know, *quod non repoſuit operam apud Hominem Ingratum*.

It ſeems when the Cardinal ſubmitted and made a Free Gift of all he had to the King (which he did at the perſuaſion of divers Noblemen) it was promiſed him, that the King would take Order for the payment of his Debts, and Maintenance of his Eſtate; Now he writes he is in great want and deſires Relief.

Q. *Anne*.

Cromwell to the Cardinal. That he hath diſcovered lately ſome, who favour *Luther's* Sect, and read his Books and *Tindalls*, the Books he hath taken are the *Revelation* of *Antichriſt* and *Supplication* of *Beggars*; Peſtiferous Books, and, albeit, they are ſcattered among the common People to deſtroy the whole Obedience and Policy of this Realm; He exhorteth the Cardinal to ſtop this Doctrine.

p. 261. Cardinal *Wolſey* in his Diſgrace employed *Cromwell* in Solliciting his Affairs at Court, to get his Pardon, *&c.* And thanks him for his Care therein in many Letters in his own Hand. When he was commanded to *York* he deſired the King's Letter of Recommendation to the Nobility in the *North*, which he would have favourably indyted, and Mr. Secretary to be moved therein, of whom he expects ſome Help for his old Deſerts. —— Theſe Letters, were ſo favourably penned, that the Cardinal in a Letter of the King to the Lord *Dacres*, is called our right truſty and right well-beloved the Lord Cardinal.

When He was at *Aſhur* he writes thus to *Cromwell*, My Fever is ſomewhat aſwaged, and the black Humour alſo, Howbeit, I am entering into the Kalends of a more dangerous Sickneſs, which is the *Dropſy*, ſo that if I am not removed into a dryer Air, and that ſhortly, there is little Hope, *&c.*

He entreats *Cromwell* to ſollicit the King to be gracious to him and to practiſe, that the Lady *Ann* may mediate for Him.

From *Aſhur* the Begin. of 1530.

He writes to *Cromwell*. He hopes, that for his Maintenance and to do good to his Servants, and beſtow Alms, which *York* will not do, the King (if he take from him *Wincheſter*) will allow him a Penſion out of it. " For, God be my judge, I never thought, and
" ſo I was aſſured at the making my Submiſſion, to depart from any
" of my Promotions. For the Rigour of the Law, for any Offence
" that can be arrected to me, deſerveth no ſuch puniſhment, And ſo
" truſting in the King's Goodneſs, I am come to this Point. I hope
" his Grace will conſider the ſame accordingly. I have had fair Words,
" but little comfortable Deeds. Thoſe Noblemen did otherwiſe pro-
" miſe on their Honours to me. Upon Truſt whereof I made the
" Frank Gift of my whole Eſtate.

p. 262. In another Letter. " As touching the Articles layed unto
" me, whereof a greatd art be untrue, and thoſe which be true are of
" ſuch Sort, that by the doing of them no Malice or Untruth can
" be juſtly arrected unto me. Neither to the Princes Perſon, nor to
" the Realm. This may be urged to the King.

As

L

As touching the Coyn at *York*, with the Letters and Badges in the ſame. You may commune with *Pawlet*, &c. Officers of the *Mint*, How the uſage hath been of the *Mint*.

He hopes, that the King to whom he hath given all his Goods, and Revenues will pay his Debts, which may be done by his Arrears of Penſion out of *France*, for the Year by paſt.

Cromwell to the Cardinal *July* 12.

As touching the Proceſs againſt your Grace out of the *Exchequer*, and all other Matters and Suits brought againſt you, I have pleaded your Pardon, which is allowed in all the King's Courts, and by the ſame your Grace is diſcharged of all manner of Cauſes at the King's Suit.

Cromwell tells the Cardinal this Solliciting his Cauſe hath been very chargeable to him, and he cannot ſuſtain it any longer without other reſpect than he hath had heretofore. —— I am a 1000 *l.* worſe than I was when your Troubles began. —— As touching your Colleges the King is determined to diſſolve them. And that new Offices ſhall be found of all the Lands belonging to them newly to entitle his Highneſs, which be already drawn for this purpoſe. But whether his Highneſs after the Diſſolution of them mean to revive them again, and found then in his own Name, I know not. Wherefore I entreat your Grace to be Content, and let your Prince execute his Pleaſure.

Raſe Sadler to the Cardinal *July* 12.

That his Maſter (*i. e. Cromwell*) hath accepted his Token, which yet was not ſo great a Reward as he expected (the Cardinal alledged his Neceſſity.)

May 17. *Cromwell* to the Cardinal

p. 263. That the King hath received his Letters, and is very ſorry that he is in ſuch Neceſſity, yet that for Relief his Majeſty hath delayed it, till he ſpeaks with the Council. The Duke of *Norfolk* promiſeth you his beſt Aid, but he willeth you for the preſent to be Content; and not much to moleſt the King (concerning payment of your Debts.) For, as he ſuppoſeth, the Time is not meet for it. His Grace (the King) ſhewed me, how it is come to his Knowledge, that your Grace ſhould have certain Words of him, and other Noblemen to my Lord of *Norfolk*, ſince the Time of your Adverſity, which Words ſhould ſound to make Sedition betwixt him and my Lord of *Norfolk*.

Mr. *Page* received your Letters directed unto my Lady *Ann* and delivered the ſame. There is yet no Anſwer; She gave kind Words, but will not promiſe to ſpeak to the King for you. Certain Doctors of both the Univerſities are here for the Suppreſſion of the *Lutheran* Opinions, the King's Highneſs hath cauſed the ſame Doctors at divers Times to aſſemble and hath commoned with them, the Fame is, that *Luther* is departed this Life, I would he had never been born.

Cromwell writes to Cardinal *Wolſey* entreating him to have Patience. —— That there ſhall be ſome Offices ſent unto *York* and *Nottinghamſhire* to be found of his Lands, belonging to his Archbiſhoprick. This will be very diſpleaſant, but it is beſt to ſuffer it. For if they ſhould not be found, you could not hold your Biſhoprick quiet, notwithſtanding your Pardon. For your Reſtitution made by your Pardon is clearly void: For that the King did reſtitute your Grace, before he was entitled by Matter of Record. When theſe Offices ſhall be found, your Pardon ſhall be good and ſtand in perfect Effect.

He tells him that his modeſt Behaviour and Humility hath gained him the Love and good Report of the Country where he now lives,

and alſo in the Court; but his Enemies deprave all. Sir, ſome
p. 264. there be that do allege, that your Grace doth keep too great a
Houſe, and Family, and that you are continually a building. For
the Love of God therefore have a Reſpect and Refrain.

Oct. 2. *Cromwell* writes to the Cardinal. I am informed your Grace hath me in ſome Diffidence; as if I did diſſemble with you, or procure any thing contrary to your Profit and Honour. I much muſe that your Grace ſhould ſo think or ſuſpect it ſecretly, conſidering the Pains I have taken, *&c.* Wherefore I beſeech you to ſpeak without Faining, if you have ſuch Conceit, that I may clear my ſelf, I reckoned that your Grace would have written plainly unto me of ſuch thing, rather than ſecretly to have miſreported me. But I ſhall bear your Grace no leſs good Will.—— Let God judge between us.—— Truly your Grace in ſome things overſhooteth your ſelf; there is Regard to be given, what things you utter, and to whom.

It appears from theſe Letters, that *Cromwell* kept certain Scholars in *Cambridge*. For he entreats the Cardinal to prefer them to Benefices, which ſhould fall in his Archbiſhoprick.

Oct. 2. The Cardinal ſtrives to clear himſelf to *Cromwell*, proteſting that he ſuſpects him not, and that may appear by his Deeds, ſo that he uſeth no Man's Help nor Counſel but his Complaint indeed hath been made to him, that *Cromwell* hath not done him ſo good Offices, as he might, concerning his Colleges and Archbiſhoprick; but he hath not believed them; yet he hath asked of their common Friends how *Cromwell* hath behaved himſelf towards him; and to his great Comfort, hath found him faithful.—— Wherefore he beſeecheth him with weeping Tears to continue ſtedfaſt, and give no Credit to the falſe Suggeſtions of ſuch as would ſow variance between them, and ſo leave him deſtitute of all Help.

p. 265. None dare now ſpeak to the King on his part, for Fear of Madam *Ann*'s Diſpleaſure.

He takes the ſuppreſſing and diſmembring his College very heavily.

He heartily and earneſtly ſollicits *Cromwell* and others to aid the Cardinal, that what the Pope and the King have done and confirmed may not be made Void, which thing would be againſt all *Laws of God and Man.*

He writes to the King. *Humbly and on my Knees I recommend to your*, &c. *Charity and Goodneſs, the poor College of* Oxford.

This Letter was to be preſented by the Dean and Canons thereof.

FINIS.

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